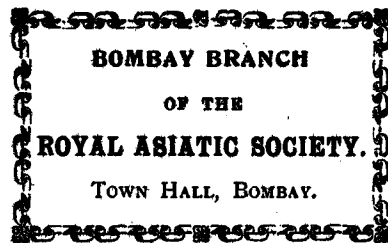




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An Historical
RELATION
OF THE
Kingdom of **CHILE.**

BY
ALONSO DE OVALLE,
OF
The Company of **JESUS,**

A Native of *St. Jago of Chile*, and Procurator
at *Rome* for that Place.

Printed at *Rome* by FRANCISCO CAVALLO, 1649.
with Licence of his Superiors.

Translated out of *Spanish* into *English.*

Translator's PREFACE.

WHEN the translation of the history of *Chile* was first undertaken, it was more out of consideration of making that part of the world, so remote from ours, better known, as to the geographical part, the natural history, and the first settlements of the *Spaniards*, than to enter into a distinct narrative of the events of that invasion, which contain little instruction, being between a people of great arts and abilities on one side, and another of great natural courage, and no culture of the mind or body, on the other. The case was so extravagantly unequal between them, when the odds of guns, armour, horses, and discipline, are weighed against nakedness, anarchy, panick terrors, and simplicity, that it seems a kind of prodigy that the love of liberty and a stock of natural unpolished bravery, should hold a contest with armed avarice, spirited by superstitious zeal, for almost a whole century.

The natural history of *Chile* is so admirably performed, that it may be a model for most relations of that kind; for there are exact descriptions of all the beasts, birds, fishes, plants, minerals, coasts, rivers, bays, and inhabitants of the country, that can be wished for. There is, besides, an excellent account of the climate, the seasons, the winds, the manner of living both of the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*. The description of the great *Cordillera*, or chain of mountains, which runs for almost a thousand leagues in a parallel line with the *South Sea*, and divides *Chile* from the *ultra* mountain provinces, is so accurate, that nothing of that kind can be more so: the narrative of the manner of travelling through those vast plains of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, as far as *Buenos Ayres*, and the river of *Plata*; the topographical description of the streights of *Magellan*, with all its bays, ports, and its whole navigation, are of great instruction, as well as very entertaining.

In all this the jesuit, who was the author of this history, must be confessed to have deserved the character of a candid inquisitive philosopher; and in what he has performed besides, about the settlements of the *Spaniards*, he is very particular, especially in his description of the city of *St. Jago de Chile*; where any one may see the progress of priest-craft in that new world, by the vast riches of the convents, monasteries, and nunneries: but above all the instructive chapters of this treatise, there is one about the methods of driving a trade between *Europe* and *Chile* to and from the *Philippines* and

The Translator's PREFACE

and *East Indies*, which contains secrets of commerce and navigation, which I wonder how they were published, and 'tis possible may, ere it be long, be practised by the *Spaniards* and other nations, if the navigation of the *Mexican gulph* becomes so troublesome, as it is like to be made by the naval powers of *Europe*, who seem to have chose those seas for the scene of all their maritime power to exert itself in.

There is a digression about the first discovery of the islands and continent of *America* by *Columbus*, and a progressive narration of all the other discoveries, as they were made, and by whom, which is very curious ; but as it is borrowed from other writers, the author can challenge no other merit than that of a judicious compiler.

All that needs to be added to this preface, is, to let the world know that the translation was first encouraged by the *Royal Society*, of which the translator has the honour to be a member ; and that it was two summers work, that it might be the less subject to errors ; and to prevent them, that worthy encourager of all natural knowledge, as well as of his own profession, in which he excels, *Dr. Hans Sloane*, has contributed very obligingly some of his care and attention, as well as to the edition by *Mr. Awnsham* and *John Churchill*, who are publishing a most curious collection of tracts of this nature, collected by him with great expence, and admirable choice, of which this tract will be one.

T H E

THE
Author's PREFACE.

BEing come from the kingdom of Chile into Europe, I observed that there was so little known of the parts I came from, that in many places the very name of Chile had not been heard of.

This made me think my self obliged to satisfy, in some measure, the desire of many curious persons, who pressed me to communicate to the world a thing so worthy of its knowledge. But I found myself in great difficulty how to comply with their pressing instances, being destitute of all the materials requisite for such a work, and at such a distance from the place that could furnish them, that I despaired of giving a just satisfaction: however, in obedience to those whose commands I cannot but respect, I resolved to write this account, more to comply with my duty, and give some information of those remote regions, than to pretend to a perfect and exact history, which this relation, in all its parts, (I confess,) comes very short of. The reader then being thus prepared, will, I hope, have a regard to the little help I could have in this work, at such a distance as Rome and Chile are from one another; and by his prudence and goodness, excuse any thing that may seem less finished in this work; particularly since there is hopes of a general history of Chile, which cannot be long before it is finished.

It has not yet appeared in the world.

In the mean time, the first and second books of this relation will shew the natural state of the kingdom of Chile, both as to its climate and product; The third, will describe the qualities of its first inhabitants; The fourth and fifth, will describe the first entrance of the Spaniards into it, and the conquest of it by them; The sixth, will contain the various events of the war, caused by the noble resistance made by the Araucano's; The seventh, will shew the first means of peace attempted by father Lewis de Valdivia, of the company of Jesus, in order to facilitate the preaching of the holy gospel, and the glorious death of his holy companions; The last book, which is also the largest of all, will contain the first means of planting the christian faith, and its propagation among the Indians, which was particularly compassed, and is still carried on by the missions and ministry of our company; all which endeavours of theirs I explain and distinguish under six heads, shewing the necessity of the spiritual help that those new christians lie under, both as to preaching, and informing them in matters of the christian faith.

I must give here five advertisements: The first, That in what I have seen my self, I have not departed from the truth in any thing I have writ: as to what I relate by hearsay, or by authority from other wri-

The Author's PREFACE.

ters, I report it with the same candor as I heard and read it, without adding or diminishing any thing of the truth; and though all those I cite in this work are worthy to be believed, yet the least to be suspected of partiality, are such foreign writers who extol and commend this kingdom of Chile with such repeated encomiums. My second advertisement is, That considering the Kingdom of Chile was the last part of South America that was discovered, and the nearest to the Antartick Pole, I could not treat of its discovery with good grounds, without touching a little upon the neighbouring kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, which were as a passage to it; and if I have enlarged now and then on the praises and description of those parts, it was, because I thought it might not be disagreeable to the reader; in which, if I am mistaken, he has only to skip some chapters of the fourth book, and go directly to those which treat of the first entrance of Don Diego de Almagro into Chile; Thirdly, I must take notice, that though I do sometimes, in speaking of the land of Chile, report some particularities which seem trifles, and not so proper for history, I do not relate them as singular and proper to that country alone, but rather to shew the uniformity both of nature and customs, as to life and religion, in all those parts; and some things are mentioned to encourage those new countries to drive on the advancement of religion, politeness, learning, and good morals.

Fourthly, I must take notice, That since I do not here make a general history of Chile, I have not had occasion to mention all the illustrious men, and noble commanders and soldiers, who have flourished in those parts from the beginning of the conquest: I only, therefore, take notice of such as I find named in the authors whom I cite; and they too not making it their business to write a distinct history of Chile, but only to relate some particular event, and so mention only some part of the government of some governors, or their wars, cannot be exact in the account of all those who have in different times and occasions acted in those wars; and by this salvo I cover the honour of all our gallant commanders and soldiers of Chile, whose actions I omit, though they are worthy to be graven in marble, or Bronze, only for this reason. And though I own, that I am not ignorant of many who have flourished in my time, and before it, yet I have not so distinct an information as would be necessary to give them their due commendations, and set their actions in that light which their valour deserves; therefore the general history of Chile will perform that part. Perhaps, even before that, this work of mine may excite some body to employ their talent in making a particular book of their eulogiums and praises, which cannot fail of being well received in the world, since so many noble and illustrious families of Europe will be concerned in it.

Lastly, I advertise, That though the principal motive of my writing this relation, was to publish the spiritual ministry of our company in the conversion of souls in this kingdom of Chile, yet I could not but treat

The Author's PREFACE.

first of the land and inhabitants, as being the object and subject of their endeavours; and I have been forced to be more diffuse in it, than I would have been about a place already known to the world by any history or relations made of it. For this reason, I have employ'd six books in the description of the land, and the valorous fierce disposition of its inhabitants, that the force and efficacy of the divine grace might shine out the more in the beginnings of the conversions of that untractable nation, mentioned in my two last books, which are almost as comprehensive as my six first, which were divided into so many, only to answer the diversity of matter which they contain.

Thus I have informed my reader of this work, in which he will find variety of entertainment. Some things will answer the curiosity of those who delight in knowing natural causes; others will be moved and incited to valiant actions by the examples of those performed here. Those likewise, who love historical relations, will be pleased, since here is an epitome of the discovery of the best part of the Indies, according to the order of times, and persons concerned in the conquests and discoveries of so many kingdoms; and, lastly, the pious disposition of devout minds will be elevated to praise God for the signal favours, which the queen of heaven has bestowed on the kingdom of Chile in particular; and adore the Lord of all things, for having in little more than one century made his name known, and his worship introduced among so many heathen nations, even to bring the untamed and powerful Araucano's upon their knees to him, after so many years stubborn resisting the entrance of the Gospel. I cannot desire my Reader to express any acknowledgements for this work of mine, because I do not judge it deserves so great a reward; but I hope he may, with indulgence, excuse its faults, and make me some allowance for the little helps I have had in writing. I have endeavoured to please all; but, particularly, to shew how the kingdom of Christ may be advanced in that new world, if the apostolical zeal of the evangelical workmen will employ itself in this great harvest of so extended a gentiilism and new christianity.

To the READER.

THE first six books being the only ones that contain the historical and natural accounts, they alone are translated; and some chapters even out of them omitted, for their tedious superstitious narratives.

THE

THE
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
Third V O L U M E.

*A*N *Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chile. By* Alonso de Ovalle,
of the Society of Jesus, a Native of St. Jago in Chile, and Procurator
at Rome for that Place. Translated from the Spanish. Page 1

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BOOK I.

Of the Nature and Properties of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Situation, Climate, and Division of the Kingdom of CHILE.

Situation. **T**HE kingdom of *Chile*, which is the uttermost bounds of *South America*, and has the kingdom of *Peru* to the north, begins at the 25th degree of south latitude, towards the *Antartick Pole*, and is extended in length five hundred leagues, as far as the streights of *Magellan*, and its opposite land, called *La Tierra del Fuego*, which reaches to the 59th degree. The breadth of *Chile* is various; for it may be said to extend itself one hundred and fifty leagues east and west, because though that which is properly call'd *Chile*, is not in many places above twenty or thirty leagues broad, which is generally its extent from the sea to the famous *Cordillera Nevada*, or chain of mountains cover'd with snow, (of which we shall speak in its proper place,) yet in the division of the bounds of the several governments of *America*, the king added to *Chile* those vast plains of *Cuyo*, which runs in length as far as *Chile* does, and are above twice as broad.

The opposite part of the world to this kingdom, is the meridian that passes between the island *Taprobana* of the Antients, which is *Zeilon*, and cape *Comorin*, beginning at twenty six degrees north of the equinoctial line. The inhabitants are properly antipodes to those of *Chile*; and those who inhabit the countries that reach from thirty seven degrees to forty four of the most westerly parts of *New Guinea*, would be also diametrically antipodes to the inhabitants of *Castille*; but 'tis yet uncertain, whether that part of the world is land or water; but this is certain, that it falls out in the division of *Castille*, and is opposite to it, and is west from *Chile* one thousand seven hundred leagues.

Climate. This kingdom is comprehended in the third, fourth, and fifth climate: In that part of it which is in the third climate, the longest day is thirteen hours; and in the fifth climate, the day at longest is about fourteen hours, and something more, quite

contrary to *Europe*, as being opposite to it, but not diametrically; for the longest day in *Chile* is *St. Lucias*, and the shortest *St. Barnaby's*; the sun is always there towards the north, and the shadows to the south.

This is the situation of the kingdom of *Chile*, which borders upon the north with the province of *Aracama*, and the rich mines of silver of *Potosi*, where the kingdom of *Peru* begins; and on the south it has the great sea to the pole, and the islands discover'd in it. *Abraham Ortelius* was of opinion, that there was on this south side of the kingdom of *Chile*, a land which was contiguous with *New Guinea*; and this opinion lasted till we were undeceiv'd by those, who having pass'd by the streight of *St. Vincent*, otherwise call'd the streight of *Le Maire*, went round that south land call'd the *Tierra del Fuego*, and return'd to the north sea by the streights of *Magellan*; proving evidently the said land to be an island entirely separated from any other land; as I shall shew further in its proper place.

Chile has on the east *Tucuman* and *Buenos Ayres*, and to the north east *Paraguay* and *Brazil*; to the west it has the *South-Sea*, which, according to the opinion of *Antonio de Herrera*, is all that is comprehended between *Chile* and *China*, and begins at the *Golden Chersonesus*, or the island of *Sumatra*; and that sea is in breadth, east and west, two thousand seven hundred leagues.

According to what has been said, we *Division.* may divide this kingdom into three parts: The first and principal is that which is comprehended between the *Cordillera Nevada* and the *South-Sea*, which is properly call'd *Chile*. The second contains the islands which are sow'd up and down upon its coast as far as the streights of *Magellan*. The third contains the province of *Cuyo*, which is on the other side of the snowy mountains, call'd the *Cordillera Nevada*, and run in length all along as far as the streights, and

OVALLE in breadth extends to the confines of *Tucuman*.
1646.

To begin then with that part which is most properly call'd *Chile*: I confess I had rather the description of it had fallen to the lot of some stranger who had seen it; for then the danger of passing for too partial for one's own country (to which are expos'd all those who write of it) would have been more easily avoided, and such a one might with less apprehension enlarge upon the excellent properties which God has been pleas'd to endow it with. The common opinion of all those who have come from *Europe* to it, is, that its soil and its climate exceed all others they have seen; though, perhaps, in that they only make a return for the kind welcome they all meet with in those parts. As for my part, all I can say, is, that though it be like *Europe* in every thing, except in the opposition of the seasons, which are transpos'd, it being spring and summer in the one, when it is autumn and winter in the other, yet it has some properties which do really singularize it, and deserve the praises given it by travellers; for, first, neither the heat nor the cold are so excessive as in *Europe*, particularly as far as the 45th degree of latitude, for from thence to the pole the rigorous and excessive cold begins.

The situation accidental of the land of *Chile*, must be the cause of this temperature of the air; for being cover'd on the east by the high mountains of the *Cordillera*, which are all so prodigiously elevated, it receives the fresh and cooling breezes from the sea; and the tides which penetrate as far as the foot of the mountains, joining with the coolness of the snow, with which they are cover'd, refresh the Air so, that about four a-clock in the afternoon the heat is no ways troublesome. Nay, if one is in the shade, one may say, that in no hour of the day the sun is insupportable, especially from thirty six degrees or thereabouts, neither day nor night the heat can be complain'd of; which is the cause, that at the town of the *Conception*, which is in that situation, the covering for beds is the same winter and summer, neither of those seasons being any ways troublesome.

Another good quality of this country is, to be free from lightening; for though sometimes thunder is heard, 'tis at a great distance up in the mountain. Neither does there fall any hail in the spring or summer; or are those storms of thunder and lightening seen here, which in other parts make the bells be rung out, and the clouds to be exorcized; neither are there so many cloudy days in winter as in other parts; but most commonly after the rain has lasted two or three days, the heavens clear up, and look

as if the sky had been wash'd, without the least cloud, in a very short time after the rain; for as soon as ever the north wind, which brings the cloudy weather, ceases, the south succeeds, and in a few hours drives away the rain; or if it be in the night-time, the dew falls, and the sun rises brighter than ever.

This country is yet to be valued upon another propriety of it, which is, that it is free from poisonous creatures, such as vipers and snakes, scorpions or toads; so that one may venture to sit under a tree, or lie down and rowl on the ground, without fear of being bit by them. Neither are there tygers, panthers, or any other mischievous animals; except some lions of a small kind, which sometimes do harm to the flocks of sheep or goats, but never to men, whom they fly from; and this is not only in the cultivated land, where men are frequent, but in the woods and solitude, and in the thickest groves, of which there are some so close with trees, that one can hardly break through them afoot. I heard a friar of ours, who was an excellent Builder, say, that having gone for three months together in woods, where there was no sign of any one's having pass'd before, to find out trees proper for the timber of the church of *St. Jago*, he had never met with the least poisonous creature, that could either cause a nauseous idea, or a dangerous effect.

There is another most wonderful singularity of this same country, which is, that not only it does not breed, but will not suffer any *punaizes* or bugs to live in it; which is the more to be admir'd, that on the other side the mountains they swarm. I never saw one in it alive, for sometimes there are some in the goods and furniture of people who come from the province of *Cuyo*; but as soon as they feel the air of *Chile* they die. The experience that was made of this, by one that was either curious or malicious enough, was wonderful; for coming from *Cuyo* to *Chile*, he brought some of those creatures with him, well put up in a Box, and such food provided for them as to keep them alive; but no sooner were they come to the valley of *Aconcagua*, which is the first valley coming down from the mountains, but they all died, not so much as one remaining alive.

I do not say any thing here of the mines of gold, nor of those excellent waters which, running from them, are cordial and healthy; nor of the abundance of provisions for life, nor of the physical plants, nor of many other rare qualities in which this country exceeds others, as well to avoid confusion, as because those things will be better shew'd when we come to treat of each of them in particular in their proper place.

The climate and soil of Chile very like those of Europe.

In all other things the land of Chile is so like Europe, both in climate and soil, that there is very small or no difference; and it is very remarkable, that in such variety of discoveries made in America, none is so conformable in every thing with the European constitution, as this tract of Chile; for in most of the places between the tropicks, as Brasil, Cartagena, Panama, Portobello, and those coasts in that situation, the heats are violent, and continual all the year; and in some other places, such as Potosi, and the mountains of Peru, the cold is as excessive; in some they have a winter without rain, and have their rain in summer, when their heat is highest; others there are, where they have neither wine, oil, nor wheat of their own product; and though in some they may have these productions, yet the other fruits of Europe do not take with them; but Chile has, just as Europe, its four seasons, of spring, summer, autumn, and winter; it does not rain in summer, but in winter; and all the product of Europe agrees with their soil.

Several lands in the same latitude with Chile, yet which differing in climate from that and Europe.

One thing is much to be admir'd, and that is, that the land of Cuyo, that of Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, being all in the same latitude with Chile, are nevertheless so different in climate from it and from Europe; for though in those parts it freezes exceedingly, so as to freeze water within doors, and that their cattle, if left abroad, die with cold, yet there does not fall a drop of rain all the winter, and the sun shines out so bright and clear, that not a cloud is to be seen: But in the spring they have such abundance of rain, that it would drown the whole country, if the showers lasted as long as in Europe or in Chile; for when the rain lasts but an hour and a half, the streets are full of streams in the towns, and the carts are up to their

axe-trees, though they are very high in those parts, and all the country is as it were a sea: There fall likewise at that time thunder-stones, and hail as big as a hen's egg, nay, as geese eggs, and sometimes as big as ostriches; as I myself have seen.

OVALLE. 1646.

All these storms and varieties of weather form themselves in the high mountains, that are a kind of wall to the kingdom of Chile; and they never come so far down as to invade its territories, but stop at them like a barricado; for in Chile the weather is always steady and constant, without sudden changes, all the spring, summer, and autumn; in winter, indeed, there are degrees of heat and cold, as there is a difference in the length and shortness of the days, according to the degrees of the latitude, and course of the sun, which causes the same variation as in Europe, though in opposite months.

From hence it follows, as authors do observe, and experience teaches, that there must be, and is, a great resemblance between the animals and other productions of Chile and those of Europe. As a proof of this, I have seen several gentlemen that came to Chile from other parts of America, either as commanders, or for other employments, which are in the king's disposal, incredibly overjoy'd at this conformity with Europe; for they think themselves, as it were, in their native country, the air and the provisions of both so like in their qualities: The meats are more nourishing than in hotter climates; and when those who have been either born or bred in those hot countries come to Chile, they are forced to abstain, and keep a watch upon their appetites, till their stomachs are used by little and little to the strength of the food of that country, and can digest it.

A great resemblance between the animals and other productions of Chile, and those of Europe.

C H A P. II.

Of the four Seasons of the Year, and particularly of the Winter and Spring: With a Description of some Flowers and Medicinal Plants.

The four seasons.

THE four seasons of the year; which are in Europe the spring, the summer, the autumn, and the winter, are with the same duration of time enjoyed in Chile, though not exactly under the same names, at the same time; for the spring begins about the middle of the European August, and lasts to the middle of November; then begins the summer, which holds to the middle of February; which is followed by the autumn, which lasts to the middle of May; and then the winter enters, and makes all the trees bare of their leaves, and the earth cover'd with white frosts, (which nevertheless dissolve about two hours

Winter.

after sun-rise, except in some cloudy days, that the icicles last from one day to another;) the winter ends again about the middle of August. 'Tis very seldom that the snow falls in the valleys or low grounds, though so great a quantity is upon the mountains, that it fills up sometimes all the hollow places to the height of several pikes, and there remains, as it were, in wells and reservoirs, to provide, as it does in due time, so many springs and rivers with water, so fertilizing the valleys and plains, that they produce infinite crops of all sorts in the autumn, and enrich the kingdom. But notwithstanding that it seldom

OVALLE. seldom snows in the valleys and plains, yet it is so cold in them, that few parts of *Europe* are colder; which proceeds not only from the degree of elevation this land is in, but also from its neighbourhood to those vast mountains called the *Cordillera*, who send out such sharp and piercing winds, that sometimes they are insupportable; therefore the sea coast is much more temperate and warm; but in return, much more exposed to vehement tempests of winds, than the inland parts, where these storms are in some measure spent before they reach them, and so cannot whip them and torment them as they do the sea coasts.

Thorn-bushes in abundance, affording plenty of fuel.

For some protection against these sharp cold winds, God Almighty has placed several great clusters of thorn-bushes, which thrive so well, that it is the ordinary fuel of all the countries about the town of *St. Jago*, and the valleys near it. It is a plant not unlike an oak, though more durable; the heart of the wood is red, and incorruptible; of it they make coals for the furnace, and other shop uses. In other parts the true oak serves for the same purpose; as in the territory of the city of *Conception*, where there are very large woods of them, which are so thick, that though they have already served for the uses of the natives so many years, yet when they are enter'd, they can hardly be passed in the middle; and this within half a league of the city; for further up in the country there are forests, where no man ever set his foot.

Ever-greens.

Though these oaks, as also the fruit-trees, lose their leaves in winter, yet there are wild trees which do not, though all covered with ice and snow; and the cold is so far from injuring them, that when the sun melts the frost, they look brighter and more beautiful. As soon as the first rains come, the fields begin to be clothed in green, and the earth is covered in twenty or thirty days with grass; amongst which nature produces a sort of yellow flower in such abundance, that the plains and valleys look like carpets of green and yellow.

Spring.

These first rains seem to prepare the earth for its ornamental dress of flowers with the spring, which begins about the middle of *August*; and they last till *December*, that the heats come in, and that with such variety and abundance of so many kinds, that the fields look as if they had been painted, producing a most delightful object. I remember once, as I was travelling, I saw so great a diversity of these flowers, some scarlet, others blue, yellow, red, straw-colour, purple, &c. that I was mov'd to tell them, and I told

Description of some flowers,

in a short time two and forty sorts, so admirable was their variety; and yet I do not reckon among these the cultivated ones in gardens, nor those that were brought from *Europe*, such as carnations, roses, stock-gillyflowers, orange, lillies, poppies, lupins, &c. I only speak of those that grow wild, which are so odoriferous and sweet-scented, that 'tis out of them that they distil a water call'd *aqua d'angeles*, or, angel's-water. The smell of these flowers is perceived sweetest at the rising and setting of the sun; which mingled with the scent emitted by the herbs, which are very aromatick, produce a most admirable perfume, and for that reason they put the sprouts and tops of them among the flowers which make the angel-water.

It is scarce possible to express the force with which the earth puts forth these plants, which is so great, that in many places 'tis hard to distinguish the cultivated from the uncultivated lands. One would think at first that all had been plowed and sowed alike; and with the continuance of the rains, the grass runs up so strong, and grows so intricate, that a horse can hardly break through it, it coming in most places to the saddle-girts.

Mustard-seed, turnips, mint, fennel, *Plants, &c.* trefoil, and other plants, which I see are sowed and cultivated in *Europe*, for the just esteem that is made of them, do all grow wild in *Chile*, without serving to the use of life at all, otherwise than by the cattle's feeding on them, which they may do for several leagues together. The mustard plant thrives so mightily, that it is as big as one's arm, and so high and thick, that it looks like a tree. I have travelled many leagues through mustard groves, which were taller than horse and man; and the birds build their nests in them, as the gospel mentions in these words, *ita ut volucres caeli veniant & habitent in ramis ejus*; *Mat. xiii. 31.* so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.

There are many plants of great virtue in physick, and known only to the *Indians*, call'd *Machis*, who are a race of men that are their doctors. These plants they conceal carefully, and particularly from the *Spaniards*, to whom if they communicate the knowledge of one or two, it is a great mark of their friendship; but the knowledge of the rest they reserve, and it passes from father to son. These *Machis*, or doctors, are not only esteem'd by the *Indians*, but by the *Spaniards* themselves, who have recourse to them in the greatest extremities, when the disease presses most. They find wonderful effects from the application of these simples, which they use in a lesser dose with the *Spaniards* than with the *Indians*,

Character of the Machis, or Indian doctors.

dians, who are of a more robust nature, and stronger constitution.

• Two remarkable cures performed by the Machis. •

I saw one of our order much troubled with the falling-sickness and swooning fits, so as he was forced to have always some body in his company, or else he might have fallen down stairs, or otherwise killed himself: he had used all the remedies that the learning of physicians and the charity of religious men could suggest, but without any effect at all; nay, he was worse and worse every day. Our fathers learned at last, that about twelve leagues off from that place there lived an *Indian Machi*: they sent for him; and being come, and having heard the relation of his distemper, he gave him as much of a certain herb in wine as the bigness of a nail; and it had so great an effect, that it took away the distemper, as if he had taken it away with his hand, the person being never troubled with it more, all the time I knew him.

I have seen many other cures performed by these *Machis*, particularly in cases of poison; for in that sort of distemper they are very eminent. I shall mention but one instance, of a gentleman who had been pining away for several years, and often at death's door: once, being in extrem danger, he heard of a famous *Machi* who lived a great way off, but was a she-doctor, (for there are women amongst them eminent in the art:) he procured, by presents, to have her sent for; and having promised her a considerable reward, besides what he gave her in hand, which he was well able to perform, being very rich and powerful, she began to apply her remedies, which were herbs; and one day, when she saw his body prepared to part with the poison, she caused a great silver volder to be set in the middle of the room, and there, in the presence of many people, the gentleman having first been very sick in his stomach, he cast up the poison which had been given him many years before, wrapp'd up in hair, which came up with it; and he was perfectly well after this, as he himself related to me.

Though, as I have said, the *Indians* are so close in keeping secret the herbs they use, yet many of them, persuaded by reason, and induced by friendship, do communicate something; and time and experience has discover'd so many more, that if I should mention them all, I should be forc'd to make a book on purpose of them; therefore I shall only mention three that I have more present in my memory, the effects of which are prodigious.

Description of some medicinal herbs.

The first shall be the famous plant call'd *Quinchamali*, which rises not a foot above the ground, and its branches spread like a nossegay, and end in little flowers at the

points, which, both in colour and shape, are not unlike the saffron call'd *Romi*. They pull up the herb, and boil it entire with its root, leaves, and flowers, in fair water, which is given to the Patient to drink hot: amongst other effects it produces, one is to dissolve all coagulated blood in the body, and that very quickly; so that an *Indian* feeling himself wounded, takes it immediately, to hinder the blood that could not come out at the wound from congealing inwardly, and so prevents all imposthuration, and the corruption of the rest.

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There happened in our college of *St. Jago* an accident, which gave proof of this admirable herb; which was, That an *Indian* belonging to us being gone to the great place to see the bull-feast, a bull, to his great misfortune, catch'd him up, and toss'd him in the air, and left him almost dead on the ground; he was brought to our house, and the physician, being called, said he was a dead man, and nothing could save him: but, however, he told the father that has care of the sick, that it would cost but little to give him the *Quinchamali*, wrap him up warm, and leave him alone some hours. It was done accordingly; and after some time, the father resorting to the place where they had laid him, to see if he was dead, he was found not only alive, but out of danger, and the sheet all full of blood, which the herb had caus'd him to void through the pores of his body, so as he remain'd perfectly well in a little time.

The second herb is that which we *Spaniards* call *Albaaquilla*, and the *Indians*, *Culen*, because its leaves are like the leaves of sweet basil: it grows in bushes so high, that they seem to be trees; the leaves are very fragrant, and sweet like honey: being bruised, it is applied to the wound outwardly, and some drops of its juice are to be poured also into the wound; after which most admirable effects of its efficacy are seen.

I was told by captain *Sebastian Garcia Carrero*, the founder of our novitiat-house of *Bucalemo*, that as he was travelling with a dog in his company, which he loved extremely, some wild monkeys that live in the mountains fell upon him, and so worried him among them by biting him, some on one side and some on the other, that they left him full of wounds, and particularly with one large one in his throat: his master came up at last, and found him without sign of life: he was much troubled for the loss of his dog, and lighted to see what he could do for him. This *Albaaquilla* is an herb that grows every where in the fields; and the gentleman, at a venture, gathering three or four handfuls of it, bruized them between

1646. **O**VALLE. two stones, and poured the juice into the dog's wounds, and into the great one of his throat he thrust a handful of it, and so left him without hopes of life: but it fell out wonderfully, that after a few leagues travelling on, turning back to look at something, he saw his dog following at a distance, who was so well cured that he lived many years after.

The third herb, that I can remember, is like a knot of fine hair, and which is not commonly met with: this is an admirable herb in fevers and pleurifies; it is boiled in water, and drank; it purifies and cleanses the blood, expelling that which is bad, and so the sick body remains perfectly

cured; as I myself have had the experience of it.

There are several other plants, some of which cure the pains of the liver; others dissolve the stone in the bladder, and break it to pieces; some are excellent for the sciatica and other infirmities; all which, if I were to relate in particular, I should make a new *dioscorides*, or herbal, which is not my intention. We will therefore leave the flowers and herbs of the spring, the harmony of the singing of birds, which so rejoices the mornings, and the serene and quiet days of this season, to draw near the summer, which will afford us matter of discourse.

C H A P. III.

Of the Summer and Autumn, and their Product.

Summer.

THE Summer begins in the middle of November, and lasts to the middle of February, so that the greatest heats are at Christmas; and we are forc'd to have recourse to our faith, to consider the Child God trembling with cold in the manger; for when we rise to sing *matins*, particularly in *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, where the heats are excessive, we are ready to melt with heat. In *Chile* the heats are not so excessive, because the country is more temperate; but still the weather is not so cold as it was in *Bethlem*. About this time the fruits begin to ripen, which are in great variety; and there are but few of those of *Europe* that are wanting; for as soon as any of them are brought, either in stone, seed, or plant, they take, and 'tis wonderful to see how they thrive. I remember about thirty years ago there were no cherries; there coming by chance a little tree from *Spain*, from which all the curious began to multiply them in their gardens, (it being both a rarity, and a valuable fruit;) in a small time they were so increased, that they were banish'd from the gardens to the fields, because they produced so many young plants from their roots, that they took up all the ground about them.

Description of fruits.

Of the fruits of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and all the continent of *America*, not one will grow in *Chile*; and the reason is, the opposition of the climate of *Chile*; nay, though they bring either plant, seed, or setting, they never thrive; for those countries are within the tropicks, and *Chile* is out of them: for which reason also the fruits of *Europe* take so well in *Chile*, such as pears, abricots, figs, peaches, quinces, &c. which bear infinitely; and if there is not care taken to lessen their number when little, it is impossible for the boughs to bear

the weight of the fruit, so that they are fain to prop them up with forks when they grow near ripe.

The fruit that exceeds all the rest for bearing, is the apple of all kinds, of which there are prodigious orchards; and of these, though they lessen the number, yet the others increase so much in weight, that the trees are brought down to the ground; so that there are many windfalls, filling all the ground about them, and the very rivers on which they stand, and stopping the course of the water.

All the crops of oats, wheat, maiz, and ^{Grain.} all other garden product, begin to be cut in *December*, and so on to *March*; and they seldom produce less than twenty or thirty for one, nay, some a hundred for one, and the maiz four hundred for one; and 'tis very seldom that there is any scarcity of grain, but it is very cheap most commonly.

As for the fruit of the gardens, it is never or rarely sold, but any body may, without hinderance, step into a garden or orchard, and eat what they will; only the strawberries, which they call *Frutilla*, are sold; for though I have seen them grow wild for miles together, yet, being cultivated, they are sold very dear: they are very different from those I have seen here in *Rome*, as well in the taste, as in the smell; and as for their size, they grow to be as big as pears, most commonly red, but in the territory of the *Conception* there are of them white and yellow.

About this time also the herbs that fatten the cattle grow ripe; and then they begin to kill them with great profit, it being the chiefest riches of the country, by reason of the tallow and hides which are sent for *Peru*. They kill thousands of cows, sheep, goats; and the flesh, being so cheap that it is not worth saving, they throw it away into the
sea

sea or rivers, that it may not infect the air; only they salt the tongues and loins of the cows, which they send for Peru as presents to their friends; and they who are able, and understand it, send likewise some dried salt-fish for the king's forces, or keep it to feed their own slaves or servants.

Autumn. Autumn begins about the middle of February; so lent proves the most delicious time of the year; for besides lobsters, oysters, crabs, and other sorts of shell-fish and sea-fish of all kinds, they fish in the ponds and rivers for trouts, *Vagres*, *Pejerreges*, and other very choice river-fish of several kinds; and at the same time there is a great plenty of pulse, and garden-product, as gourds, all sorts of fruit, particularly quinces, which are as big as one's head, and another kind called *Lucumas*, of which they make so many dishes, that the mortification of fasting is hardly perceived.

Time of gathering olives and grapes. Noble and generous wines. In the end of Autumn they begin to gather the olives and the grapes; and this lasts the months of May and June. The wines are most noble and generous, and fam'd by the authors who write of this country: there is such plenty of them, that the

plenty is a grievance, there being no vent OVALLE. 1646. for such quantities: it kills the *Indians*, because when they drink, 'tis without measure, till they fall down; and it being very strong, it burns up their inward parts: the best kind is the *Muscatel*. I have seen some that look like water; but their operation is very different in the stomach, which they warm like brandy.

There are white wines also very much *White* valued; as those of the grapes called *Uha* *wines.* *Torrontes*, and *Albilla*: the red and deep-colour'd are made of the ordinary red grape, and the grape called *Mollar*. The bunches of grapes are so large, that they cause admiration; particularly I remember one, which, because of its monstrous bigness, was by its owner (a gentleman) offer'd to our lady's shrine: it was so big as to fill a basket, and to feed the whole convent of friers for that meal, and they are pretty numerous. The branches of the vines are by consequence very big, and the trunk or body of them is in some places as thick as a man's body, and no man can compass with extended arms the heads of them, when they are in full bloom.

C H A P. IV.

Of the natural Riches of the Kingdom of Chile; which are its Mines of Gold, and other Metals; as also of the industrious Management of its other Product.

Two sorts of riches.

THE riches of *Chile* are of two sorts: first, those which nature has bestowed on it, without the help of human industry; and, secondly, those which have been produced and invented by the inhabitants, to improve and enjoy its fertility. To the first kind belong its mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, quick-silver, and lead, with which heaven has enriched it. Of the copper of *Chile* are made all the great guns for *Peru* and the neighbouring kingdoms, in the garrisons of which there are always stores, particularly on the coasts: all the bells of the churches, and utensils for families, are of this metal; so that since the working of these mines, no copper has come from *Spain*; for the *Indies* are sufficiently supplied by them with all they can want.

Little lead, and less quick-silver.

There is little lead work'd, because there is little use of it; quick-silver less, because the mines are but newly discovered; and as they were going to work them, the obstacle to those of *Guancablica* in *Peru* was removed, and so there was no need of working those of *Chile*. Those of silver likewise lie unwrought, because the golden mines are of less charge, and so every body has turned their industry to-

wards them: they are so many, and so rich, that from the confines of *Peru* to the extreamest parts of this kingdom, as far as the streights of *Magellan*, there is no part of the country but they discover them; which made father *Gregory* of *Leon*, in his map of *Chile*, say, That this country ought rather to have been called a plate of gold, than to go about to reckon up its golden mines, which are innumerable.

All the authors who have writ of this country, do mightily enlarge upon its riches; and the same is done by all those who have navigated the streights of *Magellan*: *Antonio de Herrera*, in his general history of the *Indies*, says, That in all the *West-Indies*, no gold is so fine as that of *Valdivia* in *Chile*, except the famous mine of *Carabaya*; and that when those mines were first work'd, (which was before those *Indians* who are now at peace with us were at war,) an *Indian* among them did use to get from them every day 20 or 30 *peso's* of gold, which comes to near 500 reals of plate, and was a wonderful gain.

And the already-cited *John* and *Theodore Great de Brye* say, That when the *Nodales* passed plenty of the streights of *St. Vincent*, otherwise *Gold*, called

1646. *OVALLE*. called freights of *Le Maire*, there came some *Indians* from the country called *La Tierra del Fuego*, who exchanged with the *Spaniards* a piece of gold of a foot and a half long, and as broad, for scissars, knives, needles, and other things of little value; for they do not value it as we do. Other authors say, that most of the gold that was laid up in the *Incas* treasure, was brought to him from *Chile*, though having never subjected the *Araucanos*, he could not have that quantity which this rich country would else have afforded.

But what need I weary myself in citations of people abroad, when those who live in the country of *Chile*, and see it every day, are the best testimony of the great riches that the *Spaniards* have drawn from these mines; which was so great, that I have heard the old men say, That in their feasts and entertainments they us'd to put gold-dust in their salt-sellers, instead of salt; and that when they swept the house, the servants would often find grains of gold in the sweepings, which they would wash out, for the *Indians* being the persons that brought it to their lords, they would often let some fall.

Gold more plenty than silver. I have said before, that it was much more easy to get gold than silver out of the mines, because this last costs much pains; first, to dig it from the hard rock, then to beat it in the mills to powder, which mills are chargeable, as is also the quick-silver, necessary to be us'd to make the silver unite, and all the rest of the operations requisite to refine it; but the advantage of getting gold has no other trouble in it, than to carry the earth in which it is found to the water, and there wash it in mills on purpose, with a stream which carries off the earth, and the gold, as being heaviest, goes to the bottom.

'Tis true, that sometimes they follow the gold vein through rocks and hard places, where it grows thinner and thinner, till at last the profit that arises is very small; yet they persist to follow it, in hopes it will grow larger, and end at last in that which they call *Bolsa*, which is, when coming to a softer and easier part of the rock, the vein enlarges so, that one of these hits is enough to enrich a family for all their lives. There is now less gold found than formerly, by reason of the war the *Spaniards* have had with the nation of *Araucanos*; but still some is found, particularly in *Cochimbo*, where, in the winter, when it rains much, is the great harvest of gold; for by the rain the mountains are wash'd away, and the gold is easier to come at. There is likewise some gold in the territory of the *Conception*; in which I was told, by a captain who enter'd into our

society, That there was, not above half a league from the town, a pond, or standing-water, which is not deeper than half the height of a man; and that when the *Indians* have nothing to spend, they send their wives to this pond; and they going in, feel out with their toes the grains of gold; and as soon as they have found them, they stoop and take them up. They do this till they have got to the value of two or three *peso's* of gold; and then they seek no longer, but go home, and do not return for any more as long as that lasts; for they are not a covetous people, but are content to enjoy, without laying up.

A peso is about the value of eight shillings.

I brought with me to *Italy*, one of these grains thus found, of a pretty reasonable bigness; and sending it at *Seville* to be touch'd, without either putting it in the fire, or using other proofs, it was allowed to be of twenty three carats, which is a very remarkable thing. Now the peace is made, and the warlike *Indians* quiet, the *Spaniards* may return to search for the gold of *Valdivia*, and other mines thereabouts, which will extremely increase the riches of the country.

As for the product made by the industry of the inhabitants, it consists particularly in the breed of their cattle of all kinds, as I have observ'd above; sending the tallow, hides, and dried flesh, for *Lima*; where having first retain'd the necessary proportion for themselves, which is about twenty thousand quintals of tallow every year for that city, and hides accordingly, they distribute the rest all over *Peru*: the hides, particularly, are carried up to *Potosi*, and all that inland tract of mines, where most of their cloathing comes from *Chile*; they are also carried to *Panama*, *Cartagena*, and the rest of that continent; some of this trade extends itself likewise to *Tucuman* and *Buenos Aires*, and from thence to *Brazil*.

Breeding of cattle the chief product of Chile.

The second product is the cordage and tackling, with which all the ships of the *South-Seas* are furnish'd from *Chile*; as also the match for fire-arms, with which all the king's garrisons along the coast are provided from those parts; for the hemp which makes the first material of all these provisions, grows no where in the *West-Indies* but in *Chile*: there is also packthread exported, and other smaller cordage.

Cordage, tackling for ships, and match for fire-arms.

The third product is mules, which are sent to *Potosi*, through the desert of *Araucama*.

Mules.

The fourth product is the cocoa-nuts, which are the fruit of the palm-trees; and do not, indeed, proceed from industry, but grow wild in the mountains, without any cultivation, so thick, that I have seen several

Cocoa-nuts.

Almonds. several leagues of this tree. Almonds likewise, and the product of gardens, which do not grow in *Peru*, are carried thither with great profit, so as to be able to set up a young beginner. When I came to *Lima*, I observed that the annifeed which had been bought at *Chile* for two pieces of eight, was sold there for twenty; and the cummin-feed, bought at twenty, was sold for fourscore; which makes merchants very willing to trade to those parts, as hoping to grow rich in a small Time; and this increases the riches of *Chile*, by drawing every day thither men with good stocks. The gains made this way are so considerable, that a man who has about forty thousand crowns to employ in land, flocks, and slaves, to take care of them, may every year have a revenue of ten or twelve thousand crowns, which is a gain of *twenty five per cent.* very lawful, and without any trouble to one's conscience, or subjection to the dangers of the seas: for those who will run the hazards of that element gain much more; for the merchants, by many commodities, get a hundred, and two hundred, nay, three hundred *per cent.* in a navigation of about three weeks, which is the time usually employed from *Chile* to *Lima*, without any fear of pirates, all those seas being entirely the king of *Spain's*, and so free from those robbers. Besides, 'tis very seldom that any storms are felt in that voyage, or, at least, not any that endanger the loss of the ships. The greatest danger proceeds from the covetousness of the owners and merchants, who trusting to the peaceableness of those seas, and that they sail all the way from *Chile* to *Lima* before the wind, they load up to the mid-mast. 'Tis not exaggeration; because I have seen them go out of the port with provisions for the voyage, and other necessaries, as high as the ropes that hold the masts; and though the king's officers are present to hinder the ships from being overloaded, yet generally they are so deep in the water, that they are but just above it; and with all these, there are many goods left behind in the magazines of the port; for the land is so productive of every thing,

Great encouragement to merchants.

that the only misfortune of it, is to want a vent for its product, which is enough to supply another *Lima*, or another *Potosi*, if there were one. OVALLE.
1646.

'Tis upon this foundation, that 'tis affirmed generally, that no country in all *America* has a more solid establishment than *Chile*; for in proportion to the increase of inhabitants in *Peru*, *Chile* must increase too in riches, since it is able to supply any great consumption, and yet have enough of its own in all the kinds of corn, wine, flesh, oil, salt, fruits, pulse, wool, flax, hides, tallow, chamois, leather, ropes, wood, and timber, medicinal remedies, pitch, fish of all kinds, metals of all sorts, and amber. There wants silk; and 'tis to be wished that it may never get thither, but for ornament to the altars; for it is already the beggering of the country, by reason of the great expence in rich cloaths; particularly by the women, who are not outdone in this, even by the bravest ladies of *Madrid*, or other parts; but yet the land is so proper for silk-worms, that if any one carries the seed of them there, I am persuaded it will take with great abundance, the mulberry-trees being there already as full grown, and in as great beauty as in *Spain*.

The wax likewise comes from *Europe*, though there are bees who make both honey and wax. Pepper, and other *east-india* spices, come from abroad, though there is a kind of spice which supplies the want of them very well; and the authors above cited say, That in the streights of *Magellan*, there is good cinnamon; and that on those coasts there grow trees of a most fragrant smell in their bark, and which have a taste like pepper, but of a more quick favour, as it shall be made out when we treat of that streight.

In the whole kingdom, the herbage and the fishing are in common; as also the hunting; and the woods for fuel and timber; and the same is practised as to the salt mines. There is no imposition on trade through all the kingdom, every one being free to transport what goods he pleases, either within or without the kingdom. *Herbage, fishing, hunting, woods for fuel, and salt mines, all in common.*

CHAP. V.

Of the Famous Cordillera of Chile.

Description of the Cordillera.

THE *Cordillera*, or high mountains of *Chile*, are a prodigy of nature, and without parallel in the world: 'Tis a chain of high mountains, which run from north to south from the province of *Quito*, and the new kingdom of *Granada*, to *Chile*,

above a thousand *Castilian* leagues, according to *Antonio de Herrera*, in his third tome, *Decade 5.* to which adding the length of the kingdom of *Chile* to the streights of *Magellan*, it will make in all little less than 1500 leagues. The remotest part of *Chile*

OVALLE. is not above twenty or thirty leagues from the sea. These mountains are forty leagues broad; with many precipices, and intermediate valleys, which are habitable till one comes to the tropicks; but not beyond them, because of the perpetual snows with which they are always covered.

Antonio de Herrera, already cited, puts two chains of mountains; one much lower, covered with woods and handsome groves, because the air is more temperate near it; the other much higher, which by reason of the intense cold, has not so much as a bush on it, the mountains being so bare, that there is neither plant nor grass on them: but he says, that on both these sorts of mountains there are several animals, which because of the singularity of their kinds, I shall here describe some of them.

Description
of several
animals.

Hogs.

One of the most remarkable, is a species of hogs, that have their navel in their back, upon the back-bone: they go in herds, and each herd has its leader, who is known from them all; because when they march, none dares go before him, all the rest follow in great order. No hunter dares fall on these herds till he has killed this captain, or leader; for as long as they see him, they will keep together, and shew so much courage in their own defence, that they appear invincible; but as soon as they see him killed, they are broke, and run for it, giving up the day, till they chuse another captain.

Their way of eating is also admirable: they divide themselves into two bodies; one half of them goes to certain trees which are in a country called *Los Quixos*, in the Province of *Quito*, and are like the cinnamon-trees: these they shake to bring down the flowers, which the other half feeds on; and when they have eat enough, they go and relieve the other half of the flock, and make the flowers fall for them; and so return the service to their companions, that they have received from them.

Monkeys.

There are many sorts of monkeys, who differ mightily in their shapes, colour, and bigness, and other Properties: some are merry; some melancholy and sad; these whistle, the others chatter; some are nimble, others lazy; some cowards, others stout and courageous; but yet when one threatens them, they get away as fast as they can. Their food is fruit and birds-eggs, and any game they can catch in the mountains: they are very much afraid of water; and if they happen to wet or dirty themselves, they grow dejected and sad. There are also great variety of parrots.

Goats.

The wild goats are numerous: they are called *Vicunnas*, and have so fine hair, that it seems as soft as silk to the touch: this is used to make the fine hats so much valued

in *Europe*. There are likewise a sort of sheep of that country, they call *Quanacos*, which are like camels, but a good deal less, of whose wool they make waistcoats, which are woven in *Peru*, and are more valued than if they were of silk, for their softness, and the fineness of their colours.

The same author says, moreover, That ^{Two famous} through this chain of mountains there went ^{highways.} two highways, in which the *Ingas* shewed their great power; one of them goes by the mountain all paved for nine hundred leagues, from *Posto* to *Cbile*: it was five and twenty foot broad, and at every four leagues were noble buildings; and to this day there are the places called *Tambos*, which answer our inns, where every thing necessary is to be found by travellers; and that which was most admirable, at each half-league there were couriers and posts, who were designed for the conveniency of passengers, that they might send their letters and advices where they were requisite. The other way, which was also of twenty-five foot broad, went by the plain at the foot of the mountains, with the same proportion and beauty of inns and palaces at every four leagues, which were enclosed with high walls; as also streams and rivolets running through this way, brought thither by art, for the refreshment and recreation of travellers.

This is what *Antonio de Herrera*, and other authors, who treat of the *Indies*, do tell us about this famous *Cordillera*: now I shall relate what I myself have seen, and do know about it.

And first, I must suppose, that though these two highways run separate and distinct through all *Peru* and *Quito*, yet they must grow nearer each other as they rise higher in the mountain; for when they come to *Cbile*, they are no longer two, but one. This is clearly found, by experience, in those who cross the *Cordillera*, to go from *Cbile* to *Cuyo*, as I have done several times, that I have passed this mountain, and never could see this division, but always continual and perpetual mountains, which serve for walls and fortifications on each side to one which rises in the middle infinitely higher than the rest, and is that which most properly is called the *Cordillera*. I am also persuaded, that the two ways above mentioned came but to the boundaries of *Cbile*, and ended in those of *Peru*. I have, indeed, in passing the *Cordillera*, met with great old walls of stone on the top of it, which they call the *Ingas*; which, they say, were encampments, (though not his, for he never came to *Cbile*;) but of his generals and armies sent to conquer the country; and 'tis not impossible but the said two ways might be continued on to these buildings; but it was not practicable, that it could be with that

perfection, as in that part of the mountain contained within the tropicks; where because the hills are more tractable, such ways might be made as they describe; but not in the mountains of *Chile*, which are one upon another so thick, that it is with great difficulty that a single mule can go in the paths of it: and the *Cordillera* grows rougher and rougher; the more it draws nearer the pole, so that it appears to be above the compass of human power to open a way through it, so curious and finely contrived as it is represented. It was not necessary that the *Inga* should use so much art and industry, to make admirable that which is already so much so, as this mountain is in its whole course through the kingdom of *Chile*, as it shall be shewed when we discourse in particular of its several parts and properties. For, first, supposing what we have said of its running fifteen hundred leagues in length, and forty in diameter, its wonderful height makes it astonishing: the ascent is so prodigious, that we employ three or four days in arriving to the top of it, and as many more in the descent, that is, speaking properly, and only of the mountain, for otherwise it may be affirmed, that one begins to mount even from the sea-side, because all the way, which is about forty leagues, is nothing but an extended shelving coast; for which reason the rivers run with such force, that their streams are like mill-streams, especially near their heads.

Sudden
change of
air.

When we come to ascend the highest point of the mountain, we feel an air so piercing and subtle, that 'tis with much difficulty we can breath, which obliges us to fetch our breath quick and strong, and to open our mouths wider than ordinary, applying to them likewise our handkerchiefs to condense our breath, and break the extrem coldness of the air, and so make it more proportionable to the temperament, which the heart requires, not to be suffocated: This I have experienced every time that I have passed this mighty mountain.

Don *Antonio de Herrera* says, That those who pass it in *Peru*, suffer great reachings and vomitings; because no one thing produces so great an alteration at once, as a sudden change of air; and that of the mountain being so unproportioned to common respiration, produces in those who pass over it those admirable and painful effects. He says moreover, that those who have endeavoured to dive into the causes of them, do find, That as that mountain is one of the highest in the world, the air of it is so extrem subtle and fine, that it discomposes the temperament of the animal, as has been said. 'Tis true, that in that part of the *Cordillera* in *Peru*, which they call *Pariacaca*, there may be a concurrence of other causes

and disposition of the climate, to which OVALLE. may be attributed some of these effects; for 1646. if they were to be attributed only to the height of the mountain, we that pass it in *Chile* ought to find those inconveniencies as much, or more, because the mountain is highest without comparison; and yet I never endured those reachings or vomitings, nor have seen any of those motions in others, but only the difficulty of breathing, which I have mentioned.

Others experience other effects, which Exhalations and other meteors. I have often heard them relate; for the exhalations, and other meteors, (which from the earth seem so high in the air, that sometimes we take them for stars,) are there under the feet of the mules, frightening them, and buzzing about their Ears. We go through the mountains treading, as it were, upon clouds; sometimes we see the earth without any opposition to our sight, and when we look up, we cannot see the heavens for clouds; but when we are ascended to the highest of the mountain, we can no longer see the earth for the clouds below, but the heavens are clear and bright, and the sun bright and shining out, without any impediment to hinder us from seeing its light and beauty.

The *Iris*, or *Rainbow*, which upon the Rainbow. earth we see crossing the heavens, we see it from this height extended under our feet; whereas those on the lower parts see it over their heads: nor is it a less wonder, that while we travel over those hills which are dry and free from wet, we may see, as I have done often, the clouds discharge themselves, and overflow the earth with great force; and at the same time that I was contemplating, at a distance, tempests and storms falling in the valleys and deep places, as I lifted up my eyes to heaven, I could not but admire the serenity over my head, there being not so much as a cloud to be seen, to trouble or discompose that beautiful prospect.

The second thing which makes this Snow. mountain admirable, is the prodigious snow which falls upon it in winter, which is so great, that though these mountains are so high and broad, there is no part of them uncovered with snow, being in many places several pikes deep. I am not informed how it is in the highest part of all, which is most properly called the *Cordillera*, because this being so very high, that it is thought to surpass the middle region of the air, its point alone may perhaps be uncovered; at least, when I passed it, which has been sometimes in the beginning of winter, I have not seen a crum of snow; when a little below, both at the coming up and going down, it was so thick, as our mules sunk in without being able to go forward.

But

OVALLE. But that which I have observed, is, That after a glut of rain, which has lasted two or three days, and the mountain appears clear, (for all the time it rains 'tis covered with clouds,) it seems white from top to bottom, and is a most beautiful sight; for the air is so serene in those parts, that when a storm is over, the heavens are so bright, even in the midst of winter, that there is

1646.
The Cordillera white from top to bottom after a glut of rain.

not a cloud to be seen in them for many days; then the sun shining upon that prodigious quantity of snow, and those coasts and white shelvings all covered with extended woods, produces a prospect which, even we that are born there, and see it every year, cannot forbear admiring, and draws from us praises to the great creator for the wonderful beauty of his works.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Vulcanos, and the Mines of Gold and Silver of the Cordillera.

Vulcanos: **T**HERE are in this *Cordillera*, or chain of mountains, sixteen *Vulcanos* which at several times have broke out, and caused effects no less admirable than terrible and astonishing to all the country: amongst the rest, that which happened in the year 1640. is worthy to be remembered. It broke out in the enemy's country, in the territory of the *Cacique Aliante*, burning with so much force, that the mountain cleaving in two, sent forth pieces of rock all on fire, with so horrible a noise, that it was heard many leagues off, just like the going off of cannon. In all that territory the women miscarried for fear, as shall be related more particularly in its proper place, in the account I shall give of the subjection of all that country to our catholick king, being moved thereunto by this and other prodigies.

The first of these *Vulcanos* is called the *Vulcano of Copiapo*, and is in about twenty six degrees altitude of the pole, about the confines of *Chile* and *Peru*; in thirty degrees is that of *Coquimbo*; in thirty one and a half that of *La Ligua*; in thirty five that of *Peteroa*; in thirty six and a half that of *Chilau*; in thirty seven and a quarter that of *Antoco*: this is followed by that of *Notuco* in thirty eight and a half; that of *Villarica* is in thirty nine and three quarters; near this is another, whose name I know not, in forty and a quarter; and in forty one is that of *Ojorno*; and near that, in less than a quarter of a degree, that of *Guanabuca*; and in a little more than forty two degrees that of *Quebucabi*: and last of all are two more; one without a name, in forty four; and that of *St. Clement*, which is in forty-five and a half.

These are the known *Vulcanos of Chile*: we have no knowledge of others, which may be as far as the *Tierra del Fuego*, because till this time our discoveries have not gone so far; but there is no doubt but there are some, as they are to be found before one comes to *Chile*, in the kingdoms of *Peru* and *Quito*. *Diego Ordonnes de Salvos*, in the third book and eighteenth chapter of

his *Voyage through the whole World*, mentions, among the rest, one that is near the fall of the river, in the valley of *Cola*; and says, it is on a mountain in the form of a sugar-loaf, like that of *La Plata* in *Potosi*; and that in winter it throws out so much smoak and ashes, that it burns up all the grass within two leagues round about it.

He likewise mentions another in the entrance of the province of *Los Quixos*, near the town of *Maspa*; and speaks of another, which broke out near *Quito*, in a mountain called the *Pinta*: and he affirms, that the ashes fly two leagues and a half from the mountain; and he has seen them lie on the houses above four foot deep in the nearest places to the mountain.

Lastly, he tells of that of *Ariquipa*, which buried the vineyards, and had almost overwhelm'd the city. To this day there are seen the effects of that desolation, which ruined many families, by destroying their houses and possessions. At the same time he observes, that the earthquakes which before were frequent, ceased from that time; and this perhaps may be the reason why the earthquakes in *Chile* have always been considerably less than those of *Peru*, because *Chile* has more breathing holes for the vapours to exhale by.

There is no room for doubting of the immense riches which these mountains enclose in their bowels; for 'tis a certain argument, and proof of it, to see only the mineral riches of *Chile*, which are, as it were, indexes of what may be contained in those rocks, as the rivers which fertilize the country are a proof of the unexhausted fountains contained in the rocks and precipices.

I think there may be two causes assigned, why these riches do not manifest themselves, nor appear more: the first is, that general reason, and inviolable maxim among the *Indians*, to conceal and not discover them to any other nation. This they observe so punctually, that it is among them a capital crime, punishable with death, to break silence in this matter, which they make sacred and indispenfible; and if any one

The concealing of treasure from all foreign nations, is a maxim of state among the Indians.

one among them, either out of interest, negligence, or any other motive of conveniency, discovers any thing of this kind, his death is infallible, and no power on earth can save him.

A remarkable relation of a journey undertaken in search of some rich mines.

I remember on this subject, that some gentlemen having, by presents, insinuations, and flatteries, come to the knowledge of some treasure by the means of an *Indian*, and prevailed with him at last to guide them to some very rich mines in a remote mountain, he begg'd earnestly of them to be secret, or otherwise he was a dead man, let them take never so much care of him. They promised him accordingly, and so they set out, and he brought them through horrid rocks and precipices, where it look'd as if never man had set his foot, nor scarce any living animal. Every day they met with certain marks, which the *Indian* had told them of beforehand: First, after so many days they discovered a red mountain; and then at certain distance from that a black one on the left-hand; then a valley, which began from a monstrous high mountain or rock; then at so many leagues a mountain of chalk. All which signs the guide went shewing them, verifying thereby the relation he had given them beforehand, and comforting them up to endure the hardship, by the hopes of fulfilling at last their expectation, and seeing their labour rewarded.

Their provisions failed them, and they were forced to come back to provide more, to pursue their enterprize. The *Indian* was always in fear of being discovered, knowing that he run in that no less a hazard than that of his life. They returned then to a town; and to secure their *Indian* from his fright of being discovered, they locked him up in a room very safe; but the night before they were to set out again, without ever being able to discover how it was done, (for there was no signs by the door of any body's going in that way,) as they went to call the *Indian* in the morning, they found him strangled; by which means, being deprived of their intent, and having lost the hopes of satisfying their desire, they returned to their own homes, though with a resolution to try again, being encouraged by so much as they had already discovered.

The other reason to be assign'd for not seeking after these mines, is the great plenty of every thing necessary for life; so that hunger, which is the prompter of covetous desires, being wanting, there are few that care to run a hazard, and lose their conveniencies at home, to go through impracticable defarts upon search after hidden treasure; particularly finding already so much in the valleys bottoms, rivers,

and fountains; nay, even these mines in the low countries are not wrought, because the profit of other products is easier. 'Tis probable that people will increase; for every day there is a new addition; and there then being more consumers, the product of the land will be dearer; and provisions not being so cheap as now, men will be more ingenious and industrious to seek for sustenance under ground, by the mines and treasures hid there by providence.

These few years last past have given beginning to a discovery of some *gokku* mines, and silver ones, on each side of the *Cordillera*: for as I passed over it once, I remember that the sight discovers a black mountain at a distance, whose top shines as if it were covered with silver; and it is a common tradition that it contains it, and great treasures besides, in its bowels; but they are at present useless, for the reasons alledged; and because one half of the year the mountain is covered with snow, and so not only uninhabitable, but impenetrable.

They write me word, that on the side of the province of *Cuyo*, they have begun to discover other very rich mines, which being below the roughest part of the mountain, may be wrought all the year round, and with great conveniency of the miners, and other necessary workmen, because carts may come to the very situation of the mine, which is of consideration for the price of the metal. They speak of it with great expectation, by reason of the good proofs they have already had in the assaying of it in small quantities.

Discovery of several very rich mines.

Besides the mines of gold, and silver, and brass, and lead, which are work'd in *Coquimbo*, and those of quick-silver, which have been discovered within these few years in *Lamache*, which is a valley in *Chile*, I do not know of any others of any other sort in this *Cordillera*. I am verily persuaded there are some of chrystal; for, considering the nature of the place, I cannot think there is one any where more proper. Being in the valley of *Rancagua*, I heard one of our nation tell an *Indian*, that upwards in the mountain he had found a great deal of chrystal: he hearing this, out of curiosity went up to see what it was; and I heard him tell, that after having gone over several rocks, he saw on the top of a precipice a great opening, and that drawing near to it, he saw a profound cave, and in the bottom of it a great plank or table of chrystal, which appeared to him of the finest sort; but wanting help and instruments to get it out, he returned with only this information, and some little pieces of a chrystal stone which he found on the top.

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C H A P. VII.

Of the Fountains, Rivers, and Brooks of the Cordillera.

Vast number of fountains, springs, brooks, and rivers.

THAT which contributes not a little to the admiration we have for this great chain of mountains, is the vast number of fountains, springs, brooks, and rivers, which we meet with ever and anon, when we go over it: they are so numerous, that 'tis a thing rather to be seen than related, though the travellers reap but little benefit by the curious observation of them; for by them the ways are the most broken and troublesome that 'tis possible to imagine: they last about eight days journey. One must suppose too, that the summer is pretty well enter'd; for in winter they are absolutely impassable, and in the spring not without evident danger of one's life; because one travels all the way on a path so narrow, that there is but just room for a mule's feet. On one side are prodigious precipices, which have at the bottom a furious and profound river; and on the other hand huge rocks, and some part of them standing out so, that if the mule's loading, (as it often happens, and I have seen it,) touches part of them, it throws down the mule headlong, and sends her rowling down till she comes to the river at the bottom, which carries her away to the sea without stopping, except it happen upon some turning of the river to get it on shoar; where, though the lading may be saved, yet not the mule's life, because it is impossible almost to get her up again.

Many places scarcely passable.

In many places one is forced to lide; and even a man on foot is not very safe, because some of the coasts are so streight and slippery, that it frights one to walk on them. The ascents and descents of the hills are so steep, that when from below one looks at those who are above, they look like figures; and for my part I thought it a temerity, if not an impossibility, to venture to get up to them.

Rapid rivers.

The brooks and rivers which cross the ways every step are so violent, that there is no head so strong, but it turns to look on their current; which is so swift, that if it comes up to the mule's saddle, there is no passing without evident danger of one's life; for these streams coming from on high, have the strength of a mill-stream, carrying along with them loose stones, which overturn a loaded mule as it were a chicken; so that 'tis necessary sometimes to stay two or three days till the sun does not shine; for then these brooks are lower, because there is less snow melted: and for this reason 'tis always best to pass early in the

morning, they having had all the night to run lower.

It was necessary for an allay of the dangers and irksomeness of these ways, that God should temper the rigour of the sufferings, by the variety and diversion which so many waters give in their rise and course: some are to be seen breaking out from almost an imperceptible height, and meeting with no intermediate object, the whole mass of water, which is usually very great, dissolves itself by the way into so many drops, which make a lovely prospect, like so much pearl falling; and being mingled by the force of the air, which drives them across one upon the other, it seems a chain hanging from its first issue to the earth; where, taking another shape, it becomes a running brook, and unites with the current of the chief river which runs in the middle.

The great variety of waters very diverting.

I saw others, which, before they got to the earth, divided into two branches, forming like a thick shower in the midst of the way, or atoms in the sun-beams; but 'tis impossible to paint all the variety of objects produced by these several motions and compositions of streams and fountains. I cannot leave them without mentioning one called the *Eyes of Water*, which is very remarkable; 'tis in the last *mesa* but one, at the foot of the mountain. I called it *mesa*, because providence has, for the relief of travellers, disposed, at some leagues distance, little valleys and agreeable plains, which ease the travellers in this most tedious and long ascent.

Los ojos de agua, or springs.

This valley is environed with a wall of most prodigious high rocks; it may be a mile or thereabouts in its diameter, and is all the year round full of greens, odoriferous plants and flowers, which make it a picture of paradise: in the midst of it springs up this fountain, or fountains, because the springs of water are many that rise from the ground all about, leaping with great force into the air, which in a little space all unite, and make two great bodies, each of them full of water, as clear as chrystal. These two heads begin a kind of combat a little below, and mingling in their course with one another, as if some ingenious artist had ordered it, make a great many turnings and windings, sometimes far from one another, and sometimes united through the whole valley, till at the end of it, joining together, they fall into one canal, which empties itself into the principal river, composed by many of these rivulets.

One

*The waters
extream*

One property of all these chrystal streams, is extream coolness, which they never lose, no, not when the sun shines out most in the heat of the day; it is such, that no body can drink half a cup full of it without resting, or taking breath; and though all these springs have this quality, yet none in so intense a degree as this fountain of *Los ojos de aqua*; of which, though the weather be never so hot, 'tis not possible to drink above two or three sups; and one can hardly endure to hold the water in one's hand above a minute.

Behind one of those high mountains which is to the east of this fountain, there is a great lake or pond, so deep and clear, that it appears as if it were of azure; and there is a tradition, that the last of the *Ingas*, kings of *Peru*, caused vast quantities of treasure to be thrown into it, when he saw that he could not redeem himself, nor save his life by them; though it seems hard to believe they should go so far to do a thing they might have executed much nearer home. The waters of this lake have no issue, being environed on all sides with very high rocks, and therefore 'tis thought that it comes under ground to those fountains called the *Ojos de aqua*, and empties itself by them.

*Rio de
Mendoza.*

I cannot pass over in silence another fountain which is at the foot of the *Cordillera*, on the other side towards *Cuyo*. There is a river called the *Rio de Mendoza*, which comes down from the east, not inferior to that of *Aconagua* in *Chile*, which runs to the west into the south sea. Into these two rivers are emptied most of the little streams of the mountain; that of *Mendoza* meeting in its way with a chalky mountain, bores it quite through, and leaves a bridge broad enough for three or four carts to pass a-breast. Under this bridge is a great table of rock, over which run five different streams of water, proceeding from so many fountains; which water is extream hot, and very good for many distempers. The stones over which it runs are of a green, like emerald. The vault of this bridge surpasses in beauty all that human art can produce; for there hang down from it several icicles, in shapes of flowers, and pendants of a stone like salt; for the humidity which penetrates from above, makes it congeal like points of diamonds, and

other figures, which adorn this vault; OVALIA
1646. through which there falls perpetually a quantity of great drops, as big as pale some, and others as big as yolks of eggs; which falling upon the stone table I have mentioned, are turned into stones of several shapes and colours, of no small value.

There is another bridge on the other side, call'd the *Inga's* bridge, either because he caus'd it to be built; or because (as is more probable) his generals were the first discoverers of it, and pass'd over it; for it is not possible that any human art could make so bold an attempt as has been brought to pass by the author of nature in this place. This bridge is form'd by a most prodigious high rock, which is cloven in two, as if it had been sawed down, only cover'd on top: it is hollow to the very river, which is large and rapid, and yet the noise of it is no more heard on the top, than if it were a little brook; which is a strong argument of the great distance there is between the top and the bottom of the mountain; for the opening not being above eight foot over, it being easy to leap from one side to the other, it would be thought, that a great river being so streightened as to go through it, should make a very great noise in passing such a streight place with so much force; and if the noise does not reach the ear, 'tis because of the great distance. I myself have gone to the side of this bridge, and look'd down, (though with great horror, for it strikes a shivering into one, to contemplate such a depth, than which I have not seen a more terrible one;) I not only did not hear any noise, but that great river appear'd a little brook, hardly to be discern'd.

These are the entertainments for the eye in passing this part of the *Cordillera*: as for the many others which may be met with in so vast an extent, who can relate them? I believe there are those who know much more than what I have here describ'd, which is only what I have seen; but from so little 'tis easy to infer more; for if only the rise of two rivers have afforded such matter of admiration, what may not be produced in the birth and course of so many others, as we shall describe in the following chapter?

CHAP. VIII.

Of the vast Number of Rivers which take their Rise in this Mountain, and empty themselves into the Sea.

THE great author of nature has founded the best part of the beauty and fecundity of the fields of *Chile* in this

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range of mountains call'd the *Cordillera*, in which, as in a bank that can never break, he has deposited its treasure and riches, by assuring

OVALLE 1646. assuring the annual tribute of so many brooks and ample rivers which are to fertilize the earth; for neither can the country maintain its fertility without such moisture, nor such a moisture maintain itself all the year without such quantities of snow, as are laid up in the deep hollows of it in the winter, to feed in the summer the many rivers that are derived from it.

Who can demonstrate the number of them at their rise? But one may guess at the prodigious quantity of snow which supplies them; for though it cannot be seen all in a mass, because its reservoirs are impenetrable, yet its effects do manifest it; for besides the feeding of innumerable rivers which run to the east, and empty themselves into the north sea, and supplying prodigious lakes in the province of *Cuyo*, those which run to the west, and enter the south-sea, (not reckoning what may be by the straits of *Magellan*, and the *Tierra del Fuego*.) are above fifty, which may be well multiplied by four a-piece more which they receive, and so make two hundred; which arrive at the sea so full and deep, that some of them have water enough for the navigation of the galleons and ships of great burden; which is the more to be admir'd, because their course is so short, the most extended of them not passing thirty leagues in length.

The first river of this kingdom, beginning from the confines of *Peru* about the 25th degree of latitude, is the river called the *Salt River*, which comes from the *Cordillera*, running through a deep valley: its waters are so salt, that they cannot be drank; and when sometimes horses, deceived by its pure clear colours, happen to drink of them, they are turned into salt by the heat of the sun, so that the bodies seem of pearl, they beginning to petrify by the rail.

The next to this is the river of *Copiapo*, in 26 degrees; it runs twenty leagues from east to west, and makes a bay at its entrance into the sea, which serves for a harbour for ships. In 28 degrees the river of *Guafo* does the same, and forms a port.

After this comes the river of *Coquimbo* in 30 degrees, whose port is a noble bay adorn'd on the shore with fresh and beautiful myrtles, and other trees, which continue within land as far as the town, and make a noble and pleasant grove, which out-does all the contrivances of art. There are fish'd in this coast tunny-fish, *albucores*, and many sorts of excellent fish, as also oysters, and great variety of shell-fish.

The next to the river of *Coquimbo* are those of *Tongoy* and *Limari* about 30 degrees and a half east: and then in 31 degrees the river of *Cbuapa* empties itself into the sea. Upon that coast there is found

a sort of delicate shell-fish, which they call *jacas*.

Between the one and thirtieth degree, and the two and thirtieth, the rivers *Longotoma* and *La Liga* enter the sea; and about thirty three degrees that of *Aconcagua*, which is the great river which comes down, as we have said, by the way of the *Cordillera*. This is a very deep river; and though it runs through the large valleys of *Curimon*, *Aconcagua*, *Quilota*, and *Concon*, which being cultivated with all kinds of products, particularly wheat, flax, hemp, &c. and by consequence well water'd, yet this river arrives at the sea as full and deep as if they had not drained it by the way to fertilize their fields.

About thirty three and a half, follows the famous river *Maypo*, which I cannot tell whether it be more famous for its good qualities, or for the danger and difficulty of passing it, many having been drowned in it, and every day miscarrying by it. It is of so rapid a current, and sometimes swells so high, that no bridge can resist its fury, but it is carried away by it; for which reason, at this day it has no other but one of many cables join'd together, and lying a-cross from one side to the other. Its waters are ordinarily thick; and it enters the sea with so much force, that it makes its way in it distinct for a good while; its waters are perfectly known from those of the sea by a circle they make: they are besides very cold, and yet it quenches thirst but ill, for it is brackish, which makes the flesh of the sheep which feed near it, to be excellent in taste. There are fish'd here also most excellent fish, particularly trouts, esteem'd all over the country.

There falls into this river, among others, that of *St. Fago*, otherwise called the river of *Mapocho* which is divided into several streams, to water the district of that city; and it does it sometimes more than we could wish, when it overflows. Not far from the city, it hides itself under ground, leaving a bridge of two or three leagues over it, while it maintains a silent course underneath; at the end of this space it comes out in bubbles among a grove of cherry trees, with its waters as clear and purified as chrystal; so that though it seems to hide itself, and die, it is only to spring up again more beautiful and stately, being of a stronger current, before it is again spread and diffused to fertilize the fields. At this place of its second birth, there stands an ancient and illustrious convent of *St. Francis*, which, because it is within sight of a vast forest of trees, is called *St. Francis of the Mountain*, in which there have been, from time

time to time, most holy men of the first founders in that province, and who employ themselves in the worship of God, and help of their neighbours, with great zeal and reputation of their order.

Poangué.

The river of *Poangué*, which falls likewise into *Maypo*, runs also many leagues under ground: this cannot rise with more advantages than at its first fountain; for its waters are, at the very source, so clear, delicate, and sweet, that they cannot be mended; it has not its original like all the rest from snow water, but from minerals of gold, through whose veins it makes its way, as if it had an aqueduct of that precious metal: its course is border'd on each side with most beautiful trees, which contribute to make its waters wholesome: they are indeed of themselves a remedy; for they help digestion so visibly, that if any one has exceeded and eat more than his stomach can well embrace, one draught of this water will relieve him, so that he shall be hungry again in a little time. Neither is it usefess under ground; for while it is there, it communicates it self to the whole valley by subterranean conduits: the effect of which is visible; for though in the summer it does not rain a drop, and the valley has no other watering, yet it brings as seasonable a crop, and as relishing fruit, as any other that has the help of rain and other irrigations; neither have I seen any where larger or more delicious melons, nor more abounding and well grown maiz, than in this valley.

De Colina and Lampa, make the famous lake of Cudaguel.

There are two other rivers which fall into *Maypo*, which are call'd *De Colina* and *Lampa*; which uniting together about ten or twelve leagues from their first rise, make the famous lake of *Cudaguel* so profound and deep, that great ships might swim in it: this lake is about two leagues long, all bordered with delicate willow trees, and other greens, which keep their freshness and greenness all the year round; and, that nothing may be wanting to its agreeableness, it is full of excellent trouts and *vagres*, which sometimes are so plentiful, that they are easily caught; and this uses to be one of the greatest diversions of the citizens of the city of *St. Jago*. There are other lakes, as those of *Aculco*, which empty themselves into this river of *Maypo*, on the contrary side to that of the clear river: there are also bred in it, smelts of above a foot long; the very name in *Spanish* declaring their excellency, it signifying a royal fish: some years there are such plenty of them, that the whole city may keep *Lent* with them alone, without buying any other fish from the sea; which, though it is very good, yet it never attains to the delicacy of the

river fish, which is so sweet and healthy, that it is used to be given to the sick and convalescent. OVALLE. 1646.

After *Maypo*, is the river of *Rapel*, not at all inferior to the other; it enters the sea about the 34th degree, and is many minutes; about four or five leagues before the two famous rivers of *Cachapoal* and *Tinguiritica* join together, and are no less in debt to mankind for the many people they have swallowed, than that of *Maypo*. Among others which increase their rapid current, are the rivers *Mallua* and *Chambaronigo*: on the banks of this the order of the *Redemption* has a convent, for the instruction and edification of all that country. The *Jesuites* have also a novitiate, who have for neighbours a monastery of *St. Dominick*. The lands thereabouts are extream fertile, have excellent pastures for the fattening of cattle, and are much valued all over the country. In thirty four degrees and three quarters is the river *Delora*, which receives those of *Teno*, *Peterroa*, and *Metaquito*, whose stream is so rapid, that many perish in it. These rivers water most rich lands, and a delicious country for the breeding and feeding of all sorts of cattle; and indeed there is not a foot of ground unemployed in them. Rapel, Cachapoal, and Tinguiritica. Mallua and Chambaronigo. Delora, Teno, Peterroa, and Metaquito.

The great *Maule* appears at thirty five degrees; and it makes the limits of the archbishoprick and jurisdiction of the city of *St. Jago*: all that was inclosed between this and *Rapel*, *Cachapoal*, and *Tinguiritica*, was called by the natural *Indians* *Promocaes*, that is, a place of dancing and delight, to express the pleasantness of that country. They were not out in this character at all: I remember once, that travelling in this country, when I came to a farm of any *Spaniard*, he would entertain me with nothing but the praises of it, and that with so many particulars, that I could not imagine it could be out-done by any in the world; but when I came to another farm, the master of it would relate to me such admirable properties of his, that the first seemed but ordinary to me. Thus I found every one so in love with the spot he lived on, that I could not but admire the whole, and have a great idea of the excellency and temperament of this land, as well as of its provisions. Partridge are abounding, and all manner of game; and as for fish, there are such quantities of smelts and trouts, that they take them when they will, being as sure almost to catch them, as if they had them in ponds at home. I have heard them often say, that when they were sat down to table, if any one longed for a fresh trout, they had no more to do, than to send and catch

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Cauquenes.

City of the
Concep-
tion.

Itata.

Nuble.

Bay of the
Concep-
tion.

Biobio.

catch of, which they would have ready dressed before they rise from the table. The river *Maule* receives the clear river, and that of *Cauquenes*; and though it be as deep again as either of them, yet it is less dangerous for passengers, and fewer people are drowned in it; because near the sea, by the yard for building of ships, it spreads itself, and makes a large passage, where the king has a ferry for the conveniency of passengers. The *Austín* friars have also a convent here, and take care of the *Spaniards*; and their black and *Indian* servants, who people all the banks of this river, and are numerous, living in separate farms all along the country: these they call *Estancias*.

Now we enter the jurisdiction of the city of the *Conception*, where the governor resides; and there is a garrison of the militia. The bishoprick of the city of *Imperial* begins also at this river, which has for next and immediate neighbour the peaceable and noble river of *Itata*, three times as large, and as deep as the *Maule*, and enters the sea at about thirty six degrees: its course is among rocks, and so is less useful to the land, because it cannot water it: They pass it upon rafts, and there are also fords in some places. About the middle of its course, the furious torrent called *Nuble* joins it: this washes the walls of the city of *St. Bartholomew of Cbillan*, an ancient garrison of the *Spaniards*, and a singular proof of their bravery and fidelity.

Immediately next to this river is the spacious and agreeable bay of the *Conception*, into which the slow and silent river of *Andalien* empties itself at thirty six degrees and three quarters. There is another small river which passes through the middle of the city, having first precipitated itself from a high rock, and affording matter to the industry of the inhabitants, for all sorts of water-works among pleasant groves of laurels, and myrtles, and other odoriferous plants which adorn its banks; and as it falls from so high, it invites the industrious planters to contrive mills for the sustenance of the city; of which there are already a great many.

Two leagues further from this bay, in the thirty seventh degree, the so-much celebrated *Biobio* enters the sea. It is the most powerful river of all *Chile*: it has at its entrance two or three miles in breadth, more or less, according as it swells or shrinks, which is a great deal, considering its short course: but that is not the chief thing which makes it famous, and deserve so much praise; it is its wholesome waters; for (besides the particular excellency they may acquire, by passing through veins of gold, which nevertheless many other rivers of this

country have too,) it has a singular advantage, by a small river which falls into it; which river, taking its rise and course among *Sarzaparilla* roots, communicates to the other its virtue and good qualities, and makes it a cure for many infirmities. There is a tradition, That at the source of this river there were most rich mines, work'd before ever the *Spaniards* came into these parts. Upon this information, Don *Alonso de Sottomayor*, president of the country, sent a band of soldiers to view them, as they did; though as they came back, they were laid wait for by the *Indians*, our enemies, and had a smart engagement with them, and had much ado to escape with their lives. This *Indian* people do always as much as they can to hide from the *Europeans* the treasures and riches of their country, as it has been said already.

This river is the bounds which divides the *Spaniards* and our *Indian* friends from the *Indian* enemies: in winter the river overflows so, that all the fords are unpassable; and so the soldiers may take some repose till the spring, at which time they are to begin their inroads again. The enemy on his side has no garrison, nor place of strength; for they trust to their mountains, to which they can retire at any time: but the *Spaniards* have many garrisons all along the river, with which they bridge and keep in awe the potent rage of their proud enemy, who alone has given them more trouble than all the rest of *America*.

Their chief forts, besides the cities of the *Conception* and *Cbillan*, are those of *Arauco* and *St. Philip*, in which there are generally about sixteen hundred natural *Spaniards*, besides the *Indian* allies, who are numerous. The first of these is upon the sea-side, and the other nearer the *Cordillera*. There are others between on each side of the river, and some pretty far into the enemies country. I can name nine of these forts; which are, that of *St. Angol*, of the *Nativity*, of *St. Ann*, of *St. Rosendo*, of *Good Hope*, of *Talmacabuida*, of *St. Peter*, of *Colcuta*, and that of *Levo*. These are all provided with great guns, and a sufficient number of soldiers; and at such proportionable distances from each other, that they can soon receive notice of what is necessary to be known from the first to the last by the cannon-shot, according as it may have been concerted beforehand.

The company of *Jesus* has here two residencies, one in *Arauco*, and the other in the fort of *Good Hope*; from whence they also make their attempts, not against the bodies, but to save the souls of their enemies, engaging with hell itself, and obtaining over it daily and glorious victories, as it shall

shall be told in its proper place; for now we must follow the description already begun of the rivers of *Chile*.

Colcura,
Arauco,
Lavapie,
and Levo.

Ralemo, or
Coypo.

Imperial.

Ladies
River.

After *Biobio* follow four others much inferior to it: they are the rivers of *Colcura*, *Arauco*, *Lavapie*, and *Levo*, which empties itself near the thirty eighth degree; and a little further, that of *Ralemo*, which, a little from its source, is called *Coypo*, in near thirty nine degrees. The pleasant and peaceful river of the *Imperial* enters the sea, having first incorporated with its stream, the river called the *Ladies River*, because of the delicacy of its waters and quiet current. More above, nearer its source, it receives

the two rivers of *Curarava* and *Eyow*, ^{ONALLE.} which, before they meet to enter the river ^{1646.} *Imperial*, form the much-celebrated lake of *Puren*, a most unconquerable fortress of the *Indians*, who are more secure in it than the *Spaniards* in any of theirs. ^{Curarava and Eyow form the lake of Puren.}

About half a degree beyond the river *Cauren*, which is the same as the *Imperial*, the river *Tolten* pays its tribute to the sea, ^{Tolten.} and is deep enough for great ships. About eight leagues further the river *Queule* does ^{Queule.} the same; which, though small, yet receives barks in it, and is about nine leagues upon a north and south line from the famous river of *Valdivia*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the famous Port and River of Valdivia.

THE river and port of *Valdivia*, never enough commended by foreign writers, and no less admired by those who have seen it, had its name from *Pedro de Valdivia*, first governor and conqueror of *Chile*. It is, as it were, in the centre of the whole kingdom, at almost forty degrees latitude, south-west from *Seville* in *Spain*; upon a plain map one thousand nine hundred and seventy leagues, measured by the heavens. The sun is five hours, and a third part of an hour, in going from the meridian of *Sevilla*, to the meridian of *Valdivia*; so that when it is noon at *Seville*, 'tis in *Valdivia* six a-clock and forty minutes in the morning. Its longest day is of fourteen hours, or thereabouts.

Description
of the river
of Valdivia.

This river has its opening to the north; and because of the depth of its waters, great ships can go up to the very city, which is two or three leagues from the sea; when they are there, they can lie so near the shoar, as with a plank to go in and out, and take in and unlade their cargo, without the help of boats. There is just over-against the city, a fine island, called the *Island of Constantine*, with two little ones, one before, and the other behind the island. The river is navigable on both sides the island; but because the south branch has more depth, the great ships come in that way, and the lesser by the north branch.

There are two high points of land, like rocks, which mark the entrance of this river; the biggest is to the north, and is called *Bonifacio's Hill*; the south is lesser, and is called *Gonzalo's Hill*. When one is entered some way up the river, there is another streighter passage, which is the key of the port, or rather ports, because there are many harbours within. This entrance has also two hills, which come so near each other, that I have heard a captain, who was sent to sound the river, relate, That in

the middle he was within musket-shot of either hill; the south one is called *Morro de los Mançanos*, and the opposite *Morro de Niera*: so that, according to this account, there might be an iron chain laid from the one to the other, with which, and two forts raised on each side, the entrance would be made impenetrable.

As soon as this streight is passed, there ^{The port:} is on the south side a noble port; for though all the river may be called so, for the quietness of its water, yet this is more advantageously situated, by being covered with the mountains of the land: 'tis called the port of the *Corral*: it forms a bay capable of receiving great fleets. When you have passed this port, there appears the first island; between which and the land on the south-side, there are many shoals and sands; wherefore the ships take the north-side, and go between this island and the great one; and then follow their course up to the city, by the channel of the great island. The lesser vessels may keep the other side of the island.

Besides all these good qualities, this port has other advantages from the land, by the fertility of the country, which produces corn, and fruits of all kinds, except grapes, which do not ripen here so well as in other parts of *Chile*, from which wine is brought to these parts: but it has great plenty of beef and mutton, fowls and venison. It has also wood for the building of shipping; and that which is above all, it has the richest mines of the finest gold in *Chile*; and in all *America* there is none comes up to it, but the gold of *Carabaya*.

This is the account of *Antonio de Herrera*. He adds, That there was an *Indian*, who had every day a revenue of twenty five or thirty *Pesos* of gold; which being observed by the governor *Valdivia*, he sent the *Adelantado Hyeronimo de Alderate* to *Spain*, to inform his catholic majesty of the

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DVALE. the great riches of the kingdom of *Chile*, that his majesty might make the more esteem of it, and to invite foreigners to come and people the country, and help him to conquer it, he sent some *Spaniards* by land, whose stirrups, breast-plates, and all that use to be of iron about a horse, were of fine gold; and that, not satisfied with this, he had resolved to go in person, to inform his majesty, and obtain from him the confirmation of his government: to which end he employed twenty thousand *Indians* to bring him gold, designing to embark and sail through the streights of *Magellan*, if death had not prevented him.

1552. This city was founded by the governor *Valdivia* in the year 1552. upon a high rising, but plain side of a hill, and above the rest of the country.

Recloma,
a famous
Indian lady.
The famous *Indian* lady *Recloma* was very instrumental in helping towards its conquest and foundation. The story was thus: The *Spanish* forces were come to this river, conquering the country all the way before them; but here the *Indians* not being willing to let foreigners settle in their country, took up arms, and making the river serve for their defence, hindred the progress of *Valdivia*, and gave him great trouble. But he being a man of great courage, was not daunted by this resistance, but endeavoured to pass the river to engage the enemy.

Upon this occasion, this brave *Indian* lady, either inspired by heaven, or touched by compassion of so much blood as must be shed on both sides, in the rencounter, offered the governor, that she alone would gain him the victory, without any other force, than that of her eloquence and courageous mind. *Stay here, says she, and go no further; for I will put all this province into thy hands, and will make thee this day, lord of all that thy eyes can discover. Stay for my return here, and do not suffer any of thy soldiers to pass on a step further.* The governor promised to do so; and, upon his word and promise of good treatment to the *Indians* who should submit to his god and his king, she threw herself into the water, and, in the presence of them all, swam the river. When she was landed, she desired audience of the general of the *Indians*: to whom she delivered her message with so much force of eloquence, that they submitting to her reasons, promised to accept of what terms should be given them. With this the famous *Recloma* returned to the *Spaniards*, singing victory, laying at their feet the richest prize they could wish; and such a one, as after much time, expence, and bloodshed in the conquest of it, they would have thought themselves well paid to be masters of such a country, whose golden mines they presently began to work: by which

means the city increased so fast, that if the devil had not troubled the peace, and caused the rebellion of the *Indians*, which ruined it, it had been one of the first and best cities of the *Indies*.

The *Hollanders*, our enemies, are well informed of the nature of the country, and the excellency of the port, and do all they can to get possession of it; but our favour, who by his grace has hitherto preserved those countries free from heresy and its corruption, will not permit, that this *Hydra* of hell shall infect that air with its venomous breath, nor breed a contagion in the purity of its faith, which is propagated so sincere and true in the hearts of those new christians.

This has been proved by the success of a fleet of theirs in the year 1643. when these rebellious pirates passed the streights of *Magellan*, with a design to settle at *Valdivia*; for though in effect they did people the place, having first passed by the islands of *Chiloe*, where our company has so many glorious missions; in which they threw down the altars and the crosses, and committed other enormities proper to their impiety and obstinacy, yet at last they came off no laughers, but had reason to lament rather. The same befel another of their generals, called *Antonio Sivaastro*, many of his fleet being taken prisoners, and thirty of them hung up by the feet, as is related by their own authors, *John* and *Theodore de Brye*.

But in this second occasion, they paid yet more severely for their attempt; for in the very same island, where they had committed all these disorders, God took the life of the general, punishing his unhappy soul with the due chastisement of such an undertaking. They lost the ship which carried their provisions, their ammunition, thirty pieces of artillery, all the brick and lime, and other materials for building three forts, which they had orders to raise in the river of *Valdivia*, and on the island of *Constantine* in that river; and having afterwards got to *Valdivia*, and begun to people, their new general, whose name was *Elvis Aramans*, was forced to shut up all his people in the island of *Constantine*, because they run from him continually, and forsook him; besides the prisoners made in the islands of *Chiloe*, and others destroyed by us, and the warlike *Indians*.

In short, God having espoused this cause as his own, they were tormented with hunger; and before the *Spaniards*, who were on their way, could come up to them, their own diseases and losses obliged them to weigh anchor, and be gone. This was their wisest course; for if they had staid till the fleet from *Peru* had come up to them, and the land forces from *Chile* had attacked them,

them, they had not gone off so well; for the marquis of *Mansera* being so good a soldier himself, and so zealous for god and his king, immediately, upon the first news of their arrival, had set out ten sail, which he provided with powder and ammunition, and dispatched them to give advice along the coast; then he prepared a navy, which was to be of 16 galloons and ships, and 4000 *Spaniards*, resolving to go in person, or at least to send his son.

The governor of *Chile*, the marquis of *Baydes*, with his accustomed vigilancy and readiness in things, where the service of god and the king are concerned, and as a captain of that valour and experience, which he shewed in *Flanders*, was ready to enter by land, after having provided all the ports of the kingdom with the army kept on foot by his majesty; so that if the *Hollander* had had yet more force than he had, being so hard pressed both by sea and land, he must either have relinquished the port, or perished there for ever.

It has been seen in this occasion, that one man is as good as many in the defence of the cause of god and their country, against any invader whatsoever, every one despising all dangers on such an account; but particularly colonel *de Villa Nueva Soberal* signalized himself at this time; for being general of the kingdom, and governor of the country of *Arauco*, he ventured himself in a small bark in the midst of winter, to sollicite at *Lima* the necessary succours, and assist the vice-roy for a more quick dispatch of all things.

He took with him father *Domingo Lazaro*, of the company of *Jesus*, that he might inform him as an eye-witness of all that had passed, he being at that time employed in *Chiloe*, in the apostolical missions when the *Hollanders* landed: he, ne-

vertheless, with undaunted courage, embarked in the midst of the winter, in a tempestuous sea, as it is at that time; and without apprehension of all those dangers, and of being made a prisoner by the *Hollanders*, who lay in his way, and could scarce be avoided, he arrived at the city of the *Conception*, where he gave an account of all that had happened; by which means the country was immediately prepared, and in arms for their defence.

There is another action which ought not to be concealed, as well because it shews the great prudence of the marquis *de Baydes*, as the courage of 20 *Spanish* soldiers. It being uncertain whether the enemy were still at *Valdivia*, or whether he had abandoned it, they offered to go in a boat up the river, as they did by the governor's command; and without being terrified by the manifest danger they exposed themselves to, they went as high as the town; and having discovered the ill condition of the enemy, and his design of leaving the place, they returned with that advice. This moved the general not to attack them, as was at first resolved; but it did not hinder his intention of peopling the place, (as I believe was done last summer;) for I have advice from *Panama*, that there is a garrison of 600 *Spaniards* left there; to which our *indian* friends being joined, (and the coast *Indians* also,) that post will be henceforward inexpugnable, and by it the south-sea will be secured; for it being already so dangerous to sail through the streights, and so easy for us who are at home to defend this post of *Valdivia*, and having all the land our friends, we receive succours both from the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who are so friendly, that their caciques sent to offer their assistance of their own accord against the *Hollanders*; I say it will be very hard henceforward for any one to give us any disturbance.

C H A P. X.

A Continuation of the Description of the Rivers of Chile, and particularly of those which run to the East; and of the Difference between the one and the other Side of the Great Cordillera.

Chalbin. THE river next to that of *Valdivia* is that which is called *Chalbin*; it is deep, and capable of great vessels. From this river, to a place called the *Punta de Galera*, 'tis about two leagues; and from this to *Rio Bueno* seven; into which fall five rivers more, and one which is beyond the bounds of *Valdivia*.

Rio Chico. After this is the *Rio Chico*, which comes from a lake at the foot of the *Cordillera*; in which lake are baths to cure leprosy and other infirmities. Next to this is the *Rio de*

la Ballena, which is close to the cape of that name, so call'd because of a whale of prodigious bigness, which died upon that coast. After this, you come to the *Archipelago* of islands, into which falls the river call'd *De los Rabudos*, because of an *Indian* nation of that name, so call'd, because 'tis said they are born with tails, as father *Gregory* of *Leon* describes them in his map. More on to the south is the river *De los Coronados*, named so by the company of a ship which put in there on the day of the forty martyrs so called.

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OVALLE. After these there are many rivers all along the coast; the first is called *De la Esperanza*, or of hope, because of the wishes, that one day the light of the gospel may reach to those parts by means of the ministers of it. The second is called *Rio sin fondo*, or the river without a bottom, because of the great depth of it. The third is called the *Gallegos*, from a Spaniard of that name who fall'd along those coasts, and like another *Icarus*, gave his name to one of them, by being drown'd in the sea hard by it, at a cape which has the same name. Then follow the rivers *De los Martyres*, and *De los Apostoles*; and immediately after them two others: the first has no name, the second is called *De los Gigantes*, or of the Gyants, because here they were begun to be seen, and they reach all along the *Streights*. The famous river call'd *De la Campana*, enters at a place named *El Ancon sin salida*: this name was given to the river, because its two arms seem to form the shape of a bell. There are two rivers more before you come to the *Streights*, to wit, that of *De los Pajaros*, or of birds, by reason of the vast quantity of them that were upon it, in that part which comes towards the *Streights*; and the other, of *St. Victorian*, called so from the opening, to which the same saint gives its name. As for the other rivers which run among the islands, and those which empty themselves into the *Streights*, they are many, and shall be described in their proper places.

Hitherto we have described the rivers of most renown of this long extended kingdom, which run from east to west, and empty themselves into the *South-Sea*: those which run from the opposite part of the *Cordillera*, towards the north-sea, are not so well known, because those parts are less inhabited, at least, by such as can give us a good account of them. The most remarkable of them are those of *St. John* and of *Mendoga*, which are very large rivers, and empty themselves into the famous lake of *Guanacache*.

The governor *Hieronimo Lewis de Cabrera*, a gentleman of great valour and merit, met with several great rivers in his passage over those vast plains call'd the *Pampas*, where, as at sea, people are fain to travel by the compass, not to lose themselves: he was in quest of a nation call'd the *Cessates*, of whom we shall treat hereafter in its proper place. They were forc'd to pass many great rivers, and without doubt there are many more as far as the *Pole*.

Nevertheless I am persuaded, that these rivers do not equal those which run opposite, and enter the sea on the coast of *Chile*; and this may be clearly gathered from the

difference which may be observ'd in passing the *Cordillera*, between each side of the mountain, which is so great, that they seem two different worlds, the east and west parts; and one would think heaven had put these mountains to divide them as a wall, and keep off from the west, all the storms and ill weather of the east, where are the provinces of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, not to disturb the serenity and tranquillity of *Chile* and the western parts. Any one that travels to the top of the high chain of mountains, may experience this clearly; for there he discovers both horizons, and when he looks to the east, all is cover'd with gross vapours, which seem to hinder the light, and shadow all the country; and at the same time looking west, the heaven is so christalline and bright, that it causes pleasure and joy to look on it. The east side is full of a cloudy, thick air, which engenders storms and hail, with horrible thunders and lightnings, which fright all the inhabitants: on the other side, in the west, there is not a cloud to be seen, but clear and bright, as if in the heavens themselves there were such a partition as the *Cordillera* to divide the climates, as that upon earth does produce a difference in the trees, plants, and animals on each side.

A curious observer contemplating once, from this height, this so remarkable difference, said, That nature, in the fabric of this part of the world, seem'd to have turn'd her back upon the eastern provinces, and look'd with her face only upon *Chile*, giving blessings with both hands to this last, and leaving the other, as it were, disinherited, and grieving at the pre-eminencies of its elder brother. In going down to the eastward there are fewer fountains and rivers, and those muddy, the face of the land melancholy, without so much as one green tree to recreate the sight, nor any pleasant verdure; and when at last there is some, as in the valley of *Uspallata*, the heats begin to be so intolerable, that all things seem afflicting and unkind. On the other side, when we go to the west, 'tis quite contrary; for as soon as we begin to descend, we meet with lovely springs; the trees are green, the groves frequent and pleasant, and the little valleys, which are like so many resting places in that great stair-case, where passengers take breath, and are refresh'd with the verdure and flowers of them; the air still grows purer and purer; and the more they come down, the more they leave behind them all the inclemencies of the climate of the other side, enjoying the advantages of the temperate *Chile*; for from the very foot of the mountains one feels the mildness of the sea air and one

The vast difference between the countries on the east, and those on the west side of the Cordillera considered.

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De la Esperanza.

Rio sin fondo.
Gallegos.

De los Martyres and De los Apostoles.
De los Gigantes.

De la Campana.

De los Pajaros.

St. Victorian.

The rivers of St. John and Mendoga.

one is rejoic'd with the harmony of the birds, and other delightful objects, so as to forget the trouble and danger of the way one has pass'd.

There is the same difference in the very land at the foot of the mountains; for on the east side there are few fountains; the land is barren, and little cultivated; neither are there flocks of any kind either fed or bred, so that the fields look like a useless barren ground, except it be that the thinness of the people has not as yet given way to try the fertility of the earth; for the plains below these are extremely fertile, where they are cultivated; but at present there is nothing but thorns and barren dryness in those parts.

'Tis not so to the west, where fountains break out continually, which in the winter are temperate, and in the summer as cold as ice, and that so much the more as the weather grows hotter and hotter. These springs do so fertilize the fields at the foot of the mountains, that they keep the earth fresh and green all the year, though it be but a patch; for most of the ground is woody, and there is such variety of wild trees, that one would think they were arbors and groves planted by the hand of man: many of these are loaded with fruits of the country, of which the *Indians* make

excellent drinks, and some of them are very good to eat. The valleys are full of odoriferous beautiful flowers, brought forth by nature, without any human industry: there are also among them most extraordinary physical plants of a beautiful aspect. The little hills and plains afford excellent pasture for all sorts of cattle and flocks; there are also admirable valleys for planting of olives and almond-trees, and all sorts of fruit-trees. At the lower part, about a league in the plain, there are vineyards, of which are made excellent wines, particularly muscadels, which are in great esteem.

There are likewise in this descent of the mountain, admirable pastures, where great flocks are bred, and do increase wonderfully; their flesh is extreme savory, and the milk of the goats is so fat, that by only boiling and stirring it gently over the fire, I have seen it grow as thick as if flower had been put into it; and yet in other parts this milk is of its nature very thin. This may be said particularly of the young she-goats; and the milk thus boil'd has a sweetness and delicacy which passes ordinary milk, even with the things that are put in to mend it; all which are arguments of the great substance and nourishment of that land.

C H A P. XI.

*Of the Effects produced by the great Snow of the Cordillera.*Great
snows.

WITH the first rains of the winter, which are about the middle of *May*, the *Cordillera* begins to be cover'd with snow, and to put on, as it were, a white armour, to hinder its being pass'd, not only by men, but even by animals and birds, which are so driven out of it by the rigour of that season, that there is not one remaining in it.

Insolent
cold.

Even the *Silguerillos* and *Sorfales*, birds which of their own nature are so hot, that in the very beginning of the summer they take to the mountain, as soon as they perceive that the winter draws near, come in flocks down to avoid its rigour in the mountains; and then it is that the taking of them is easy, and that as soon as the cold pinches, the ground being almost cover'd with them, it proves the season of most pleasure for the youth of the country, who going out, take so many of them, either with glue or nets, that they carry loads of them home, reserving those of the finest colours to put in cages, for their harmony is very sweet. The *Cordillera* is shut up five or six months in the year; so that till *October* or *November*, it cannot be pass'd

without manifest danger of one's life; and in the midst of winter not at all, because all the paths and ways are cover'd with snow, to the height of many yards; and if any one should be rash enough to attempt it, he would after a little going, sink in every where, so that he would not be able to go a step forward nor backward, as has happened to several, who either for some very pressing concern and interest, or flying from a death which threaten'd them for their crimes, have found it in these deserts more certainly than perhaps they would have done in the prisons where they fear'd it.

These are buried, not in sepulchres whitened on the outside, nor under cold marble, but in the very bosom of frost and snow, which preserves them without being imbalm'd, and yet keeps them as incorruptible and dry, for so they have been found after many years; for such is the cold of those mountains, that it dries up all the moisture that can cause corruption in dead bodies, and so preserves them.

This so insuperable difficulty of passing the *Cordillera*, is less at the entrance, than the end of the winter, because the drifts of snow

1646. **OVALLE.** snow are not then so violent as to shut up the ways entirely; so in those seasons some do venture to pass, though never but with great danger, and upon urgent occasions: if sometimes they are so lucky as to get off well, because they meet with a clear sky, yet at other times it costs them dear; and always 'tis with infinite labour that they get thorough.

I have seen others who escaped with their lives by god's mercy, because the storm catch'd them before they were too far engaged in the mountain, and so they could yet make a retreat to the low countries; others have been forc'd to open their mules bellies that they ride on, and hide themselves in them; and by that warmth, and other defence of cloaths, they make a shift to get over the storm of snow, if it does not last long; after which they gain the plains on foot, if they are not too far engaged, and so avoid the danger, but not the long-sufferings which follow generally after such adventures.

In short, every body has some story to tell of the mountain, and complain of it; for some lose their toes, others their fingers; some their sight; some are benumm'd and lam'd, and so remain all their life with great infirmities. And I do not wonder at all at this, because though one should pass without a storm, yet the cold is so terrible, that it cannot but injure nature extremely in that season, since even in the midst of summer, when we pass this mountain, and in the lower part of it sweat with heat, as soon as we come to pass the top, we are forced to put on double cloathing, and prepare the stomach with good warm things, to withstand the sharpness of the cold, and the subtileness of the air, which penetrates the body through and through, if it be not well cover'd.

Among the several times that I have pass'd this mountain, one was in the beginning of *April*, when autumn in those parts is at an end, and the winter begins to threaten, and I must own that the cold was so intense, that it seem'd a different species of cold from all those I ever felt either in *India* or *Europe*; though even then it had not begun to snow, the cold was so fierce that it made one's hands cleave; nay, it had an effect upon the very rocks, for I remember the sun was reflected by them as by a looking-glass. When we come to treat of the first discovery of this kingdom, I shall re-

late what was endur'd by the *Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro* with his army, and by those who afterwards followed him, and passed this mountain, in which they were so ill handled, that some were struck blind, others lame; some lost their fingers without feeling it, because the excessive cold took away all sense; some were frozen to death, and with them some horses, whom six months after some other *Spaniards* found so fresh and well preserv'd, that they eat of them; and to secure themselves from cold, made a defence of those dead bodies; nay, some got into them. About six years after, others going that way, found a negro, who at that time was frozen to death, leaning against the side of a rock, with a lead horse, and the reins in his hand, though consumed with time. They who have a mind to know more particulars, let them read *Don Antonio de Herrera, Decade 5. Book 10. and Chap. 5.* and also *Garcilasso de la Vega*, in his first tome.

'Tis necessary to understand, that it is of this cold of the mountain that authors speak, when they say, That the cold of *Chile* is so severe, that the rivers are frozen up, and men frozen to death in the fields: for this is only true of those uninhabitable mountains, where I believe at that season the rivers do not run, but are turned into chrystal; and if any springs do escape, they are very few, and that in the valleys most secur'd and shelter'd; that appears by the rivers which run in the plain country, which are almost dried up, in comparison of the quantity of water that they carry with them in the summer.

And thus the truth of what historians relate may be saved from contradiction; for they not knowing the country, make no distinction between the mountain and the plains, in which there never was seen any such effect of cold in any part of them; for the sea air, which is thick and moist, tempers the sharpness of the blasts from the *Cordillera*; and for this reason it is, that the colds of the *Pampas* of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman* are so insupportable; as also those of *Buenos Aires*, which being at such a distance from both seas, and not enjoying the warmth of its vapours, the air in summer is intolerably scorching, and in ~~Winter~~ so cold, and for want of rain so dry, that 'tis common for animals to be found dead in the fields, as well as the men too sometimes.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Fountains which rise in other Parts of Chile, besides the Cordillera.

Fountains
of Chile.

BESIDES the rivers and springs of the *Cordillera*, there are others which rise in the plains and valleys, which have

admirable properties. I shall mention some, for 'tis impossible to rehearse them all; nor can I remember but a few. First, that which

which rises at the foot of the high *volcano* of *Villa Rica*, so famous in that kingdom for its terrible effects, for which God Almighty makes himself to be feared and respected by mankind; rises, I say, at the foot of this mount with such force, that it springs out of the earth in two sources, each as big as a man, and sufficient to form alone a good stream, and runs into a lake which is made by its waters.

Rio Chico.

In another lake, out of which comes the river call'd *Rio Chico*, there rises also a fountain of hot water, most efficacious for the cure of leprosy, and all contagious infirmities. There is another springs up in the *Maguay*, yet most admirable; for there are two sources just by one another, the one of hot, the other of cold water; the hot one is so hot, that no one can endure his hand in it; the cold one is let in to temper the bath which is made for the sick. The baths of *Rancagua* are also very famous, and like these; which, for being near *St. Jago*, and in the greatest intercourse of the kingdom, are very useful, and much frequented. There are others in other parts; but not remembering them distinctly, I can say little of them. Among

Fountain of Ramon.

the fountains, that of *Ramon* is very famous, as well for the goodness, as abundance of its waters; which is such, that they alone are sufficient to water many fields: it is about two leagues eastward of *St. Jago*, and in that district. There are many others, among which that of *Caren* is worth taking notice of: it springs in a beautiful meadow, of about five or six leagues in length, affording a delicious prospect; its water is very sweet, and enters into the meadow; the earth of which is so porous, that whoever treads hard upon it, feels it shake under him: it is all the year green; and the grass is a kind of small trefoil, called by the inhabitants *Caren*, and is pleasant to eat. Neither ought I to pass over in silence another fountain between these two, very plentifully furnished with delicate sweet water, which is always so much the cooler, as the weather is hotter; it is call'd the fountain of *Mayten*, by reason of a tree of that name, which grows at the foot of a great square table of live rock, where people use to go and eat their collations, the tree sheltering them all the while from the heat; for 'tis a tree whose leaves are green all the year, something like a myrtle, but much larger, and without dispute of a more beautiful green: by its foot runs this fountain, whose source is a little higher in a valley, from whence it comes murmuring upon pebble stones, and among pleasant groves full of beautiful herbs and flowers.

Mayten.

which rises at the foot of the high *volcano* of *Villa Rica*, so famous in that kingdom for its terrible effects, for which God Almighty makes himself to be feared and respected by mankind; rises, I say, at the foot of this mount with such force, that it springs out of the earth in two sources, each as big as a man, and sufficient to form alone a good stream, and runs into a lake which is made by its waters.

The trees, though wild, yet bear very OVALLE. 1646. savoury fruits of that soil; and in them are great variety of birds, who, with their harmony and sweet notes, make the entertainment more delightful for those that frequent the place. 'Tis not the least part of their enjoyment, to discover at the end of these woods a prospect for many leagues over plains, which being of so great extent, many of them lie uncultivated; so that among the vineyards and plowed lands, the wild uncultivated part is so beautiful, particularly in the spring, that one would think art had help'd nature. There are in one place great spots of yellow flowers, which cover the earth, so that for a great space nothing else is to be seen; then you have white, blue, fillemot spots of the same proportion; the green meadows mingle in this with the waters of the river *Mapocho*, which is seen from this distance sometimes entire in its bed, then divided into several arms, and at last drained into the fields of the neighbouring grounds, to fertilize them. The prospect is terminated with several farms, which are called *Chacra's*, with their churches; and in the midst of all, the city of *St. Jago*, the capital of *Chile*, which being not above two leagues off, and the heavens so serene, the towers of it are easily distinguished, and the bells heard sometimes. A delightful prospect.

This district is full of a great many more springs, all within the compass of a mile of each other; and their waters are excellent and healthy.

That which is to the north of the city of *Conchalli*. *St. Jago*, called *Conchalli*, is likewise highly commended; it springs in a little valley, called the *Salto*, or *Leap*, because of the fall of the river *Mapocho*. This river comes running in a plain to a certain place; where being divided (for it is the work of industry) into two branches, the greatest of which runs in its natural channel, the lesser is derived to water this valley; which towards the west is even; but towards the east the land is so high, through which the river runs, that it is two or three mile from the bottom of the valley to the high grounds, from whence the river falls. It is precipitated with great noise, making lovely and various cascades by the rencounter of the rocks and other obstacles, which by their streight passages retard its course, till at last it comes entire to the valley, and is divided into cuts and channels for the watering it; which is not ungrateful, to make a more than ordinary return to those who cultivate it, not only in corn, most excellent wine, and most savoury fruits of all kinds, but also it ripens them above a month before any other place thereabouts; and it is very remarkable,

OVALLE 1646. remarkable, that in this valley, which is only half a league from the city of *St. Jago*, the figs use to be ripe, when in the gardens of the city, and all its neighbourhood, they scarce begin to change colour: therefore, as well for this as the game it affords, of partridges on the hills, and wild fowl in the waters and ponds of it, it is the greatest entertainment all those parts afford.

I shall not dilate upon more of these fountains, which are so frequent; for if I were to mention them all, I should never have done; for since those alone of the *Conception*, *Arauco*, and the country of the limits upon the warlike *Indians*, would require a large treatise, besides those of the district of *St. Jago*, what would it be then in the territories of the ancient cities, which are yet farther in the country? for it abounding extremely in rivers, it is to be presumed that it must be so in fountains and springs; all which proceeds from the abundance of moisture of the *Cordillera*.

Of these springs, the most agreeable for their good waters are the farthest off from the *Cordillera*, because they are more purified by a long motion, and refin'd by the good qualities of the earth they run through, particularly the mineral impregnations are singular: I cannot but mention one, which is in the novitiate of the company of the *Jesuits* of *Bucalemo*, whose waters are not to be match'd, at least I never met with the like; for without drinking them, one may discover by the touch their nobleness, their softness being like that of new butter; and they do make the hands that are wash'd in them in a few days smooth, and thereby prove their vast difference from other waters.

This fountain springs in a little valley, very pleasant, under some hills, about a league from the sea; and it bubbles up between a white sand, in which there is gold, as if it had a fire under it to make it boil. It is wonderful to observe, that if they throw any bough or flowers upon it, it seems to take it ill, and never is at rest till it has swallow'd it up, leaping up against it several times, till it has made it its own, and hid it from our sight; and this it will do for a whole evening, if they continue throwing flowers or branches of trees into it, without any body's being able to tell what becomes of them all.

The effects that this water causes in the stomach are admirable: it helps to digest the meat with more easiness; it destroys crudities, dissolves phlegms and gross humours, and evidently prolongs life, especially to old men. This was most particularly made clear in the person of that famous captain *Sebastian Garcia Caretto Cbumazero*, the founder of that novitiate, who lived there many years, and came to be ninety years old in good health, and so vigorous, that he did to the last go on horseback through the woods and mountains, as if he had been a young man. I heard him say many times, that this fountain was his life; for as soon as he found himself any ways out of order, he sent immediately for the water of it, and drinking it fresh from the spring, he used to go to bed upon it; where falling asleep, he would after some time awake well disposed: this I have often been witness of. The old *Indians* thereabouts experimented the same, and did attribute their good state of health to this spring, without using any other physick or remedies.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Lakes of Chile, and the Salt that is gather'd from them.

Lakes.

AFTER having treated of the fountains and rivers, it seems natural to treat of the lakes and standing waters form'd out of them, and by some inundations of the sea in winter, when it fills them, and leaves them provided for all the summer. Those made by rivers come first in rank; and I wish my memory would serve to place them here, with their several qualities. Omitting then to repeat what we have said of those of *Aculco* and *Pudaguel*, which being near *St. Jago*, make the greatest diversion of its inhabitants, we will begin with the lake of *Tagataguas*, about fourteen leagues from that city, and which once was more in esteem; for the trouts catch'd there are of a larger size, and the game for wild fowl so much more diverting, that there is no comparison be-

Lake of Tagataguas.

tween these waters and others. I do not describe here particularly the variety of wild fowl, because I intend to do it when I treat of the variety of birds of this country. The lakes of *Villa Rica* are of great renown, though I confess I know little of their properties.

The lake of *Puren* has been famous, having been an impregnable fortress for the warlike *Indians* our enemies, by reason of the disposition and qualities of its situation; for from thence they have for many years maintain'd a war with whole armies of *Spaniards*, without being subdued: their advantage lay in this, That upon any rout given them by us, they had here a most certain and safe retreat, which when once they had recovered, they were out of all danger; for none could hurt them either by sword or fire.

The

Sea lakes.

The sea lakes are also many, and of great profit to their owners; for the fisheries in them are much more certain than in the sea: for which reason they furnish the best part of the lenten fare, though the sea affords a great deal too. Among the rest the lake of *Rapel* brings a great revenue: it runs in length above two leagues within the land. In the winter time the sea is joined to it; for by its storms it forces an entrance, but it leaves it full of all sorts of fish; which, with those that are bred there, furnish it for the whole year, and enable it to supply all the neighbouring country; and that not only with fish, but with salt too in abundance: for, about *January*, the communication ceasing between it and the sea, when the sun is at its hottest in that climate, the water is congealed so, that it has a crust of a foot, or more, thick of a most excellent white salt. This, indeed, does not happen every year; for it requires an extrem heat to do it, the lake being deep, and the climate there more enclining to cold: but they provide themselves in one, for many others; and the salt-pits made by hand seldom fail; for they not being of great extent, the water that is let into them turns to salt with less heat, the matter to be congealed being less in itself. And since we are mentioning salt, I cannot omit to relate what I myself have seen in the valley of *Lampa*, which is about three leagues from *St. Jago*; and it is this, There grows an herb, not unlike to *Sweet Basil*, only its green is upon an ash-colour, and not so gay; it rises about a foot above ground: this plant, in the summer, is covered over with small grains of salt, like pearl, which is congealed upon its leaves, either from the dew of heaven, or by some vapour raised by the sun from

Lake of Rapel.

Salt found on an herb growing in the valley of Lampa.

that earth; or else the nature of the herb itself is such, as to sweat out this humidity, which being afterwards congealed by the heat of the sun, is turned into salt. Let the cause be what it will, the effect is seen no where but in this valley, and upon that species of herb; which is therefore much valued by the *Indians*, the salt of it being more favourable, and of a finer flavour than any other.

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I cannot tell whether *Jobannes de Laet* means this in his description of the new world; for having mentioned the kingdom of *Chile*, to which he gives the preference for its excellent properties, he says, That in that kingdom, in some of its valleys, there falls, at certain times of the year, a dew so thick upon the leaves of the plants, that it is like sugar, and serves, being kept some time, for the same use as manna. *Antonio de Herrera* reports the same thing, in his general history of the *West Indies*; and, amongst other commendations he gives this noble kingdom, he relates the same thing of this strange and admirable dew. I say upon this, that I know not whether they allude to what I have reported of the valley of *Lampa* by my own sight, and have no knowledge of that other thing they mention; though one would think, such authors should distinguish things so different in their effects and favour, as salt and sugar. 'Tis possible, God may have done both, having been so wonderfully liberal to that country, where the singularities are so many and wonderful; and it would therefore be no wonder some of them should not be known, especially, considering that we, who are there employed for the conversion of souls, have not the time to search after curiosities, and secrets of nature.

C H A P. XIV.

Wherein is treated of the Sea of the Kingdom of Chile, and of the Etymology of its Name.

Sea of Chile.

THE fountains, springs, rivers, and brooks, carry us along with them naturally to the sea, where their course ends, and where there is room for my pen to exercise itself, if the brevity of this narration did not confine my flight: I must therefore be content to say something of this element, that the nature of it may not be unknown as to this new world.

Etymology of the name of Chile.

Beginning therefore with the etymology of its name: 'Tis well known that all commonly call it the *South Sea*, because it is towards the *antarctic* pole, from whence generally the south wind blows, in opposition to the *tramontana*, or north, which

reigns in the ocean as far as the *arctic* pole. But leaving these disputes to the schools, or rather to that abyss of divine wisdom, *qui profert ventos de thesauris suis*, 'tis a known truth, that the effects which the wind of the *arctic* pole causes in its jurisdiction towards the opposite part, the same is caused by the south wind in its motions from the *antarctic* towards these parts.

In *Chile* we look upon the south wind as a favorable wind, as in *Europe* the north is in the same esteem. The north with us covers the heavens with clouds, causes tempests and storms at sea, and makes all the land dark and sad: the south, on the contrary,

The south wind most favourable at Chile.

OVALLE. 1646. contrary, clears the sky, serenes the air, and makes the sea as calm as milk : on the contrary, this same south wind, in the north sea, is stormy, and covers the heavens with clouds, and raises those tempests, which do so endanger ships ; whereas the north, called there *tramontana*, clears all again, and makes the fine days.

From hence proceeds, that in *America* the south wind reigns in summer, when the sea is calm, and the north in winter, when it is tempestuous : the north does most certainly, bring with it the rains, particularly from thirty six degrees to the pole, and that so suddenly, that sometimes, in the moment the wind comes to the north, the rain falls, and most commonly 'tis within half an hour after its change ; and when in those parts in winter the sun is clear, and the weather fair, 'tis when the south wind overpowers the north ; for the south in those parts is cold and dry, and so drives away the clouds, so as it happens sometimes that the heavens are dark ; and as soon as the clouds are discharged, if the south appears a little the stronger, 'tis an infallible sign of calm weather, which generally follows in a trice ; for this wind drives all the clouds so before it, that when it blows, it does not leave one in the sky.

The contrary of this is seen in *Europe*, where the south winds bring humidity, and the north drives it away : the south relaxes the body, and affects the head ; but the north strengthens the body, purifies the air, and dries up superfluous humours. In short, these two winds cause quite different effects in *Europe* and in *America*, that we may call the *Europeans* sons of the north, and those of *South America* children of the south.

From this there follows another very notable and well-known difference, which is, That as to go from *Europe* to the *Indies*, the north is the proper wind, and carries us before it, and by consequence is contrary to our return ; so in the *South Sea*, sailing from the pole towards these parts, the south is the favourable wind, and contrary to our return : from whence it proceeds, that the voyage from *Spain* to *Cartagena* being by the *North Sea*, and made in thirty, forty, and fifty days, the return to *Spain* uses to last fourscore, and a hundred, and more days. On the contrary, in the *South Sea*, where the voyage from *Chile* to *Lima* is but of about a fortnight, and as much more to *Panama*, or thereabouts, the return only to *Lima* is of two months, and from thence to *Chile* forty days. The *South Sea* is also called the *Pacifick Sea*, to distinguish it from the *North Sea*, whose storms and tempests are so frequent ; whereas in the *South Sea* they are rare : but, in my opi-

nion the difference is for another reason, which I shall alledge here.

The most frequent navigations of the *South Sea* are from *Peru* to *Panama*, and from thence to *New Spain* and the *Philippinas* ; and those from *Peru* to *Chile* are less used : by which it appears, that the best part of the *South Sea* navigations are between the tropicks ; and so the sun has so much force, as to keep the winds from being furious, and making such lasting storms as those which are raised without the tropicks, and in parts nearer the pole ; for this reason the sailors in these warm climates, where there never is any winter, called this sea the *Pacifick Sea*, from the good effects they experiment in it. The contrary of this is in the *North Sea*, where most of the navigations are out of the tropicks ; where the sun having less force, the winter predominates, and raises mighty storms. Now the *Europeans*, who first navigated the *South Sea*, being such as were used to those dangers, to which the navigators of the northern parts are most commonly exposed, when they found so quiet a sea as that under the line, and in those which particularly are the seat of commerce with *New Spain*, *Panama*, and *Peru*, they gave it the name of *Pacifick*, without examining any further the cause of the difference of the effects, which they experienced in both seas : but if they had try'd that very *South Sea* beyond the tropick of *Capricorn*, they would not so easily have named it *Pacifick*.

I know that this discourse will be approved by those who have had experience of the hardships which are suffered by the navigators, from the twenty sixth degree of latitude on the coast of *Chile*, to fifty three degrees ; for there, as soon as the winter begins, the sea cannot be navigated without manifest danger, the storms being no ways inferior to the greatest in the *North Sea* ; and though at that season it is not so dangerous for ships to sail from *Chile* to *Lima*, because they every day get into a less latitude, and so enjoy a quieter sea, yet from *Peru* to *Chile* it is extream dangerous, not only because they come into a greater latitude, and go out further to sea, to avoid the south winds opposition, but also because the vapours of the sea, and cold mists of the earth do raise such fogs and dark clouds, that they cover the land so, that when they make their port, they are in great danger of splitting upon the rocks.

This, I say, is only of those coasts of *Chile* which are in the least latitudes ; for from the city of the *Conception*, towards the pole, even in summer, they are dangerous ; and the ships which are bound for the islands of *Chiloe* have not above two or three months in the year to go in and out

Remarks on the navigation of the South Sea.

Called also the Pacifick Sea.

conveniently, or they neither go in nor out till the year following: this is understood as far as forty four or forty five degrees, in which this archipelago of islands is placed, for from thence to the streights of *Magellan*, those may relate the dangers who have experienced them, and passed those streights: all that I know of it, is, that they all have matter enough to discourse of at their return.

So that we may say, that the name of *Pacifick* does not absolutely belong to the *South Sea*, according to its whole extent, but only as to those parts of greatest intercourse, which, because they are within the tropicks, are the freest from storms; and yet it cannot be deny'd, but that the *South Sea* has an advantage over the *North Sea*, even within the tropicks, which is, that it is free from those great sands which are so common in the *North Sea*, about *Carthage-na*, *La Havana*, and other islands, nay, even in the canal of *Bahama*; which indeed are so many, that let a storm be but moderate, they make it still greater, and more dangerous, by shortening the sea-room, and force the sailors to be always heaving the lead, or else to split upon the rocks, which may be clearly seen and distinguished from the ship's side.

I find likewise, that the *South Sea* may be called *Pacifick* for another reason, which is, because of the extream quiet it enjoys in its navigation, without disturbance from any of its enemies, who are so frequent on all the shores of the *North Sea*; for there be-

ing no other entrance into the *South Sea*, but by the streights of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*, which are at such distance, and defended by nature itself, the enemies of our quiet do not care to engage in so usefess and dangerous a design, with so manifest a destruction; and so little advantage, as hath happened already to some hereticks who have attempted it; for having no settlement, nor landing place in all that vast sea, they have been forced to sail to the *Philippinas*: therefore the ships of the *South Sea* are free from any fear of enemies, and go and come without any apprehension of danger on that side. *Antonio de Herrera*, in the fifth *Decade* of his *General History*, folio 319. relates the motive that *Magellan* had to call this the *Pacifick Sea*, and that is, Because there is not in all that element a more specious career for the winds and tides, and because there reigns between the tropicks so steddly and strong a levant, that in many days the seamen need not hand their sails, nor the steersman his helm, sailing through those vast seas as if it were in a canal or river. And the same author adds, That this motion of this wind proceeds from the course of the first *Mobile*, which is proved by its perpetual invariability, and the increase of its vehemence, as it draws nearer the *Equinox*. Some dispute, whether it ought to be called a wind, or an impulse which the air receives from superior orbs, communicated to them by the first sphere. So far this author.

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CHAP. XV.

Of the Sea Coasts of Chile, and its Ports and Havens.

IT would be too great an excursion beyond my purpose, to mention all the ports and creeks along the coast of *Chile*; for they are very numerous. *George Spilberg*, admiral of a fleet of six sail, whose names were, the *New Sun*, the *New Moon*, the *Hunter*, the *Pole-Star*, *Eolus*, and *Lucifer*, says, he observed twenty five ports in the streights of *Magellan* alone, before he entered the *South Sea*: he commends them mightily, but particularly he is much pleased with the twenty fifth; for he staid in it some time, and gave it his own name: he calls it a noble port, by reason of its safeness for shipping, as also for the pleasantness of the fields, which, he says, were all covered with fruit; which I suppose were strawberries, according to the description he makes of them. He found there likewise abundance of excellent oysters, at the mouth of a river, which beautify'd that port extremely, it falling into it from high

Spilberg's observation of twenty five ports in the streights of Magellan.

mountains. But this retreat did not serve them long; for having seen some very fine coloured birds, they pursued them on shore, and hunted them; which they had no sooner begun to do, but they were assaulted by a troop of *Indians*, with clubs in their hands, and some of them were killed, and the rest forced to retire to their ships, and set sail in haste; which is a great mark of the valour with which those people engaged them; for though they had fire-arms, they could not withstand the charge.

Spilberg assaulted by the Indians.

The most famous port in all the coast, besides that of *Valdivia*, which we have described already, is that of *Coquimbo*, mentioned in our seventh chapter; and it deserves all sorts of commendation, as well for its lovely bay, where ships ride as safe as can be, as also for the pleasantness of the country about it; which is one of the most delicious of all *Chile*. The products of the country are particularly gold and copper,

Port of Coquimbo.

OVALLE. copper, which is carried from thence to Peru; for the making of artillery, casting of bells, and other household furniture.

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Copiapo,
Guasco,
and Pacu-
do.

The ports also of Copiapo and Guasco are esteemed, and more deservedly that of Pacudo, which is a private hidden bay, where the ships of Peru come to load with the hides and tallow of Chhuapa; as also with tar and tackling for ships, which is made in that valley, and is whiter and better than any in Chile, by reason of the excellent waters they make use of in its making.

Quintero. The next good port to these, is, that of Quintero, where the general of the six ships above named landed; and it being a place uninhabited, met with no opposition, but refreshed his men with a large fishing which they made. They do so commend the place, that they cannot sufficiently (they say) extol the pleasantness of the land, the sweetness of the water, the security for ships, and, in short, all sorts of conveniences for human life; and after these many encomiums, the historian concludes thus, *portus hic nulli secundus*, this port yields to none; and yet this port of Quintero is none of the famous ones of Chile; by which it may be inferred, that he was but little acquainted with the rest. He could not land in them; for he found them all guarded by the militia, who expected him; and though coming to Val Paraiso, he had begun to land some men, yet, upon advice that the horse of St. Jago were at hand to hinder the descent, he took them on board again; and failing at midnight, cast anchor at Quintero, where they watered, and cut wood, the admiral himself landing with many soldiers to protect his men: there they drew up a trench, with a kind of half-moon, to secure their retreat against the Spaniards, who began to appear upon the hills; but they did not stay for them, but embarking again, followed their course towards Peru, not landing any where else; but yet they commend the land extremely.

Coucon, or
Quillora,
and Val
Paraiso.

After these follows the port of Coucon, or Quillora, which serves to embark the product of those valleys; and hard by that, the port of Val Paraiso, where are landed all the goods brought for the city of St. Jago: from whence they are distributed all over its territory, and as far as Cuyo, and Tucuman: This port is every day more and more inhabited; and there is building a convent of austin friars, which will be of great relief to the souls of the inhabitants, and of all those who go and come, who are not a few; for this is the port of the greatest commerce with Peru: 'tis distant from St. Jago twenty four leagues, all plain and good way, fit for carriage; and so all the commodities of both kingdoms are conveyed and exchanged by it.

Near the port of Val Paraiso is that of St. Antonio, which is also very safe and good, and is at the mouth of the river Maypo. There is a mistake in authors about this; for they place the port of Val Paraiso at the mouth of a river, which they make in their maps to come from St. Jago; which is a very great error, because, at Val Paraiso there is no river of any note, but only springs and fountains, which rise out of the rocks close by the sea, which are most excellent waters. There are also others of a coarser nature, with which the ships fill their provision, because they having more body, they resist better at sea against corruption.

There are several other ports between that and the Conception, in the bays and mouths of rivers; but not much used, because they are not necessary; all those valleys from Maule to Quillota sending their commodities to Val Paraiso. I believe in time other ports will be employed, because the products of that kingdom multiply apace, and so people will be willing to seek out the nearest ports for embarking their goods. All the product from Maule upwards, is carried to the harbour of the Conception, which is the best bay in all those coasts; and it being a very large one, providence placed at its entrance the island of Quiriquina; under which, as under a mole, Island of ships are secured in foul weather. At the Quiriquina largest entrance of this bay is the port of ^{na.} La Herradura, or Horse-Shoe, it being in La Herradura, St. Vincent, and Carne- that form; and opposite to that is that of St. Vincent; and a little farther, that of Carnero, called so for the refreshment it afforded to one of the ships of the bishop of Palencia, who, by order of Charles V. passed the streights of Magellan with six sail, and having lost their Patache, were forced to the Moluccas.

Next to these are the ports of Tirva and Quedal, La Baia Chica, that of Puralla, the port of St. Cebrian, that of Santa Clara, that of St. Domingo, St. Esteran, Los Reyes, that of Baixas, that of the Innocents, and many others less considerable, as far as the streights of Magellan.

Besides these ports which we have marked upon the terra firma, there are several others, well known in the islands of Juan Fernandes, La Mocha, Santa Maria, in the islands of Chiloe, Alse; where the most frequented are that of Carelmapo, and that called the English Port, because formerly an English ship landed there, and the men and ship, with all its artillery, were made prize. There are also several other ports in the archipelago of Chiloe, which I forbear mentioning, because I have not a perfect account of them.



CHAP. XVI:

Of the Fertility of the whole Coast of Chile:

THE abundance and fertility of this kingdom is not only perceived in its valleys and fields, but likewise in its whole coast, even on the rocks, where the sea beats. It will be hard to make this appear by particulars, because though in other parts of the world the rocks produce shell-fish; yet I do not know that it is in such quantity, nor so large any where as in *Chile*, nor of so many different species. First, I will speak of that which is most common and intelligible: There grows along the coast every where an herb not unlike to endive; they call it *Lucbe*, which they pull from the rocks: it is gathered in the spring, when 'tis most grown; and being dried in the sun, 'tis made into loaves, which are look'd upon as a great delicacy far from the sea, particularly in *Peru*, *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*; for it serves for many sauces. It grows upon the tops of rocks, such as are above the water. At the foot of the rocks are found certain roots, which bring forth a trunk as thick as one's wrist, called *Uttecueste*: this they cut, and laying it before the fire, they pare it like a lettuce, or cardoon, or chistle, but it has a much different taste. From these trunks shoot out certain long cods, of three or four yards long, and some of about six or eight fingers in breadth: these they call *Coebauyo*; and there are two sorts of them, which, though they resemble one another, yet the *Indians* make a great difference between them, reserving the good, which they cut and dry, and make provision of them for Lent; the others they leave to the sea, which heaps them up upon the shoar, where they lie in heaps very usefess. So much for the herbs. Now let us speak of the sea shell-fish. The best of this kind are oysters, both great and small, so much talked of by the *Hollanders* with great commendations: they found them in the streights of *Magellan*; but the greatest plenty of them is on the coast of *Coquimbo*, where they are very large and delicious; the lesser sort they call *Tacas*, very much valued too, and taken all along that coast. But those of greatest renown are the oysters of *Chuapa*; in the great ones are bred pearls, as the *Dutch* say, and, according to *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, they bought some of the *Indians* in the streights very finely wrought.

The herb
Lucbe.

The root
Uttecueste.

Oysters.

Choros.

That which they call *Choros* is also a fine sort of shell-fish, and in its shell, as *Antonio de Herrera* says, there are pearl very white. That sort which I have seen is

not so big; but since they are to be found every where, there may be of all sorts of them; for they are caught in abundance, both little, middle size, and large ones, some as broad as my hand. The choicest of them are those which have the fish of a yellow colour, though the black ones are good too.

There is another shell-fish, called *Mane-Manegues*, which is in two round shells, such as serve for models in architecture; the fish within is but coarse meat, but of good sustenance. In one kind of these, which is the little sort, in opening the shell, which in the inside is like mother of pearl, when one takes out the meat, one may see the impression on the shell, of a purple colour, which represents the image of the most holy virgin, with her mantle, and her child in her arms, which causes great devotion and comfort; and, though they all have this impression, yet some have it so perfect, that it is wonderful.

A fish they call *Locos* may also be ranked among the shell-fish: they call them also *Afs's-Hoof*, because they are of that shape: They are very savoury, but hard and indigest; for which reason they are to be eaten sparingly, though in the dressing of them they macerate them between two stones, to soften them. I should never have done, to go through all the kinds of shell-fish; as likewise of snails, which are also good to eat, and are produced on the rocks. There are some cast up by the sea, in such quantity, that ship loads may be had of them, of such variety of figures and colours, that I doubt not but the curious in *Europe* would value them, and our artists would make curiosities of them; but they, for want of such artificers, are good for nothing in the *Indies*, but to make lime of, by burning them in a furnace; yet they are in such vast quantities, that the shore is covered with them, and they make a fine shew.

The shell-fish called *Picos de Papagayos*, *Picos de Papagayos* are another kind much esteemed: they are so called, because for their shape and bigness, they are just like parrots heads; and as these birds build their nests on shoar, in some hollow rocks and caves, so this fish breeds in a kind of stone-work, hollow, like little cells, where it grows till it comes to be of the bigness of those heads. They dress them in those very nests, which serve for pots, and when they are enough, take them out. They are excellent meat.

Those

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Kericos.

Those which they call *Kericos*, though common in other parts, yet I never saw them so large as in those parts; and being taken in the increase of the moon, they have very large tongues, fat, and of about two fingers breadth.

Crabs,
Apavico-
ras, and
Praunes.
Lobsters.

The *Crabs*, *Apavico-ras*, and *Praunes*, are likewise very good, and of several sorts and sizes. The *Lobsters*, and those of that kind, are likewise much esteemed; they breed under the rocks, and are fished for, as all the rest, not with nets, but only by the *Indians* going into the sea up to their middle, and knocking them from the rocks with sticks in their hands. So much for this kind of eatables. There are others which live a little more in the sea, which are of a beautiful form; some they call sea-stars; some the sun; others the moon; because they are of the form of those planets, as they are commonly painted. These may be eaten too; but they have one very singular propriety, which is, to cure the vice of drunkenness, being reduc'd to powder, and given in wine to drink; and this is of

so certain an effect, that those, who before they took it had no greater delight than drinking of wine, did afterwards so abhor it, that they would not touch it, though they were hir'd: This is a healthy remedy, as well as sure; and therefore us'd by the *Negroes* to avoid taking another; which, though as certain, is very dangerous; which is, drinking the sweat of a horse mingled with wine. They say, this puts those who take it, in danger of losing some of their senses; though I knew one, who being exceedingly given to drunkenness, his wife gave him this remedy without his knowledge, and it did him no other hurt than to make him hate wine, so that he could not bear the smell of it; but, as I said, the *Negroes* use the powder of the star-fish; and though I have observed, that with some it is not so efficacious, but they long for wine again after a while, yet it is but to repeat the remedy as soon as that ill inclination prevails again: and this is commonly so practis'd upon the *Negroes*, who are much given to that vice.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the various Kinds of Fish which are fished on the Coast of Chile.

The whale. LET the whale appear first, since by its bigness it is a kind of king of the sea; and if where the king is, the court is, we may give that title to the sea of *Chile*, where there is such store of whales, that I know not any place where they abound more; and they are accompanied by such a court of little fishes of all kinds, that those who have navigated those seas, cannot but mention it with admiration. Among the rest, *William Seerten*, who came with a fleet through the streights, says, That they met with so many whales near certain islands, that they were forced to sail with great care and attention to avoid them, they being so many, that they were almost always in the ships way, and endangered the loss of them, being so big, that they look'd like rocks: they are all along the coast of *Copiapo* and *Guasco*, and are of no small profit, by the ambergreece they cast on shoar. The journals of those who have pass'd the streights do mention much of this amber floating on the sea, and therefore no doubt but a great deal of it is on shoar; but it is lost, for the *Indians* having no value for it, know it not; and 'tis but within these twelve years that the *Araucana's* minded it; by seeing some *Spanish* soldiers look for it, they did so too, and found a great deal, and very good, on the coast. Of the grey sort, which is the best, they found great pieces of an ash colour, with a nobler and more delicate smell; the ordi-

nary sorts are yellow and black, and it has a quicker, though not so sweet a smell as the grey. I have heard the people of those parts say commonly, that the difference is very accidental, and that it depends only upon being more or less prepar'd by the sun-beams: and experience seems to confirm this thought; for I have observ'd that the black does in time grow white, by being expos'd to the sun in a box; but if it be laid open, so as both sun and rain come upon it, the experiment will be more manifest; and as for the harshness of the smell, it may be remedied by infusions in rose water, exposing it first to the dews for nine days, and then to the fire, by which means it grows perfect.

Though 'tis known that amber is a thing which the whales cast from them, there is diversity of opinion about the manner, because some think that this noble product is form'd at the bottom of the sea, or upon some rocks; and that the whales eat it for food, and not being able to endure it in their stomachs, because it is naturally extreme hot, they get to the shore to cast it up: others say, it is the whales excrements. 'Tis not my business to decide this dispute. The other great advantage which the whales are of to the country, is the oil they afford after they are dead; and it is a great deal that one whale will yield: it serves for various uses of life. We do not know that these fishes die of a violent death,

death, because their vast bulk defends them both from men, and all other animals, that may be their enemies; but yet being subject to pay the common debt of nature, when they find themselves near death, they draw near the land, and are often cast on shore by the sea, which will not bear any corruption in its waters; and 'tis strange to see how they are thrown up in great numbers on those coasts. The oil is made by the heat of the sun, and when the weather has consum'd the flesh, the ribs and other bones remain white; and the *Indians* make use of them for seats: much more conveniency and curiosity might be afforded by them to other workmen.

Tunny-fish, and Albacoras.

There are another sort of fish which are found most on the coast of *Coquimbo*, which are not so big as whales, but yet are very large, and a good fish to eat, which are the tunny-fish, and the *Albacoras*, which the *Indians* kill with great dexterity: they go into the sea a good way upon floats of seal-skins, well sowed together, and blown up like a bladder; they carry with them a kind of trident with sharp tongues; this is fastened to a long, slender, but strong rope; the *Indian* guides his float near the fish he chooses, and then darts it with his trident; the tunny, as soon as wounded, goes out to sea like lightening; the *Indian* gives him rope enough, and follows him the way that he runs, till the fish has spent itself by loss of blood; and then the *Indian* draws in his rope, and the fish with it, either dead or dying, and lays it on his float, and he returns to port with his prey rejoicing.

Flying-fish.

There are many other sorts of fishes; one of the most extraordinary is the flying-fish, which fly with wings, and follow a ship like birds. The lion-fish is also admirable: they are found in great quantities about the *Streights* of *Magellan*, near a port, call'd *Port Desire*: they are very good to eat, but very hard to take; for though they wound them with shot in many places, yet if they do not hit them in the head, or the stomach, they do not yield: they are as big as a colt, and have a lion's head, with a perfect mane; which the females of them have not, neither are they above half as big as the males, and have a thinner skin. Those who have sail'd through the *Streights*, talk much of these

Lion-fish.

sea-lions, and do also mention many other sorts of fishes which they took there, some of sixteen foot long, very savoury and good to eat. *Antonio de Herrera* says, That there are fishes taken in the island of *Santa Maria*, out of whose eyes they take a sort of coarse pearl, which have a gloss like the true ones, and are worn by the women; and if, as they are soft, they were a little hard, they would be better than pearls.

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The sea wolves, or seals, which are found on all the coasts, are innumerable. I have seen whole rocks cover'd with them, and they lay even one upon another, so as some of them rolled down into the sea again, there not being room for so many: they are as big as calves, and make a noise like them.

Sea-wolves, or seals.

Antonio de Herrera, in the voyage of *Magellan* says, That in the river of the *Cross*, in the *Streights*, they took one so large, that without his head, skin, and fat, he weigh'd nineteen *Castilian Arrobas*. The *Indians* take them for their skins, which are very hard and strong, and some eat their flesh. As to the plenty of the ordinary fish of those seas, the authors already cited speak very advantageously of their kinds, particularly *William Scowten*, who coming with his fleet to the island of *Juan Fernandez*, in thirty three degrees, and forty eight minutes, the quantity of fish they met with was so great, that in a very little time they catch'd a great quantity of *Robalos*, which is the best and most wholesome fish of all those parts. They did not take them with nets, because they had not time to land, but with hooks at sea, by the ship's side, and that as fast as they could throw in and pull up.

An Arroba is twenty five pound.

What I myself have seen, is in the great lake of *Rapel*, all the sides of it cover'd with *Pejereges*, by the vast quantity of them which came upon the coast, as the droves of pilchards by the bay of *Conception*, and in *Chiloe*, so that they take them with blankets. I have seen the same droves of tunny-fish, which come leaping over one another's backs, as if there were not room for them; and, indeed, that climate being so favourable to multiplication in all animals on shoar, as shall be shewed in its proper place, it cannot well be otherwise as to the fishes.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Birds of Chile.

THE birds and fishes seem to be brothers of the same venter, the author of nature having created them both out of the element of water; and therefore, to

dispatch all the creatures of this country, having treated of the first, it seems that the chain of an orderly narration obliges us to say something of the others. To speak generally,

OVALLE. generally, it may be truly said of the air of that hemisphere, that it has a great advantage over the earth, though so fertile, so rich, and so delicious, as we have represented it; for though it is true, that it now produces the animals and fruits of *Europe*, with such an increase as is wonderful, yet it cannot be denied, that before the *Spaniards* carried thither the seeds and animals which are now so multiplied, (for they had them not in any sort, though perhaps others which supplied the want of them,) the air, without being at all enrich'd by the accession of foreigners, has maintain'd always such an abundance of the volatile kind, that it needed no supplies from *Europe*, but rather has many to make up any one defect.

The eagle. To begin with the king of them all, the eagle: there are there abundance of them; those which are call'd royal or imperial have been seen there only twice; first, when the *Spaniards* first enter'd that kingdom; and the second time, in the year 1640. when the *Araucanos* submitted their untam'd necks to their God and the king, they interpreting this as one of the signs of God Almighty's will to incline them to take that resolution which they then took. As for the ordinary eagles, who do not differ much from the others, they have always been and are still in the country very common. There are likewise bred *Falcons*, so large and strong, that for their beauty they have been carried from thence, though so far, as a present to the king of *Spain*; and they are commonly carried to *Peru*, particularly that kind which are call'd *primas*, or first, though those call'd second are very large too. There are besides, all other birds of rapine and prey; and of the singing-birds, there are linnets, bulfinches, nightingales, blackbirds, and many others, who form some a bass, and some a tenor, with all the other parts of a harmony, beyond belief, particularly in summer, under the shades of trees.

Birds of prey.
Singing-birds.
Birds of game.
Tame fowl.
Swallows.
Owls and bats.
The birds for game are, herons, partridges, wild pigeons, thrushes, turtles, parrots, wild ducks of a thousand sorts, some of one colour, and some of another, and all very good. The domestick tame fowls are hens, ducks, geese, turkeys; and that nothing may be wanting, swallows in summer, which go away in winter, as they do in *Europe*, to warmer climates; screech-owls, and other night-birds; as also bats.

These are the birds of the *European* kind, which are found in those parts, as well as I can remember; and there is hardly a bird here in *Europe*, that I observe in the fields, that I have not observ'd the like somewhere in *Chile*, with very little difference.

Who now can describe the variety of native birds of that climate? who are in

such variety and abundance, that people are fain to guard their vineyards from them as soon as the grapes begin to ripen; and yet 'tis impossible to hinder them from doing a great deal of mischief, they being so nimble, and having so secure a retreat, though all sorts of inventions, such as guns, cross-bows, slings, scare-crows, are put in use; so that if any are negligent, they may be sure to find their vintage made to their hand. And this mischief is not only for their vineyards, but likewise for all seeds, which is fain to be watched after 'tis sowed, 'till it sprouts; and as soon as the wheat and maiz begin to ripen, the guards must be renewed; for there comes whole armies of birds to attack them, and do them as much mischief as if they were *Xerxes's* armies.

In particular, the parrots are so voracious *Parrots.* and greedy, and have a bill that cuts like a razor; they come in flocks of such an extent, that when they rise they cover the air, and fill it with such a confusion of cries, that I cannot find any thing to compare it to. This kind of birds is bred all over *Chile*, in the mountains, and in the *Cordillera*; and 'tis wonderful to see how exactly they come to an hour, as if they were call'd by a bell, or had some notice where and when the fruits are ripe, and in season for them to enjoy them: they come down from the mountains in the evening; and the noise they make in flying, though they fly high, is such, that one would think them close by: they have a shrill clear voice, and they fly all screaming at once, so that their noise is very loud: they are all green and yellow, and have a blue circle about their neck, and very good to eat, particularly the young-ones.

Those years which are to prove rainy, as the natives observe, as soon as the weather grows cool, before the winter begins, one may see every evening, for many days, great quantities of crows come down from the *Cordillera* into the plains: they come about an hour before sun-set in squadrons, forming a triangle or pyramid, the point of which is led by one single one, before whom none dare go: the figure they make is most regular, with great correspondency to each other, as if they were fixed in the air, and immoveable, so equal and well-concerted is their flight.

There is likewise a bird which we call *Taltales*, or *Galinafos*: it is like a duck, but has bigger wings: they are either black or brown, and very voracious of carrion. In the time of slaughtering, which is every year in *Chile* of most beasts, there is a great deal of flesh lost; then these birds come, as if one had sounded a charge to them, and fall upon the carrion with so much greediness, that having eaten their fill,

fill, they cannot rise again, and are easily knock'd on the head with sticks: the bones of their legs are valued to make scizers, and their quills, which are as thick as ones finger, serve for harpsicals, and other curiosities. Out of this slaughtering-time they die with hunger; but among all the ways they have of maintaining themselves, their way of hunting young goats and lambs is admirable: they sit upon high trees, and from thence spy the flocks of sheep and goats, watching till any of the young-ones stray from the guard of its dam, as they often do, either staying behind to feed, or climbing some rock: this the *Taltale* quickly seeing; and that the young-one is far

from the defence either of the shepherd or old-one, it leaps upon it, and the first thing it does, is to peck out its eyes, and eat its brains; which it does so quick, that though it cry, and the shepherd or mother come to its relief, 'tis too late. Very like to these are another sort of bird, both as to bigness, colour, and shape, and its disposition to prey; they call them *Peuques*, only they are something less, and of a nicer diet, being pleased with nothing but hens or chickens, which they take very dexterously: they are so bold and nimble, as to get into a hen-roost, and carry away their prey, even in presence of the owners, without being stopped or prevented.

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Peuques.

C H A P. XIX.

The same Matter is pursued, and the Flying of Hawks treated of.

AMONGST the great number of birds which are bred in lakes and ponds, and on the sea-side, which are of great variety, none are more remarkable than the birds called *Flamencos*: they are white and scarlet, bigger than turkeys, but so long legg'd that they walk through a lake with great gravity, the water not touching their feathers by a foot or two: the *Indians* delight in making works of their white and scarlet feathers, for their dances and their feasts.

Flamencos.

There is another bird, called the *Child-bird*, because it looks like a swaddled child with its arms at liberty: I have not seen them any where but at sea; perhaps they are the same, called *Pinguins*, of which frequent mention is made by those who pass the *Streights of Magellan*: They are generally painted in the maps; and they say, there are abundance of them in those parts, and that they are good meat.

The Child-Bird.

There are other birds which furnish the tufts of feathers, called *Hérons-feathers*, which though so narrow, yet are so valued, that formerly every feather was worth two *rials*: those which grow under their wings are larger and better, though those on their heads, which they wear as aigrettes, are very fine. There are but few of this kind of birds; for they do not increase so much as others. There are more of that kind, call'd *Garçolas*, which serve for soldiers feathers, and other ornament. There are many others of great variety of colours, of which the *Indians* use to make their ornaments, called *Mallengues*, which are made for the head like a garland of most fine colours of wooll, and in that they stick a plume of feathers, for their dances, and days of rejoicing.

Hérons-feathers.

Garçolas.

Voycas.

are very famous among them, in whose notes, at certain times and places, they find great mysteries, prognosticating by them, either their own, or their children, or their friends death, or sickness, or other misfortune; and they remain with great apprehension and fear. The *Spaniards* call these birds *Pebicolorados*, that is, marked on the breast; because there is no scarlet deeper, nor brighter, than the red on their breast: the other feathers of their wings and body are brown. There are other very little ones, called *Pinguedas*, whose body is not much bigger than an almond: these live upon flowers; and that they may come at the honey of them, nature has given them a bill, which, when 'tis shut, is like a needle to sew with; and for this reason they feed flying, like bees, from flower to flower, without lighting but very seldom on a branch of it, and that very slightly. These birds are of the greatest beauty imaginable; for if they were made of polished gold, they could not shine brighter: they have a green mingled with this gold colour. The males are distinguished from the females, in that they have on the head a lively orange colour, which is like fire. Those on the other side of the *Cordillera* are yet more beautiful, because their tail is also of the colour of their head; and though they have so little a body, their tail is a foot long, and two inches broad.

Pinguedas.

There is likewise a very odd bird, to which the *Spaniards* have given the name of *Wood-Pecker*; because though they are but little, they have so strong and sharp a bill, that they form their nests with it in the trees, forming a hollow place fit for them as exactly, as if they had an instrument to do it. Of these I have seen but few; but there are great numbers of a kind of birds, called

Wood-Pecker.

OVALLE 1646. called *Condores*, which are as white as ermin, and of their skins they make muffs, it being of a very soft touch, and extream warm; but the bellies of the buzzards are much more so, being admirable to make stomachers to cover the pit of the stomach, and help digestion.

I have not seen such variety of birds on the other side of the *Cordillera*; and the cause, I believe, is the dryness of the land, and the want of that shelter of woods and groves which are on *Chile* side; but in those plains, called the *Pampas*, there are *Fran-*

Francolins. *colins* to be found, which are a sort of wild hens, and as big; but much better meat, and of a higher relish. There are likewise

Ostriches. *Ostriches*, who are a mighty bird, and very numerous there. They often find their nests, and in them such a quantity of eggs, as one nest will feed a great company; one of them alone being beaten and fry'd, makes a pancake big enough to dine several people: their feathers are employ'd for umbrells to keep off the sun, and other good uses.

Variety of diversions in hunting, hawking, &c.

'Tis a pleasant sight to see the taking of the *Francolins*: the *Indian*, with a string made at one end into a running knot or noose, at the other having a little piece of sharp cane fastened to it, goes out to find them, which when he has done, he draws gently near, so as not to fright his game; when he is at a due distance, he begins to go round the bird, making with the cane several circles over his head. The *Francolin* is of its own nature a very fearful bird, and simple, and dares not rise, because he thinks he is encompassed round, but goes into the middle of the circle; where the *Indian* lessening still his rounds, follows it, so that at last it squats down upon the ground, and lets the *Indian* put the noose over its head; which when he has done, touching it on the wing with the sharp end of the cane, the bird flies up, and draws the noose close, and so is catch'd like the fishes by an angling-rod.

'Tis not so easy to catch the *Ostriches*; for though they do not fly, yet they have such large wings, that though a greyhound be very swift, if the bird has law of him, he will hardly overtake him; but if by chance he comes up with him by surprize, or otherwise, 'tis wonderful to see the art the *Ostrich* uses to avoid his teeth; for when the dog is just going to seize, the *Ostrich* lets down one of his wings, and fixes it to the ground, covering with it its whole body: the greyhound thinking he has him sure, takes hold with open mouth; but he fills it only with feathers, and is cheated; for immediately the *Ostrich*, before the dog can clear his mouth, sets a running, and gets a good length before him; and often

escapes, if the greyhound does not make extraordinary haste to overtake it.

This is a very diverting sport; but that which is used in *Chile* with *Faulcons* is much more so: not to fly partridges, for that is a known sport every where; but with another sort of bird, which the *Indians* call *Quulteu*, from the sound of its note when it sings, which sounds so. These are as big as hens, and have very large wings, and upon their wings they have, in the joining place, provided by nature for their defence, certain sharp points. The *Spaniards* call these birds *Friers*, either because they always go two and two, or three and three, or because the colour and order of their feathers is so, that one would really think they have a hood and a frock.

For this sport 'tis not enough to have one *Faulcon*, but there must be two, and those very well taught, and dexterous to assist one another. There uses to be very good company to see the engagement, as we may call it; for it is worth seeing. Coming then to the place that these birds haunt, which is generally some meadow or watery ground, (for that they never forsake, their last defence being in the water, as soon as they are sprung,) one at a time, the sportsman flies one *Faulcon* at them, who, as if he minded not his game, endeavours to get as high as he can, and get the wind of his prey, who, at the same time, does the same thing, and contends for place with his enemy; so that they both get almost out of sight; but at last the *Faulcon* having the better wing prevails. When he has got advantage enough over him, he comes down upon him like lightning; but the *Quulteu* defends himself, either by avoiding the blow, or by opposing the armed points of his wings; upon which often the unwary hawk is wounded in the breast. When the sportsman sees the engagement last too long, fearing his hawk may tire, or be balked before the victory declares for him, looses his other *Faulcon* to help the first, who being fresh, soon joins his companion, and both together fall upon the *Quulteu*, but not at the same time, lest they should hinder one another: one gives him a blow, and then the other another; and so, though he make a good defence, he is forced to yield, which he does, by making a way for the water, where he has his last retreat to defend his life: here he expects his enemies upon his back, with the points of his armed wings turned towards them: the *Faulcon* despising the danger, comes down with all his force, and seizing her with one foot, tears her to pieces; but 'tis not without receiving sometimes dangerous wounds. The victory does not always cost so dear; for that is according to the strength of the contenders.

tenders. I omit the shooting of wild-fowl in the fens and waters, which is nevertheless very entertaining, as are likewise the *Indians* ways with nets, nooses, arrows, night-lights; nay, the manner of catching the *Faulcons* themselves is as diverting: 'tis done

with fine nets, in which they involve them, that they may not hurt their wings. O'VALL
1646. E.

This is sufficient about the birds; and since we are in the region of the air, so near heaven, let us say something of it before we come down to the earth again.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Heaven, and Stars, which are proper to the Kingdom and Region of Chile.

THIS the common opinion of all those that have seen and dwelled in *Chile*, that its soil and heaven, if they have their equal, have not their superior in the world; and though some say the stars of the *artick* pole are larger than those of the *antartick*, yet as to their brightness and beauty, and the light they give, and as to their numbers, with the clearness of the heavens where they are, there is none but must own the advantage on the side of the *antartick*. We may give, as a natural reason of this, the temper of the climate, both as to air and earth; for though there are in it so many rivers, as we have observed, yet they being rapid, and swift in their course, do not cause overmuch humidity by their stay, but afford only what is necessary for its fertility; and, of the two extremes, the country is rather dry than moist, particularly as far as thirty four or thirty five degrees, as is manifestly made out by two experiments: first, by the facility with which all wounds are cured, which use to be much longer in wet countries; and, secondly, 'tis proved from the habitations and houses, where the best apartments are reputed to be on the first floor, they being looked upon in *summer* for coolest, and in *winter* for warmest; and, though they are watered every day in the year, and the floors most commonly but of earth, not at all upon vaults, yet they are never unhealthy; and there is no need of board-flooring or mats, let the winter be never so sharp. This is a convincing argument, that the country inclines to dryness rather than to humidity; from whence it follows, that the sun raises fewer vapours; and therefore the air being clearer, the brightness of the stars is more conspicuous; and for this reason the sun sets and rises so glorious, casting out resplendent beams of light, which is not so on the other side of the *Cordillera*; for there I have seen the sun pretty high, and its whole body visible, and yet no ways dazzling, the vapours of the earth taking away the radiant beauty of its beams.

The experience of this is yet more admirable to those who sail from *Peru* for *Chile*; for though they keep out a great way from

land, yet they know presently by the horizon when they come to the height of *Chile*; for they begin to see it all disengaged from clouds and serene, gilded and glorious, and its beauty increasing upon them every day, as they gain more height towards the pole. On the contrary, when they sail for the line from *Chile*, the nearer they grow to the tropick, that light and splendor grows duller and duller; so that in my voyage for *Panama*, I saw all the horizon muddy, sad, and clouded, which continued till I got to the *Havana*; where being in eighteen degrees north latitude, the horizon cleared up and grew every day better and better, till we got to *Spain*.

So much for the clearness and beauty of the heavens and stars, which may be confirmed by all those who have seen the place; but 'tis not so of the bigness of the stars. The astrologers pretend, That the contemplation of them, and their measure, belongs entirely to their art, as understanding best the disposition of the celestial sphere; but, in my judgment, they who can best speak of this matter, are those who have seen both poles, as is well observed by *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, in the eighth and ninth part of their twelve curious books, where they relate variety of histories, observations, and voyages, which have been in the *North* and *South America*, as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*. They report then the opinions of learned men, who, in sailing on the *South Sea*, observed what I shall here produce, translated faithfully from their elegant *Latin* into our vulgar tongue, in these words:

The learned of our nation, who have sailed on the South Sea, do relate to us many things of that sky, and its stars, as well of their number, as beauty and bigness; and my opinion is, that the stars we see here, are no ways preferable to the meridional ones; but rather do affirm, without dispute, that those stars which are near the antartick pole are more in number, and brighter and bigger. John and
Theodore
de Brye.

He adds, besides, speaking of the stars of the constellation of the *Cruzero*, that their splendors and beauty is extraordinary,

OVALLE. and that the *Via Lactea*, or *Milky-Way*, is much brighter in these parts. This is all from those authors.

The fourteen constellations of the Hemisphere of Chile.

Peter Theodore, a most skilful pilot and astronomer, relates in particular the stars of that hemisphere, and the fourteen figures or constellations they make. The first is the *Cameleon*, which contains ten stars; the second is the *Indian Aspick*, made up of four stars; the third is the *Flying-Fish*, which is made up of seven; the fourth, called the *Fish Dorado*, is composed of five; the fifth is called the *Hydra*, and is of fifteen; the bird *Toncan*, which is the sixth, has eight stars; and the *Phoenix*, which is the seventh, has fourteen; the *Crane* has thirteen, which is the

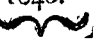
eight; in *Noah's Dove*, which is the ninth, there appear eleven; the *Indian Sagittary*, which is the tenth, has twelve; the *Peacock*, which is the eleventh is composed of sixteen; the *Bird of Paradise*, otherwise called *Maauodiata*, has twelve; the thirteenth is the *Triangle*, and contains five; and the last is the *Cruzero*, in which are four, which make a cross, with a little one close by it, which makes the foot of the cross. And though this *Cruzero* is the guide of those who sail in the *South Sea*, as the *Cynosura* is to those who navigate the *North Sea*, yet it is not immediately at the pole, but thirty degrees from it; but there being no stars of that bigness near



it, it is made use of for that effect, but not for the needle; for that in either sea, whether south or north latitude, always turns to the north; though when one is in the *South Sea*, the whole globe of the earth, or the best part of it, is between them and the north, according to the circle that the *Cruzero* makes. The fix'd point of the pole seems to be between two, as it were, great clouds, though they are not such, but clusters of stars, not well distinguishable, such as compose the *Via Lactea*; and they are always fixed, without stirring; and when

the heavens are clear, they are brighter, and better seen. There are other stars nearer these clouds than the *Cruzero*; but not being so big, there is little notice taken of them, but only of the *Cruzero* stars, which are indeed very beautiful, and shine with great liveliness. I suppose that those who have not seen them in their own place and situation, would be glad to see a draught of them; which therefore I have placed in the foregoing page, representing them as they are seen there.

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C H A P. XXI.

Of the Animals, as well proper, as new Comers to the Kingdom of Chile; and also of the Bezoar-Stones.

TILL the *Spaniards* came to these *American* parts, there never had been seen in them either cows, horses, sheep, hogs, house-cats, nor rabbits tame or wild: nor dogs, except those called cur-dogs; but no hounds, greyhounds, nor other dogs for game, either by land or water; no mastiffs, nor little dogs, which we call lap-dogs; no goats, nor asses: but as soon as the *Spaniards* were settled in *Chile*, and found the land so proper for the breed of cattle and flocks, they have increas'd them to a degree of superfluity; so that there is not only enough for the support of human life, but also for those animals who are carnivorous; for, as we have seen above, in the slaughtering time, much flesh lies waste in the fields, so that 'tis necessary to burn it, and throw it into lakes and rivers, to hinder its corrupting the air. That which in other parts is call'd a calamity and desolation of the country, which is a murrain among cattle, in *Chile* is thought a necessary purge of the too great abundance of it. This may seem a paradox; but yet is founded upon experience, because the cattle increasing as it does, and the land being so good, that it fattens them to a wonderful degree, (there being often taken out of one cow a hundred and fifty pounds weight of tallow, each pound of sixteen ounces,) there is enough to do to get a vent for it. The same may be said of the hides; for though *Peru*, where the best part of the consumption is made, is so great, yet such is the product of *Chile*, that it wants another *Peru* to consume it; for this reason 'tis a gain to lose the increase of the cattle, for then the profit is more, with less trouble and cost of servants. In the beginning of the settlement in *Chile*, Don Antonio de Herrera says, That horses were commonly sold for a thousand pieces of eight a horse; and Gareilasso says, That at first a horse did

not use to be sold in *Peru* at all, except upon the death of the owner, or upon his returning to *Spain*; and in that case they were sold for four, five, or six thousand pieces of eight a horse. He says, he himself knew a soldier who had an excellent horse, and that a negro going one day by with him in his hand, a gentleman, who saw them, sent to offer the soldier ten thousand pieces of eight for the horse and negro, which he refused with contempt: but since that time horses have multiplied so, that there being not people enough to feed and tend them, they are fallen extremely. The cows too have increased so as to cover the fields; and 'tis a wonderful thing to see in those great plains of *Tucuman* and *Buenos Aires* vast herds of them feeding, without any other master than the first that will take them, if he can. I have seen in *Chile*, in the territory of *St. Jago*, horses already dress'd for war, sold for two crowns a-piece, to supply the army, and yet for shape, courage, and good qualities, they yield to no *Neapolitan* horse I ever saw; no, nor to the *Andaluzes*, from whom they are descended; for they have had no reason to degenerate in so good a land. The cows too, which were at first out of all price, I have seen sold for a crown a-piece, and the calves for half a crown: the sheep, such as I have seen bought in flocks for *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, have been sold for three pence, or three half-pence a-piece.

Theodore and John de Brye, do mention some author, who says, That rats were likewise strangers to *Chile*, and were carried thither by an *Antwerp* ship that passed the *Streights* of *Magellan*: they must not mean the ordinary house-rats and mice, but those great ones which have a large tail, and are about a foot long: they are called *Pe-Pericotes*, *ricotes*, and are very mischievous. This a large sort of rats. This ship, without doubt, took port in some of

OVALLE. of those of *Chile*, where it left these animals, so prejudicial and hard to destroy; for they resist the cats, and 'tis a stout one that can kill them. But it is a wonderful thing to observe, that though in sea-towns the magazines, shops, and warehouses, are full of them, yet they never go further into the land, which they might easily do, by so much carriage as the commerce of those parts requires. I believe the air of the *Cordillera* does not agree with them, and so may have killed those which have been carried by chance with goods; for I do not remember I ever saw one in *St. Jago*, nor in any town far from the sea-side.

Sheep. Among the animals that are proper to *Chile*, the first may be reckoned those which are called the sheep of that country: they are of the shape of camels, not so big, nor vast, and without the bunch that camels have: they are white, black, brown, and some are ash-coloured. The authors above cited say, That anciently they served to plow the land in some parts, before there were oxen in it; nay, in the relation of *George Spilberg* and his fleet, 'tis said, the *Dutch* passing by the island of *Mocha*, saw the *Indians* use them in that work.

They are made use of at this time in some parts, for carriage of wine, wheat, maize, and other provisions; and I remember to have seen them about thirty years ago serve to carry water at *St. Jago* from the river to the houses, for the use of the family; but now they are not at all employed there in this kind of labour, there being such quantities of mules and asses for all that service. These sheep have their upper lip slit, with which they do, as it were, spit at those who vex them; and the children, who use to do it, when they see them ready to spit, run away; for they know, and 'tis a common truth, that wherever their spitting falls, it causes a scab; and having a very long neck, about three foot long, they use these defensive arms the better. Their wool is extremely valued; for of it are woven cloaks, or mantles, so fine, that they look like camlet: they govern them by a kind of bridle, which they put through holes in their ears, and so by pulling the reins, turn them which way they will: they kneel down to be loaded, and when the loading is well fitted and fastened, they rise and carry it very gravely.

Pegues, a small sort of wild rabbits. There are likewise natural to that country a sort of little rabbits, called by the *Indians* *Pegues*, which they eat with much pleasure: they are wild. The taking of them is very good sport: they carry water in great tubs to their holes; and though they are very deep, and have secret issues and correspondencies with each other under ground, to avoid being pursued by the

hunters or their dogs, yet the water overcomes them; and while they fly from it, the *Indians* watch for them at their other holes, and with their dogs take them as they come out to avoid the water.

There are another sort of little rabbits, Small tame rabbits, called Cuyes. which are like these, but they are tame, and the *Indians* call them *Cuyes*, which are also very good meat: they are of pretty colours, and spotted: they are very common every where.

The squirrels are not so; and I do not Squirrels; know they are to be found any where in *Chile*, but in the valley of *Guasco*: they are grey, or ash-colour, and their skins are mightily valued for furs, for their warmth and fineness of the touch.

The animals called *Guanacos*, *Chamois*, Wild goats, or *wild goats*, are very like these country sheep, as well in their shape as motions; but they are of a different colour; for they are red, of a clear colour: they never can be tam'd, but go in flocks, feeding in the fields; and 'tis as much as a very swift horse can do to overtake them running; and if they have the least start of them, they seem to play with them; for by an easy gallop, they make the horse strain; in which they are much help'd by their long legs, for by them they gain more ground at every reach: yet 'tis very easy to catch the young-ones, or those who are not us'd to be hunted; because being so tall, and their bones, because of their youth, not well knit, they are easily tir'd; so that by following a flock of them on horseback with dogs, (and they go three or four hundred in a flock,) the young-ones are forc'd to lag behind, and some are kill'd by the dogs, some are knock'd on the head with a stick by the hunter. I have seen them bring thus three or four dead at a time. And this is not only a pleasant, but a useful sport; for the flesh of these young-ones is like kid's flesh, and is eaten fresh; but that of the old-ones is not so, but dried and smoak'd: 'tis the best of that kind in the world.

These creatures breed, in a bag they have The bezoar stone. under the belly, the bezoar-stones, which are so valued against poison and malignant fevers, good to rejoice the heart; and other admirable effects. The matter out of which they are made, are herbs of great virtue, which these animals eat to cure themselves of any thing they ail, and preserve themselves from the poison of any venomous creature, as serpents, or poisonous plants, and other accidents.

These stones are found in the oldest *guanacos*; and the reason is, that their natural heat not being altogether so strong as the heat of the young-ones, they cannot convert into their substance all the humour of the herb they take to remedy their indisposition; and

and so nature has provided, that what remains may be deposited in that bag, and be made a stone to cure in men the same infirmities: according to this notion one may observe, that the stone is compos'd of several coats, some thicker, and some thinner, according to the quantity of matter that is gathered together at each time, just as a wax candle is made by several coats given at several times to form its bigness.

'Tis likewise a thing well experienced, that in those countries, where there are most vipers, and other poisonous animals, these stones are most plentiful; and the cause is manifest, because these animals, and the deer-kind, do beat so much ground for their livelihood, they are more expos'd to venomous creatures, which, when trod upon, wound them sorely, and they run naturally to their remedy in these herbs; and as they do this more frequently in those parts where they receive most damage, by consequence there are more of these stones engender'd.

From hence it happens, that in those parts of *Cuyo*, there is a greater quantity of these bezoar-stones to be had, than in that which we call properly *Chile*; for there are many vipers and poisonous creatures, of which *Chile* is very free, as we have said; and yet there are taken some stones here, but the greatest part come from *Cuyo*; to which likewise it is of some consideration, that there are bred more guanacos and stags than in *Chile*; for that country being not so populous, and having such vast plains, these animals have room enough for food and for increase; but it is not so towards the sea-side of *Chile*, for that being very populous, and full of cattle and flocks, there is no room for the wild ones, except upon the edges of the *Cordillera*, from whence they come down into the plains sometimes.

The bigness of these stones is in proportion to the animal that breeds them; the most certain rule is, that if they are little,

there are many in the bag, and fewer if large; and sometimes, when very large, there is but one. I carried with me to *Italy* one that weighed thirty two ounces; and yet that was not it which made it the most valuable, but its virtues and shape, for it was a perfect oval, as if it had been turn'd by a turner: the *Indian* who found it had seventy pieces of eight for it; because when a great stone is found, it is not sold by weight, but according to the estimation of the owner, and the bigger the dearer.

The virtue of these bezoar-stones is very well known and experienced; and people of quality take them, not only in the time of their sickness, but also in health, to preserve it: the way of using them is to put them whole into the vessel that holds either the wine or water, or into the glass out of which one drinks, and the longer they stay in, the more virtue they communicate. And if a person be not much indisposed, there is no need of using them any other way; but if any one should be attack'd by any distemper of consequence, and be sick at heart, or be affected with melancholy fits, it would have more virtue to grate a little of the stone to powder, and drink it: whatsoever way 'tis taken, it comforts the heart, purifies the blood; and the using of it is look'd upon as a preservative against all infirmities.

There are also bred in the *Pampas*, or the plains of *Cuyo*, many hares; and one sort, call'd *Chirichinchos*, whose flesh tastes like that of sucking pigs. But the greatest increasers are the *Guanacos*, and the deer. It has been said already, that in *Chile* there are but few, for the reasons alledged; but there are great quantity of wild cows and wild mares, which came at first from some which went astray, by the negligence of the owners; and being once in those mountains, they have increased so wonderfully, that they are become a game, and many go to kill them, or take them for profit.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Trees growing in Chile.

AMongst other obligations which the land of *America* has to *Spain*, one is the having enrich'd it with so many noble plants, trees, and seeds, which it wanted; for before the *Spaniards* conquer'd it, there were not in all *America* either vines, fig-trees, olive-trees, apple-trees, melicotoons, peaches, auberges, quinces, pears, pomegranates, cherries, apricots, plumbs, oranges, lemons, citrons, nor almonds. As for seeds, there was neither wheat, barley, nor oats, aniseed, coriander-seed, cumin,

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nor oreganum, linseed, flax, pease, beans, nor cabbage, lettice, radishes, cardoons, chicory, or indive, *berenguenas*, gourrels, melons, cucumbers, parsley, garlick, or onion. But instead of these trees, fruits, and plants, the author of nature had provided them with others of great use and good relish, such as maize all over *America*: *Frisoles*, *Las Papas el Madi*, *Los Capallos*, and some others, are proper only to *Peru*, and the land within the tropicks; the *Camotes*, *Guayabas*, *Mammeyes*, *Plantanos*,

M

tanos,

UVALLE. *tanos, Zipitapotes, Anones, Nisperos, Aquacates, Pinnas, Guanabanas, Papayas, Pitabayas,* and many others, which, though highly commended, do not generally come up to the relish of the *European* fruits. And the bread and wine has been a singular addition to them, such as the *Indians* value more than all their product, and particularly the wine, which is their chief delight; as for bread they value it, but not so much.

Though *America* is oblig'd to *Europe* for all this addition, yet *Chile* much more, as having the greatest advantage by it, and with more plenty than any other part of that new world; for though all that we have nam'd of *European* plants are to be found somewhere, yet not all everywhere; for in some there grows corn, and not wine; in others both those, and not oil; in others neither corn, wine, nor oil, but other fruit-trees. The same thing may be said of the animals to eat; some have beef, others mutton, others pork, which on the continent is a delicacy, and is given to the sick; so that running over all *America*, we may find that this communication of new creatures has reach'd some parts for one thing, and some for another. But as for the kingdom of *Chile*, it may be said to have been totally oblig'd and enrich'd; for all the trees, seeds, plants, and all the animals, &c. of *Europe*, are to be found there, and that almost in every part of it, for 'tis rare to see any thing take in one place, and not in another; but if it does they may easily have it from their neighbours, if it be not so good, or not at all with them.

In the third chapter of this book, we have already mentioned how all these *European* fruits and seeds take in *Chile*, but we can never enough dilate upon that subject: It will hardly be believed by most people, particularly by those who never having been out of their own country, are so in love with it, as not to imagine there can be any equal to it, much less exceed it; and we relating things so distant, of which we cannot bring ocular witnesses, we are the more liable to contradiction; but since we are writing a history, we must speak the truth as we know it, and it really is.

Trees. Some trees do not exceed in bigness those of *Europe* of the same kind, as cherry-trees, quince-trees, almond, peach, and pomegranate-trees, olive, orange, lemon, and citron-trees, melicotoons, which last in *Tucuman* are nevertheless very large, and to that degree, that three or four men sometimes cannot embrace the body of one of those trees. I have seen some apple-trees as big as elm-trees; the pear-trees are yet bigger, and much more the mulberry-trees,

and walnut-trees, though as to their fruit, it is not so large as that of *Europe*, the nuts having the shell as thick again, and by consequence less meat. This is as to the garden-trees brought from *Europe*.

As for the trees natural to that country, they are of two sorts, the one is fruit-trees, the other not: of the first, I find only three kinds of species of those, which are likewise in *Europe*, which are the *avellanos*, or hazel-nut, the pine-tree, and the *algarabos*, or cod-tree. Of those which are not properly fruit-trees, there are the *laurel*, the oak, the willow, the cypress, which are in great abundance, and very large; out of these they have boards very fit for boxes and trunks, which are no ways pieced, but of one plank; the doors and coverings of the churches are also of this cypress-wood.

These trees grow most commonly in the *Cypress-precipices* of the *Cordillera*, which being very deep, the cypresses are extremely large and tall, for they shoot up till their tops can be warm'd by the sun-beams; so that they are as straight as a wax-candle, and of so fine a smell and perfume, that though it be so plentiful, it bears a good price, and a greater in *Peru*, to which 'tis carried, as well as the cedar, which does not sell so well, because there are more of them.

These cedar-trees are without comparison bigger, and have larger heads than the cypress-trees, and of one of them are made several planks; but more of this when we come to speak of the islands of *Chiloe*; for there they are larger than in any other part. The colour of the wood is red when it is first work'd, but in time, and by degrees, it loses that lively colour, and comes to be of a kind of walnut-tree colour; the planks are of the fashion of cedar planks, not so subject to the worm, but more easy to work.

The oak also yields very large planks, *The Oak*. for they thrive exceedingly, and grow very thick; some of them are white, and the wood of them is corruptible; others are red, and incorruptible.

The planks from the *paragua-tree* are the most in use, but less valuable. The *paragua-tree* is a handsome branching tree, keeping its leaves green all the year: they are like elms.

The most common wood of all, and that of which there is most plenty, which serves for the covering of houses and roofs, is the cinnamon-wood. These are very large trees, of a beautiful aspect; they keep their leaves all the year, and are like that which in *Italy* they call the laurel royal. The *guayac-tree* is bred in the mountain or *Cordillera*, and from thence has its hardness and heaviness, which is such, that it is like iron; and

and the balls made of it to play at billiards, are almost as hard as the ivory ones; the tree is no large tree, and the heart of the wood is a yellow mix'd with green; the decoction of it is good for many infirmities.

sandal-tree.

The sandal-tree is very odoriferous; there are great quantities of them in the islands which are nam'd from *Juan Fernandes*; 'tis a preservative against the plague, and is us'd by the confessors, and others, who are bound to approach infected people. There are other trees and shrubs of admirable virtue for several infirmities, of which the *Indians* have a particular knowledge, and perform admirable cures with them.

Palm-tree. The fruit-trees bred in the mountains are many, and of great variety: let us first treat of that which indeed carries the palm, not only because of its name, but that its height, beauty, and abundance, and that of its most excellent fruit, challenges the first place among all the rest.

They grow generally upon the mountains, and in precipices, so thick together, that seeing them at a distance, one would think they were a clump set by hand; they are very thick and high, all the body of the tree is naked till the top or first sprout; its nature is to lose all its old branches as the new ones come out, by which means the body of the tree rising free, and disencumber'd from such boughs as use in other trees to grow out of the sides of them, is totally employed in feeding the top, and the fruit which grows within it being, as it were, a pyramid round it, to preserve it by the admirable texture of its leaves and branches which encompass it.

These palm-trees have a wonderful property, and most certain, which is, that none of them give their fruit, except they are in sight of each other; and if it happens that one comes up alone, without a companion, though it thrive to a great largeness, yet it never bears, except another be planted by it, and this they call the female; and as soon as the female is planted, though never so little a one, yet the great ones bear, and the second in its time, when it is big enough: I have seen the experience of this; and 'tis a thing well known to all. The fruit of these trees is called *Cocos*, and is like filberds, though bigger by half, and the meat within the shell is not solid, but hollow, and is, round the edge, about the thickness of a crown-piece, and in the rest of the hollow is a kind of milk, or water, of an excellent relish; and so is the flesh of it, which is white, and serves to preserve the liquor like a viol, which stays in it till it be imbibed by the *Coco*, which happens in some months; and then they are not so good to eat as when they are fresh; but then they are good to preserve, as al-

monds are, and other kernels of that nature. OVALLE.
1646.

Antonio de Herrera, and other authors, say, that these *Cocos* are good against poison; and nature seems to set a value upon it, by the many covers in which it is involved; first, the kernel is cover'd with a shell harder than that of the almond, then it has another cover of a green colour, and sometimes yellow, which is woven so close about it, and so strongly, that when it is green, 'tis easier to break it than to peel it off. The fruit grows close to a stalk, which sometimes will have above a thousand on it; and this is environ'd by a great shell, which grows bigger and bigger with that bunch it contains, till at last the fruit makes it burst and open into two parts, which are like two boats, each of above half a yard long, and two spans diameter in the broadest place, and the bunch within all of a fine yellow, very beautiful to look on. It hangs on the branches till it be ripe, and then falls to the ground, where it is gather'd, and great provision is made of it for *Peru*; for besides their being made a sweetmeat, the children rid the merchants of them for play-things, it being one of their greatest entertainments.

The palm-trees which bear dates, do not seem to be natural to this country, but brought from abroad; for I never saw them, as others, wild in the fields, but only in gardens.

There are other fruit-trees wild, which come in the fields, and are call'd *Pengue*; they *The Pengue.* have a red fruit, something bigger and more oval than the filberds; these the *Indians* eat boil'd with other ingredients. There are also trees call'd *Magues*, which are very *The Mague.* beautiful and cooling; the leaves are admirable against a burn; the fruit is black like a myrtle-berry; 'tis very well relish'd, having a *dulcepiquante* very agreeable; it blackens the mouth and hands when it is eaten, and for that reason the more civiliz'd people do not use it so much. There are also fruits of which the *Indians* make their fermented liquors, whose names and properties I cannot call to mind; only I know there is great variety of them; and I can remember one call'd *Quehu*: the fruit is very sweet and small, between red and yellow; of this they make a drink extraordinary sweet. They make another drink of that which they call *Iuigan*, and the *Spaniards* *Molle*; it is of the shape and colour like pepper; the tree on which they grow is but little, but a great bearer: this drink is very agreeable, and coveted even by the greatest ladies. The most common drink of the *Indians* is made of maiz, which is the ordinary bread and sustenance of the *Indians*.

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The Mur-
tilla.Ant. de
Herrera.

Let us end with the tree called *murtilla*; though, if we believe the authors who treat of it, it deserves to be ranked in the first place. Antonio de Herrera speaks so well of this tree in the ninth *Decade* of his history of the *Indies*, Book IX. and Folio 247. that I will relate only what he says, and that in his own words, which are as follow: [*There is a kind of fruit of trees that grow on the mountains, which grow from thirty seven degrees upwards, and in those countries 'tis a common food; the natives call it Uni, and the Castilians Murtilla. It is red, and like a small grape, something bigger than a swollen pea; its shape and colour is like the pomegranate grains, its smell and taste agreeable, and not unlike a grape. It has little grains, like a fig, which are almost imperceptible to the tongue; its temperature is hot and dry: of this they make a wine, which exceeds all other liquors, even that of the east-india coco, or palm-tree: neither cyder, mead, nor beer, nor all the other drinks described by Andres de Laquuna, are to be preferred to it. This wine is clear, fine, warm, and very agreeable to the taste, as well as profitable to the stomach. It consumes all vapours in the head, its heat warming the ears without going any further: it comforts and cherishes the stomach, increases appetite, and never takes it away. It never offends the head, or makes it heavy, or burthens the stomach; and it bears as much water again as wine will do. Those who have tasted it, commend its colour and flavour, as much as that of grapes. Its colour is golden, and mighty bright; and it is as sweet and good as the wine of Ciudad Real. There is little of it made, and so it lasts but eight months; for which reason 'tis not known how many years it would keep. It takes up as much labour and care as wine, in the making: if it be left to itself, and without fire, 'tis forty days be-*

*fore it ferments. It casts down a lee, and works out the frothy part at the top of the vessel; and for that reason care is taken to scum it as it boils, and then 'tis drawn off into another vessel. When 'tis turned to vinegar, its vinegar has a better taste and colour than wine vinegar; for it retains the colour of the fruit, which is very odoriferous and sweet.] Thus far this author: from whence it may be inferred, that this land had good wine of its own; and it had also very good oil made of a seed called *Madi*; it is extremely well relished; but now 'tis not much in use, because that of olives is so common.*

It is not possible to describe particularly, one by one, all the various sorts of trees that are bred in the woods and mountains of *Chile*; and it would take up a very large treatise, which is not my purpose; yet when we come to treat of the *Streights of Magellan*, we will speak of the cinnamon-tree, which is to be found there, and of the barks of some other trees of that soil, which have the same taste as the *east-india* pepper. All that I can say at present, is, that there are few of these trees that lose their leaves in winter, particularly those which grow wild in the woods, which are generally aromatick, and of a very fragrant smell; and of them, all the finest of this kind are bred in the territory of the *Conception*. I would not have believed it, if I had not seen it; for in travelling I met with lovely groves, which bordered the highways, and cast out so rich a smell from their leaves, that the flowers of *jasmin* did not appear sweeter. There are also abundance of *myrtles* and *laurels*, which grow in great groves naturally; and yet among them there are trees whose leaves exceed them infinitely in the perfume of their smell; infomuch that passing one's hand over them, one would think one had amber gloves on.

BOOK II.

Treating of the second and third Part of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Islands of the Kingdom of Chile:

HAVING, for the better description of the kingdom of *Chile*, divided it into three parts, we have treated of the first and principal one, which is that which is properly called *Chile*, in which many things are said which are common to all the three parts; therefore in these two which remain, we shall take notice of that only which shall be peculiar to them, to avoid repetition.

Islands.

We come now to the second part, which are the islands which are spread all along the coast of the *South Sea*, as far as the *Streights of Magellan*; I say, they are many in number, and some of them very large ones; as that of *Sancta Maria*, *La Mocha*, *Juan Fernandes*, and, above all, that of *Chiloe*, in which is founded the city of *Castro*. Some make these islands fifty, some seventy leagues in length, and about six or seven leagues in breadth. In the same sea, or archipelago, there are many more, some of ten leagues, and others less; and in all, reckoning those that are within the *Streights of Magellan*, there are above two hundred discovered.

Del Soboral, De Muxillonnes, De los Paxaros, and many others.

Just over-against *Coquimbo* there are three, which are called *Del Soboral*, *De Muxillonnes*, and *De los Paxaros*, in thirty degrees latitude; two more in thirty three and forty degrees: there eight small ones just over-against *Val Paraiso*, which are called the islands of *Juan Fernandes*; who dying, left them to the *Jesuites*. Then follows the island *Quiriquina*, which is in the bay of the *Conception*. Just over-against *Arauco* is the island of *Sancta Maria*, in the thirty seventh degree; and in thirty eighth that of *La Mocha*. Hard by *Valdivia*, about forty three degrees, comes the archipelago of *Chiloe*, which is composed of forty islands; and hard by it is the province of *Calbuco*, in which there are twelve more. Those of *Los Cbonos* are as many, in forty five degrees; and in fifty degrees are the eighty

islands discovered by *Pedro Sarmiento*, as shall be related hereafter. OVALLE. 1646.

The islands of *Chiloe* are reputed barren; but their soil is not really so, only the excessive rains choak the seed, and do not let the corn thrive; so that they are without wheat, wine, or oil, or any other plants which need much sun. The nature of the climate of this archipelago is such, that it rains almost all the year, so that only maiz, or other such grains can ripen, that do not want so much sun. The nourishment or diet of the natives, is mostly of a root called *Papas*, well known over all the *West Indies*, of a good nourishment; and they grow there bigger than in any other place. They have besides some maiz, some fish, and particularly shell-fish, which is excellent in those seas. They have few sheep, but very good poultry, as well as hogs, and some beef; with which, and what besides is brought to them from *St. Jago*, and the *Conception*, the *Spaniards*, both of the garrison and city of *Castro*, make a good shift. This city is the capital of the chief island; in which, and in the rest, there is great quantity of honey and wax made. And *Herrera* and other historians say, there are mines of gold upon the shore; and they remark it as an extraordinary thing, and hardly heard of in any other place.

Isles of Chiloe.

The manufactures of these islands are the cloathing for the *Indians*, who have a kind of vest which they call *Macun*, and it is without sleeves, because their arms are naked; and over this they put a garment called *Cboni*, which serves for a cloak, and is like that which painters give to the apostles in their pictures. They have another commodity from their woods, particularly of the plank they make of a tree, which is a cedar, and of which they have vast woods, and in them trees of a prodigious size; for frier *Gregory of Leon*, of the order of *St. Francis*, in his map of *Chile*, which he dedicates to the president *Don Lewis Fernandes*

Manufacture of the islands.

OVALLE. *de Cordoua, Senior del Carpio*, says, that
 1646. some of these trees are so big that they
 cannot be hardly encompassed by a rope of
 six yards long; and out of the wood of the
 boughs there has been made six hundred
 planks, of twenty five foot long, and two
 foot broad; and that which is considerable,
 is, that this plank is not sawed, but cut
 with axes; in which there is much more
 loss. This author deserves belief, as well
 from the experience of forty two years that
 he lived in *Chile*, as from having been de-
 finitor of his order. And what I have heard
 from the mouth of a colonel, who was both
 born and bred in that country, will serve
 to confirm this; which is, That if two
 men on horseback are on each side of the
 tree, when it lies along, they cannot see one
 another; for the body of the trunk hin-
 ders them. These planks are carried to
Chile and *Peru*; and in exchange they bring
 back provisions to live on. The islands of
Chono are yet poorer than these; because,
 that being nearer the pole, their summer is
 shorter, and their rains more copious, in-
 so-much that they drown the earth, and hin-
 der it from producing.

Isles of
Chono.

We have little knowledge of any other
 islands besides these of *Chiloe*; because the
 continent being so large, and yet not
 thoroughly peopled, there has been little oc-
 casion of inhabiting any more than some
 few of the islands; by which means there
 is but small discovery made of their quali-
 ties; though 'tis reasonable to think they re-
 semble the land over-against which they lie.

Isles of Juan
Fernandes.

As for the islands of *Juan Fernandes*, I
 will relate what I find writ about them in
Theodore and *John de Brye*, in their relation
 of the voyage of *John Scutten*: they say
 then, that these two islands are very high
 land; the least of the two, which is the
 westermost, appeared to them barren, as
 being covered with wood, and very moun-
 tainous; though not landing on it, they
 could make no judgment of the inside of
 the island. The bigger island, which is the
 eastermost, is likewise mountainous, but
 has great variety of trees, and much grass,
 with which are fed great herds of swine and
 goats, bred from some few which were put
 on shore by *John Fernandes*, who began to
 cultivate these islands as his own; but he
 dying, and the *Spaniards* finding greater
 advantages upon the continent, they for-
 sook those islands, which were out of all
 trade, leaving their stocks of cattle behind
 them, which now are infinitely multiplied.

Fine Island.

They say besides, that coming to this,
 which they call the *Fine Island*, they found a
 port very safe for their ships, having twenty
 or thirty fathom depth, the shore all sandy
 and even, with a delicate valley full of trees
 of all sorts, and wild boars, and other ani-

mals feeding in it; but they could not dis-
 tinguish them, by reason of the distance
 they were at. They extol particularly a
 most beautiful fountain, which coming
 down from high rocks, rows into the sea
 by different canals, which form a pleasant
 prospect, and its water is very sweet and
 agreeable. They saw also great store of
 seals, and other fish, which they caught in
 great plenty. In short, they were so in
 love with this island, for the good qualities
 they discovered even at its entrance, that
 they were very unwilling to leave it, though
 pressed in point of time.

I do not doubt, but this is a very plea-
 sant situation; for in its temperature, and
 other properties, it must be very like *Val
 Paraiso* and *St. Jago*, because 'tis almost in
 the same degree west; and without doubt
 these islands will be peopled in time, when
 the continent grows populous, as it does
 every day; for then people will be seeking
 new habitations; but at present they only
 go thither sometimes to fish, to send it to
Peru, where they have it not so plentifully.

The same authors, giving an account of
 the other *Dutch* Squadron under *George Spil-
 berg*, say, That they came to the island of
Mocha, and found the north side of it plain
 and low, but the south full of rocks: they
 landed; and the good reception they found
 from the *Indians*, is an argument of the fer-
 tility of the place. Those *Indians* are a
 noble sort of people, and very good na-
 tured. When they had refreshed themselves
 much at their ease, they made provision of
 great store of sheep, who are very large,
 and in great plenty there, as likewise of
 hens, eggs, fruit, and other provisions.
 They treated the *Indians* on board, and
 shewed them their great guns, and their
 men in order for fighting: they presented
 them also with *European* commodities, such
 as hats, cloaths, axes, and things which
 they valued. After this, they set them
 again on shore; and the *Indians* made signs
 to them to go back to their ships, as they did.

But they were very differently received in
 the island of *Sancta Maria*, where the vice-
 admiral landed with some of his men, and
 were invited by the *Indians* to eat; but from
 the ships they saw a great army coming
 down upon them, as they were going to sit
 down to table: whereupon they made signs
 to them to retreat to the port; which they
 did, and had just time to embark. But they
 likewise carried off about five hundred sheep,
 and other refreshments, having found the
 island very fertile and well provided, as well
 as very temperate, being about thirteen lea-
 gues south-west from the city of the *Concep-
 tion*, about thirty seven degrees, and not above
 three leagues from *Arauco*; which makes
 some think, that formerly this island was
 fastened

fastened to the main land, and that the sea had in length of time made the division which now forms the bay of *Arauco*.

There is little to be said that is particular of all the other islands to the *Streights of Magellan*, since it has not pleased God to let them be peopled by *Spaniards*, and so give an entrance to the gospel; by which means the product and nature of them might be known, and many souls saved which inhabit them.

All that we know now of them, is, That in the voyage of *Pedro de Sarmiento* to *Spain*, being sent by the viceroy to chastise

Francis Drake, for his boldness for infesting those coasts; in his way, on this side the *Streights of Magellan*, he discovered a great archipelago of islands, which they told to the number of eighty, which he named by several names, and took possession of them in the name of his king. He also discovered more islands in fifty one degrees, to which he did the same. 'Tis known likewise, that in the *Streights* themselves there are many islands, some of which we shall mention when we treat of the *Streights of Magellan*.

OVALLE:
1646.

C H A P. II:

Of the Land called *Tierra del Fuego*.

THE land called *Tierra del Fuego*, (so famous in the relations and maps we have of the *Streights of Magellan*;) has deceived many by its name, people believing that it had been given it for some *Volcanos*, or burning mountains, or other subterraneous fires; but it is not so, for this name had no other occasion, than that the first navigators through the *Streights* discovered upon it many fires and great smoaks, made, as they supposed, by the numerous inhabitants of it; and so they called it the *Land of Fire*. There arose likewise another mistake from its great extent; for it was judged to be a great continent, of which in time the world was undeceived, as we shall see hereafter.

Situation of
Tierra del Fuego.

This land, called *Tierra del Fuego*, is that which forms the south side of the *Streights of Magellan*, extending itself the whole length of the *Streights*, east and west, above one hundred and thirty leagues. Formerly, before the *Streights of St. Vincent*, otherwise call'd the *Streights of Le Maire*, were discover'd, this land was thought to be joined to some other great continent of the *Terra Australis*, which was supposed to join to *New Guinea*, or the islands of *Solomon*; and *Ortelius*, in his *Geography*, is of this opinion; but upon the discovery of the other *Streights of St. Vincent*, that doubt has been clear'd, several having gone through them to the *South Sea*; and among the rest, two caravels, set out by the king's command, in the year 1618. on purpose to view these *Streights*, which it was said had been discover'd by *James Le Maire*, which caravels were commanded by *Don Juan de More*.

1618.

These two vessels set out from *Lisbon* in the month of *October*, 1618. and being come to the east entrance of the *Streights of Magellan*, they pass'd by it, and run along all that coast, without finding any entrance, till they came to that of *Le Maire*, which they went through in less than one day's

time; after which they turn'd to the south, and afterwards to the west: they went round all the *Tierra del Fuego*, and sailing north, came to the west entrance of the *Streights of Magellan*, into which they enter'd, and sail'd through them to the *North Sea*. Having thus made a circle clear round the *Tierra del Fuego*, they proved it demonstratively to be an island separate from all other land. The same was done by Sir *Richard Hawkins*, an *English* gentleman, who having pass'd the *Streight of Le Maire*, sail'd for five and forty days to the south, without finding any land contiguous to the *Tierra del Fuego*, but many islands, as is related by *Antonio de Herrera*, Chap. 27. of the description of the *West-Indies*. The same has been confirm'd by several, who being driven by storms from their intended course, have been forc'd to run towards the south pole; amongst the rest by *Francis Drake*, who having pass'd the *Streights of Magellan*, the sixth of *September*, 1572. and being got on the seventh, a degree from the *Streights*, was carried by a storm two hundred leagues to the south; and coming to an anchor in some of those islands, he there found that the sun being eight degrees from the tropick of *Capricorn*, the days were so long, that there was not above two hours night; from whence he inferr'd, that when the sun came to the tropick, there must be a perpetual day of twenty four hours. The same was experimented about two year ago by the fleet of general *Henry Brum*; which having pass'd the *Streights* in *April*, were by the force of ill weather carried into seventy two degrees, and cast anchor at the island of *St. Bernard*, to which they gave the name of *Barnevelt*; and it being about the entrance of winter, the days were not above three hours long, so that they expected they would still shorten till *June*, when the sun being furthest off from that hemisphere, would leave them in a total night; for this reason,

1646. OVALLE. reason, and because of the hardness of the weather; which increas'd every day, they durst not winter in that island, as they had a mind, but after a fortnight's stay in it, weigh'd anchor, and sail'd for *Cbile*. In which voyage they made but little advance, having always the wind a-head, insomuch that they were a whole month doubling one cape, and lost in the endeavour their *Tender*, in which was the best part of their provision.

So much for the islands belonging to the coast of *Cbile*; but having also mention'd the islands of *Solomon* and *New Guinea*, to which antiently it was thought that the land of *Tierra del Fuego* was join'd, it will be well to say something of them.

The author who writes the best of them, is *Antonio de Herrera*, and from him is taken what *John* and *Theodore de Brye* say of them; which is thus:

Islands of New Guinea. The islands of *New Guinea* run from something more than one degree south of the pole *antartick*, three hundred leagues east to the fifth or sixth degree; according to which reckoning, they fall about the west of *Paita*. The islands of *Solomon* fall to the west of *Peru*, about eight hundred leagues from its coast, and extend themselves between the seventh and twelfth degree: they are distant from *Lima* about fifteen hundred leagues: they are many, of a good size: there are eighteen principal ones, which are some three hundred, some two hundred, some one hundred, some fifty leagues, and less in compass. Between them and *Peru*, inclining to the land of *Cbile*, there is another call'd the island of *St. Paul*, about the latitude of fifteen degrees, and about seven hundred leagues from the *terra firma*.

The fleet of *William Scowten* having run

along the coast of *Cbile* in the year 1615. 1615. or 1616. from the *Streights of Magellan*, took their course to the west, when they were about the latitude of eighteen degrees, to try to find out some new island, and found one in fifteen degrees; which, according to their computation, was distant from the coasts of *Peru* about nine hundred leagues. After this they discover'd two more, which they call'd the *Cocoa* islands, by reason of ^{The Cocoa} the great plenty of that fruit that was ^{islands.} there, that the inhabitants did use to drink the sweet liquor that was bred within the *Cocoas*, but when it was at an end, they made a shift with salt water; to which, being accustom'd from their youth, it did not hurt them. They say more, that the inhabitants go naked, though not quite; and that their way of being civil and saluting, is to give themselves blows upon their temples, which is the same as with us the pulling off the hat or cap. At first they laugh'd at the fire-arms, till they saw one fall much wounded, which undeceiv'd them, and convinced them that it was not only noise which proceeded from those arms. These islands are distant from *Peru*, 1510 *German* leagues, which are longer than the *Spanish* leagues, though not so long as the *Indian* ones. There were found also other islands in the latitude of twenty nine degrees, which perhaps were those which at first they call'd the islands of *Solomon*. Others say, that there are others more to the west, opposite to *Cbile*. Whosoever is curious enough to know the particulars of all those islands, their temperature, inhabitants, their good and ill qualities, may find them in the above-cited authors, who treat of them more at large; for my intention, 'tis enough to say what I have reported.

CHAP. III.

Of the two Streights of Magellan and St. Vincent.

THE *Streight of Magellan* receiv'd its name from that man, who eternized his own, by being the first who discover'd and pass'd it. This was that famous *Portuguese* captain, *Hernando de Magellanes*, whose intrepid soul going almost beyond the true limits of all ordinary valour, seems to have border'd upon temerity and rashness, by engaging himself to discover a passage altogether unknown, and so narrow, that it was very dangerous for ships, being besides in the fifty fourth degree, which makes it very cold. This bold captain began to enter the *Streight* by the *North Sea* the twenty seventh of *November*, in the year 1520. and in twenty days, which was a happy passage, he enter'd the *South Sea*;

from thence he sail'd to the *Philippine* islands, where he was kill'd in one of those islands called *Matan*, to which he went from another called *Zebu*, to fight against the king of the first, because he refused to subject himself to one of those kings who had turn'd christian; engaging him with more courage than conduct, and so he perish'd by the great number of his adversaries. His death was very much lamented, and he much miss'd in the discoveries of that new world; for, without doubt, if he had lived longer, he would have made great discoveries in the *terra firma* and islands.

To give a more certain account of this *Streight of Magellan*, I will make use of the memoirs of those who have pass'd it, and left

left relations of it, who, as eye-witnesses, were less subject to mistake. And first I will give those sworn relations given in ~~Sabilla~~ by those who set sail from the *Corrunna*, by the emperor *Charles* the fifth's order, in six ships under the command of *Fray Garcia Jofre de Loaysa*, a knight of *Malta*, and born at *Ciudad Real*.

They say in their report, That the said *Streight* is a hundred leagues in length, from the cape of the *Eleven Thousand Virgins*, which is at the entrance of the *North Sea*, to the Cape of *Desire*, which is at the entrance of the *South Sea*; and they say more, that they found in the *Streight* three great bays, of about seven leagues wide from land to land, but the entrances of them are not much more than half a league over; the first is about a league deep; the second about two leagues; the third, they say, is encompass'd with mountains of such a height, that they seem to be in competition with the stars, and the sun does not enter within them in the whole year; which was the cause of their enduring there an extream cold; for it snows almost continually, and the snow never melting by the sun-beams, it looked with a kind of blueish colour. They say, moreover, that the nights were twenty hours long; they met with good water, and trees of several sorts, among which many cinnamon-trees; and that the leaves and boughs of the trees, though they appear'd green, yet burnt in the fire as if they were dry; that they found many good fishing-places, and saw many whales, (some mermaids,) many of the tunny-fish, sharks, cods, great store of pilchards and anchovies, very great oysters, and other shell-fish. That there were also very good harbours, with fifteen fathom water; and in the *Streights* itself above five hundred fathom, and no where any sands or shoals. They observ'd several pleasant rivers and streams, and saw that the tides of both seas came each of them above fifty leagues up the *Streight*, and meet about the middle of it with a prodigious noise and formidable shock. Though a *Portuguese* captain, who had pass'd this *Streight*, told me, That these tides were only some high floods, which last a month, or thereabouts, as the winds blow; which makes the sea sometimes rise to a great height, and at other times fall as much, leaving the shoar dry for a great way; and the ebbing is sometimes so fast, that ships are left dry, as this captain's ship was, so that he was forc'd to dig his way out to get into deeper water. They found several other entrances in this *Streight*; but for want of provision they could not stay to search them: they lost one ship off the *Virgins Cape*; and they had scarce enter'd the *Streights*,

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when a storm blew them back to the river OVALLE. of *St. Ildefonso*, and to the port of *Sancta Croce*, where they found serpents of various colours, and stones that were good for stanching of blood; all this may be seen in *Antonio de Herrera*, in the second tome, *Decade* 3. and the ninth book, *Fol.* 335. and it does not disagree with the other relation of *Magellan's* voyage, though this makes the straightest part yet less, allowing it not above a musquet-shot over, and from one entrance to another it reckons a hundred leagues, the land on both sides being very rich and beautiful.

This is, in short, the relation given in to the king. There are some other authors, who neither make the *Streight* so long, nor do they make the narrowest part so straight; for some allow but fourscore and ten leagues, or less, to its length; but yet 'tis probable, that the first give the most credible account, because they examin'd it with such care and punctuality, in order to inform his majesty. All agree in one thing, which is, in the good qualities of the sea, land, and islands of the *Streight*, as well as of the shoar on both sides, and of the good parts that are in it, and of some particularly so secure, that the ships rid in them without being fastened, being as safe as if they had been in a box.

Among the rest the *Hollanders* celebrate much the twenty fifth port, call'd the *Famous*; and it is so much so, that *George Spilberg*, their general, gave it that name, for the excellent reception they found there: they saw the whole earth about cover'd with various fruits of various colours, and of excellent taste. To delight them the more, there was a fine brook of excellent water that fell from a high rock, and water'd all the valley entering into the port; and besides these five and twenty ports or harbours, there were many others in the remaining part of the *Streight*, which might be a third of it, all which were very remarkable.

There is a harbour call'd *De la Pimienta*, Harbour or the *Pepper Harbour*, for the sake of some trees they found in it, whose barks had a most aromatick smell, and a taste of pepper, something more burning and quick than that of the *East-Indies*. When the *Nodales* pass'd this way, they gather'd a great deal of this bark; and authors say, that when they brought it to *Seville*, it was so valued there, that it was sold for sixteen ryals, or two crowns a pound.

The same authors report, that they found cinnamon-trees, which bore good cinnamon; and in the second narrow passage some others, that bear a sort of black fruit, of most excellent taste and favour. In other places they saw most beautiful woods

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and

1646. **OVALLE**. and groves, pleasant plains, agreeable valleys, and intervals of great beauty, with high mountains; some cover'd with snow, from whence there descended lovely streams, others all cloathed with greens of various sorts; and in them they descried many animals going to and fro, such as deer, ostriches, and others, as also great variety of most beautiful birds of all colours; and among the rest they kill'd one so large, that measuring one of its wings, they found it above a yard long; and they were so tame that they flew to the ships, and suffer'd themselves to be handled: they found also another sort of large birds, which they call'd sea-geese, every one of which, after they had been plum'd and pull'd, weigh'd eight pounds of *Castile*; and they were so numerous, that the ground was cover'd with them, so that they kill'd what quantities they pleas'd. They saw another sort of bird, much of the shape of a pidgeon, all white, only with red bills, and red feet; all which were a great entertainment to them as they sail'd along. They commend also the harbour, which they call *Most Beautiful*, where the city of *St. Philip* was founded; there they saw the traces of several animals, which us'd to come to drink in those chrystal fountains. After the third streight place, there is to be seen a most excellent harbour, call'd the *Shell-Harbour*, by reason of the vast quantities of oysters and other shell-fish that they found there, which sufficed to feed the whole fleet several days, carrying away with them a good provision likewise for their voyage, all owning that they were better than those of *Europe*.

Iles of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen. Pinguin Islands.

Holy King's Island.

Iles of Sevaldo.

There are found in the great canal of the streight several islands, which are as estimable as the *terra firma*; they are generally in the widest part, where the sea is seven or eight leagues over; the chief are those of *St. Lawrence* and *St. Stephen*, otherwise called the island of *Barnevelt*. Before they came to these, they found other islands, which they call'd the *Pinguin Islands*, for the great quantity of that sort of birds that are bred there. There is another, call'd the *Holy King's Island*, which is in a river, which enters into the streights, and they saw in it many seals. Others of these islands are nam'd *Sevaldo*, from the name of him that discover'd them, near which there were store of the pinguin birds, and abundance of whales. After having pass'd the second streight, there are still more

islands, the first is call'd of the *Angels*, and *Iles of* is full of the birds we have mention'd. The *Angels*. second is nam'd the island of the *Patagoons*, *Ile of Pa-* or gyants, because they saw there some *agoons,* and several others. Near the shell-port there are other eight islands; and a little before the entrance into the south-sea, there are several other islands, which must be very little, for the streights are there very narrow. Some may desire to know, whether, besides this entrance of the streight of *Magellan*, there are any other, by which ships may sail from the north-sea to the south. Touching which, the relation of *George Spilberg* says, that there is one by the cape, which they call'd *Prouvaert*. Some *English* likewise, who have sail'd that way, are of the same opinion; for which they cite father *Acosta*, of our society, in his *Oriental History*, translated by *John-Hugh Lincolt*, Chap. 10. in the end; as may be seen in the already-cited *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, who add, that many other authors do agree in this opinion; and that those of *Spilberg's* fleet, before they came to the streight, saw this opening on the north-side, but they did not dare to go into it, because they had express orders to pass the streight of *Magellan*; and besides, that which added to this resolution, was the observation they made of the great force with which the waves met each other at this opening, in so much that the sea seem'd to boil.

This is all that I have met with in authors about this opinion, which even *John* and *Theodore de Brye* look upon as false; because neither the *Spaniards* nor *Dutch* ever saw this second canal; but rather that the whole land of *Fuego* is one great continued island, which they prove by the relation of the navigation made by the *Nodales*, who were sent to search for the *Streight of St. Vincent*, and who went round the *Tierra del Fuego*, without finding any such opening, or any other than that of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*; and yet I am of another opinion, and hold the first for certain; and this does not contradict the opinion of *Spilberg*, who does not say, that the opening he saw was on the south, but on the north side, towards the land of *Chile*; and so, though the land of *Fuego* be an island, it does not follow that there may not be an entrance on the north side. But let us leave that to time to make out, and say something of the *Streight of St. Vincent*, which is the second passage from the *North* to the *South Sea*.

C H A P. IV.

~~The same~~ Matter is continued, and the Usefulness of the Commerce between Chile and the Philippine Islands is made out.

1619. **I**N the year 1619. the king sent, in the month of *October*, the two caravels which I mentioned above, to search the *Streight of St. Vincent*, because about that time it was reported in *Spain*, that *James Le Maire* had discovered it. These two ships failed to the bay of *St. Gregory*, which is near the east entrance of the *Streight of Magellan*; from whence they sailed along all that coast, where they saw and conversed with a sort of giants, who were at least the head higher than any of the *Europeans*; and they exchanged for scizars and other baubles gold, which it seems is the product of that country: after which they sailed south-west round the *Tierra del Fuego*, till they came to the mouth of this new *Streight*, which they called the *Streight of St. Vincent*; and before they entered it, they sailed along the shore of this new discovered land, keeping it always on the right hand, their course east-north-east, as it tends.

They failed about thirty leagues; and not having discovered all that way, nor as far as they could see, any opening or inlet, they returned to the opening of the *Streight of St. Vincent*; and entering into it, went through it in less than one day, it not being above seven leagues in length; and being entered afterwards into the *South Sea*, they followed the same land to the east, and south-west thirty leagues more; and seeing it was one continued coast, closed up with mountains of great height, they durst not go any further, beginning to want provisions; and so thinking that this land might reach as far as the *Cape of Good-Hope*, they left it, and failed to the west entrance of the *Streight of Magellan*; which they entered, and went through to the *North Sea*, returning that way to *Spain*, to give an account of what they had discovered, having made a very fortunate voyage, and not lost one man, nor had any sickness, all that climate being very like that of *Europe*, and particularly to the cold part of it. This made the king give order for the setting out of eight sail more, to carry this way to the *Philippine* islands all the relief necessary of soldiers, artillery, and tackling for ships, resolving henceforward that they should always go this way, as being shorter, easier, and of less charge and danger. This was the opinion of *Michael de Cardeel*, and the other pilots chosen for this expedition, who obliged themselves to sail to the *Philippines* (bating extraordinary accidents)

in eight or nine months; for having once passed the *Streights*, if they had the wind and currents favourable, they hoped to get to the *Philippines* in two months; because from *Chile* to those islands, there is no reason, as in other navigations, to wait for certain seasons and times of the year; for all that voyage being to be made within the tropicks, there is no danger of winter; but one may fail it at any time of the year.

The *Dutch* authors already cited, treating of this subject, add these words: [“ In truth this is a great conveniency to mankind, to be able to go from *Europe* to these islands in so short a time, with all the health and safety of the sailors; it being otherwise in going by the *Cape of Good Hope*, where the diversity of winds is to be observed, some of them being so contrary, as to hinder absolutely the voyage; so that it lasts sometimes fifteen or sixteen months. Besides, this course is so subject to diseases, that often they bury half their men in the sea, as happened to *Girard Reinst*, who was sixteen months getting to *Bantam*, which is not above half way to the *Philippines*, and yet lost a quarter of his men: *Adrian Wreuter* was nineteen months getting to *Bantam*, and lost out of the ship, called the *Flessingue*, one hundred and sixty three out of two hundred: the same happened to the other three ships of that squadron.”] Thus far these *dutch* authors; who add, That the ship *Concordia*, going the other way, arrived at the *Moluccas* without losing a man. And if they say true, and make out that it is better to sail this way to their *Batavia*, how much better is it for the *Spaniards*, who drive a trade with *Peru* and *Chile*, the distance being much less, and having for friends all the ports of *Chile*, if they won't go so high as *Peru*, which the *Dutch* have not? Neither would it be a small advantage to exchange in those ports the merchandizes of *Europe* with their product, which is so wanting in the *Philippine* Islands, and all those parts of the east. Every one may find their account in this trade; the *Spaniards*, without running the danger of sickness in those unhealthy climates of *Cartagena*, *Panama*, and *Puerto Bello*, might find as much vent for the *European* commodities; *Chile* and *Peru* would have all goods from *Spain* much cheaper than they have them now by the *terra firma*; the charges then would be

OVALLE 1646. be three times less; and, at the same time, they would help off the product of those parts; as from *Peru* they might load corn, wine, and oil; and if they did not care to go so far, they might have the same things from *Chile*, and cheaper, besides copper, hides, almonds, and other commodities proper to *Europe*: so that 'tis clear this would be a very advantageous intercourse for the *Philippines*, who want all these commodities so much.

Neither would the trade of *New Spain* receive any damage at all from this; for those countries could not have them from *Peru* and *Chile* so easily as from *Europe*; and so *Spain* would send less, only so much as is carried to the *Philippines* from *New Spain*, which cannot be much; for the charge of carrying those *European* commodities from *Vera Cruz*, to be embarked again for the *Philippines*, is very considerable, it being at least one hundred and sixty leagues by land from the *Vera Cruz* to *Acapulco*, which is the port where they are to be embarked; after which they have a navigation of three months; and then there being not always conveniences of shipping in *Acapulco*, those commodities are kept so long that they are spoiled; and 'tis seen by experience how little of this trade turns to account: but it would be otherwise if these commodities were carried from *Chile*, since in two or three months, always in a temperate climate, they might sail with a constant south wind, which blows all the summer infallibly, and so bring the product of *Chile* in a good condition to the *Philippines*. This commerce, though it would accommodate all parties, yet, it must be confessed, it would be most beneficial to *Chile*, which would thereby have more vent for its product, and acquire more people to cultivate its natural fertility.

There has been two obstacles to this project, which have hinder'd its taking: the first is, the difficulty of passing the *Streight* of *Magellan*, because it being so much elevated towards the pole, it cannot be passed but in certain months of the year, which if those who attempt it do not hit, they are in danger of perishing, as in effect it has happened to some squadrons of ships, as I shall relate in the next chapter; though others have passed it very luckily in its proper season, the *Streight* itself having, as we have seen, many good harbours and shelters for ships.

The second obstacle is the same that keeps the port of *Buenos Aires* from being frequented, (for else all the treasure of *Peru*

might be sent that way;) and it is, That the course of trade is settled the other way, notwithstanding the great charge the crown is at to have two fleets, the one in the *South*, the other in the *North Sea*, only to secure this passage; and that with the loss of so many *Spaniards* lives, that in the hospital of *Panama* only, there was buried, as they told me when I went that way, in the year 1630. above fourteen thousand persons; 1630. and what must we guess then in the ports of *Cartagena* and *Puerto Bello*, which have been the sepulchre of so many *Europeans*.

Notwithstanding all these mischiefs, this way is continued to maintain those cities already founded in those parts; though it is most certain, that the same end of carrying the silver to *Spain* might be attained by one only fleet with less danger of the sea. By that course the galleons would sail always in deep water, and not run the hazards they do between *Cartagena* and the *Havana*, between which places they are fain to sound all the way, and keep the lead going, to avoid the many shoals that are in those seas, and in the canal of *Babama* afterwards: besides that, the dangers of sickness would be avoided; for the *Spaniards* find by experience, that at *Buenos Aires* they are healthy, that being in the temperate climate corresponding to that of *Europe*.

And for the same reason the navigation between *Chile* and the *Philippines* is not put in use; because the course of things being once settled one way, 'tis very hard to change them, though to a better. I shall not pursue this matter any further, because it seems to touch the state and government, which is not my design: perhaps time will bring all things to pass; and that those of *Chile* themselves will venture to find out this vent for their product. All consists in trying; for the advantages on both sides would be so manifest, that the sweet of them would soon make the way easy, and that trade would wonderfully enrich *Chile* and *Peru*, since they might bring back to those kingdoms all the commodities of *China* and *Japan*; and that without carrying any gold or silver, which might be preserved all for *Europe*. Thus the greatest part of this new world being enriched by its own product, the king's revenue will be the greater, as well as the returns in gold and silver the greater; and all things thus well accommodated, the service of god, and the divine cult and worship would be better carried on.

CHAP. V.

Of the Fleets; some of which have been lost, and some have happily passed the Streight of Magellan.

Four of the bishop of Placentia's ships lost in the Streight of Magellan,

AMONG the fleets which have been lost in the *Streight of Magellan*, the first was that of four ships set out by the bishop of *Placentia* for the *Molucca* islands; which having got to the *Streight* with good weather, and being enter'd into it about twenty leagues, there rise from the west a storm, which blowing directly a-head, forced three of the ships ashoar, they not having room to turn or run before it; but all the men were saved. The fourth had better fortune; for going before the storm, she got out of the *Streight*; and when the foul weather was over, came into the *Streight* again, where the other ships were lost, and found the men; who had saved themselves on shoar; who presently made signs and cries to be taken on board; but they with hearts full of grief answered them, *What would you have? We cannot relieve you, for the provisions we have on board are not sufficient for us, and so we may fear to perish all of us together.* They could not say to them the other words of the gospel, *Go rather to those who sell*, because they were in a desert country, where they had no remedy, but to send sighs to heaven, accompanied with inconsolable tears and cries, capable of moving the stones themselves. Thus they left them, pursuing their voyage, much afflicted to be forced to forsake them, and not be able to do any thing for them; but these are accidents and hard cases belonging to the sea-faring men.

'Tis not known to this day what has become of these men; only there is a tradition, that a great way within land, on the continent of *Chile*, near the *Streight*, there

The Cessares, supposed to be Spaniards originally.

is a nation call'd *Cessares*, who were endeavour'd to be discover'd by Don *Hieronimo Luis de Cabrera*, governor of *Tucuman*, about eight and twenty years ago, with a good army rais'd at his own charge; but his diligence was in vain, as we have mark'd already, and told the cause of his misarrying. 'Tis thought, and 'tis very probable, these *Cessares* may be descended from those *Spaniards* who were saved in this shipwreck; because it was possible, that seeing themselves without any other recourse, they might go on into the *terra firma*, where contracting alliance with some *Indian* nation, they may have multiplied, and the name of them may have reached the neighbouring nations, and so on to others. This is certain, that this tradition is much kept up, that there is in those parts an *European* nation called *Cessares*. Some say, that

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there has been heard the sound of bells, and they have founded cities where they live; but, in fine, there is no certainty of all this. A gentleman born in *Chiloe*, and who has been a colonel in those parts; gave me in writing a relation of several traditions and informations of great numbers of people that inhabit the land within, and who have much gold. There has been made several attempts to discover them, though all have miscarried for want of provisions, or by other accidents, which in time may be remedied when it pleases God. And at this very time I have receiv'd letters, which acquaint me, That father *Hieronimo de Montemayor*, apostolical missionary of that archipelago of *Chiloe*, had enter'd into the *terra firma* in company of captain *Navarro*, a man very famous in those parts; and that they discover'd a nation, which 'tis thought are these *Cessares*, because they are a nation of white complexion, and fresh cherry cheeks, and who in their shape and disposition of body, seem to be men of mettle; and that they had brought some of them along with them, to endeavour to inform themselves of that which they so much desire. This is all the father writ at that time, because the ship could not stay, and there is but one ship every year bound for those parts; so he was forced to refer himself to the next conveniency, to inform me more particularly of the original and descent of this nation; so that this is all that at present we can say of this nation of the *Cessares*, which 'tis possible may come from these shipwreck'd men; or else they may descend from some *Dutch*, who may have been shipwreck'd in the same place, or thereabouts; and their complexion seems to fortify this conjecture; besides, that they speak a language which nobody then present could understand; or there may be both *Spaniards* and *Flemings*. 'Tis thought we shall not be long without knowing the truth, and so I continue my narration. The second fleet which miscarried in the *Streight*, was that which was set out about two and twenty years ago, under general *Ayala*, a gentleman of high birth and valour; who going from *Spain* to *Chile*, dealt with his majesty for a relief of men, which he was to carry through the *Streight of Magellan*, without landing any where else; but just as they were entering it, they were all cast away, so as to this day there has not been any account of them, except of the vice-admiral's ship, under the command

A Spanish fleet lost in the Streight.

OVALLE. mand of *Francisco de Mandujava*; for having lost sight of the admiral in the storm, she was carried afore the wind to the port of *Buenos Aires*, where he landed the men, and marched them over land to *Cbile*. I heard some of the men talk of this matter; and they used to blame the general very much, for having gone about to enter the *Streight* when the time of the year was so far advanc'd, particularly having been advifed in *Brazil*, where he touched to winter there, which he refused to do, for fear his people should desert him, and so he and they all perished.

These accidents seem to have made this passage less practicable; but yet we know that many have passed this *Streight* with little danger, and some with great felicity. Eight fleets are mentioned by *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, as well *Spaniards* as foreigners, who have passed this *Streight*; and though some have had bad weather, yet there is no doubt but time and good observations may make it more feasible; particularly there being so many good harbours and bays in this *Streight*, where ships may shelter themselves, and let the storms blow over.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Province of Cuyo.

Cuyo, the third province of Chile.

AFTER having treated of the two first parts of the kingdom of *Cbile*, we must say something now of the third, which contains those large provinces of *Cuyo*, which are on the other side of the *Cordillera*, towards the east. We have already described their situation and extent, let us treat now of the nature of them. And to begin with their ill qualities; 'Tis a wonderful thing to consider that there being nothing between them and *Cbile*, but the high mountains of the *Cordillera*, yet they are so different in their qualities. We have already mention'd some; but we may say, that as to their temperature, they are in every thing entirely opposite; for first the heats are excessive and intolerable in summer; and for that, as well as for the vast quantity of bugs, or punaises, which are there, some very small, and others as big as bees, one can hardly sleep a-nights in the houses, and therefore the people all sleep in their gardens and court-yards. There are almost perpetual thunders and lightnings, and many poisonous reptiles and insects, though not so many as in *Tucuman* and *Paraguay*. There are likewise a species of *Mofquitos*, or gnats, no bigger than the points of needles, and as sharp in their sting, though themselves are almost imperceptible; they get into the hair of one's beard, and one cannot be rid of them any other way, than by killing them.

These are the evil qualities of the land of *Cuyo*; let us now mention the good ones. The land is so fertile, that in many things it exceeds even the richest soil of *Cbile*; the crops are better, the fruits larger, and of better taste, by reason of the great heat, which ripens them more: there is good store of corn, wine, flesh, all sorts of fruits, roots, and herbs of *Europe*; as also great quantities of olive-yards and almond-grounds; so that the only essential difference between it and *Cbile*, is the many venomous animals, and the thunders and rains in summer;

though to make some amends, if *Cbile* exceeds in summer, *Cuyo* has the advantage in winter; for though the cold is sharp, yet it is not with such clouds, nor such snow and rains, as in *Cbile*; but rather the weather is serene, and the sun beautiful and clear, without any dark weather, which makes it very temperate.

There is no sea-fish in this province, it being very far from any sea; but it has ponds, which are called the ponds of *Guanacache*, where they catch great quantities of trouts, as they call them, which are very big, like the *Savalos* of *Seville*, but much better without comparison; for they have no small bones, and are of a higher relish, and a very healthy food.

Besides the fruits of *Europe*, this country has several very good of its own. The first is called *Cbanales*, which are like filberts or small nuts; only the difference is, that that which is to be eaten is not within, but on the outside of the shell: the other is the *Algaroba*, of which they make bread so sweet, that it nauseates those who are not used to it. All *Tucuman*, as far as *Buenos Aires* and *Paraguay*, are provided from hence with figs, pomegranates, dried peaches, and dried grapes, apples, oil, and excellent wine, of which they have abundance, which they carry over those vast plains, called the *Pampas*, (where for many leagues together there is not a tree, nor a stone to be found,) in large carts, such as they use here in *Rome*; and they are a caravan of them together, to defend themselves from certain *Indians*, who are enemies, and often attack them by the way.

Some years ago they began to discover here rich mines of silver, the fame of which drew people from *Potosi* when I left *Cbile*, because they were reputed to be richer, and of more profit than those of *Potosi*, all provisions being more abounding and cheaper too. These mines were also said to be in a plain country, where carts might come easily. They write me word likewise, That

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there has since been discover'd gold mines of a prodigious richness. 'Tis true indeed, that in this matter of mines, there is a great difference between assaying of them in little parcels, or in great ones; for often the oar that promises much, yields but little, when the assay comes to be made in great. This is a common observation in mines; and if these of *Cuyo* do not prove extraordinary rich, there will hardly come any people from abroad to them, particularly from *Chile*, where they have already so many and good ones, of such a known profit; and yet they do not work them, the people being more profitably employed in husbandry, which turns to greater account.

I will give here an extract of a letter which I received in *Rome* this year from father *Juan del Poço* of our company, a person of great piety, and worthy of credit, who is at present in the college of *Mendoza*, the chief of all those of the province of *Cuyo*, and it is thus: [“The greatest news here, is about the mines which are begun to be discovered, which if it holds as they relate, it will be the greatest thing in the world: they are of gold, which is seen among the silver oar: there are come very understanding miners from *Potosi*, who cannot give over commending them. There come people from *St. Jago*, to work them, and captain *Lorenço Soares* is named for *Alcalde Mayor* of these mines.”] There are others who write the same thing; and there is no doubt to be made, but that if they can have people, that country will be one of the richest of all the *Indies*; for its great fertility wants nothing but people to cultivate and consume its product. This will make the three cities of that province, which are that of *Mendoza*, that of *St. Juan*, and that of *St. Luis* of *Loiola*, increase mightily, which since their first foundation have been at a stand, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Chile*, which has kept them down; many of the first inhabitants of *Cuyo* having left it to go to *Chile*, as being more temperate, and more abounding with the conveniences of life; for the same reason that we see in other parts most people flock to the capitals of a kingdom, as is evident in *Naples* and other great cities. But if the *Spanish* inhabitants increase as they have done hitherto, there will be enough for all these parts; and already some of *St. Jago* have settled, and married at *St. Juan* and *Mendoza*; neither can it be otherwise, for the people of *Chile* are beginning to be so streighten'd, that they cannot have all the conveniences of being at large, and so are forced to seek them abroad.

And 'tis most certain, that the conveniences of this province are very great; and their not appearing so, is owing only to their neighbourhood to *Chile*, in comparison of

which these countries appear a place of banishment, and is look'd upon as the most rigorous that can be given any one in *Chile*; because, to say truth, the difference is very great, considering the proprieties of each place; but if we consider *Cuyo*, without comparing it, it is not only a good place, but surpasses many others, where nevertheless the inhabitants think themselves very happy, though wanting the abundance of *Cuyo*, where the flesh is very substantial and savoury, and great abundance of game, as also of pork, turkeys, ducks, hens, and other tame fowl.

The wines are very generous, and of so much strength, that though they be carried three or four hundred leagues over those plains, and the intolerable heats of the *Pampas*, and that by oxen, yet they come good to *Buenos Aires* and other places, and are preserved with the same facility, as long as one pleases, without spoiling; and they are in such quantity, that all the provinces round are supplied with them, nay, as far as *Paraguay*, which is three or four hundred leagues more. The bread is excellent, so is the oil, and all sorts of pulse and gardening; the fish better than the sea-fish; the flax and hemp as good as that of *Chile*; the materials for tanning very good; and, in short, it has all necessaries for life, with as much advantage as any other country.

This being thus, and even more than I relate, what is there wanting to this land, or what are its blots? *punaises, thunder, lightning, hail*. And what other country has not some of these? Shall we say, because God has exempted *Chile* by a singular providence from these things, that therefore *Cuyo* is an ill country? No; for then we must condemn most countries where these afflicting circumstances are found. And though it must be own'd, that in the summer the heats are great, yet they do not exceed those of *Tucuman*, *Buenos Aires*, and *Paraguay*; and they are inferior to those of *Brazil*, and those of *Carajas*, *Cartagena*, *Puerto Bello*, and *Panama*, as I myself have experienced in some of those places. And these parts of *Cuyo* have some amends made them from the neighbourhood of the snow; for the city of *Mendoza* is not above a league from the *Cordillera*, which is full of it; and likewise the good qualities of the air do something moderate the heat; for it is so healthy, that it never hurts any body by being in it, which makes them sleep in their gardens abroad, without any apprehension, except it be of some sudden shower which does often happen in summer; for on a sudden, though the heavens be clear and bright, it grows cloudy, and falls a raining with great fury; but this may be easily remedied; and likewise the thunders and thunderbolts might be avoided, which are the

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one cannot receive a letter, though those two provinces are not above thirty or forty leagues asunder, that is, the breadth of that chain of mountains called the *Cordillera*. This therefore is that which discredits *Cuyo*; and if it had been further off from *Chile*, it would have had a better name; but it is with that, as with two loaves, which though both good, yet if one be whiter and better, no body will touch the other, the best being always most pleasing.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Confines of the Province of Cuyo, and particularly of its Easterly Bounds, the Pampas, and of the River of Plata.

Situation of Cuyo.

THE confines of this province of *Cuyo* to the west, are *Chile*; and to the east, the *Pampas*, or vast plains of the *Rio de la Plata*, and part of *Tucuman*; which reaching as far as those of *Rioca*, and the mountains of *St. Michael*, with all the rest as far as *Salta* and *Jujuy*, make the north side of it; and to the south, it has the *Streights of Magellan*. All that lies within these bounds are open plains, reaching so far, that there is not so much as any stop to the eye; but it is like a sea, and the sun seems to rise and set out of the earth; and at its rising, it is sometime that it gives but little light; as also it loses some of its beams before it be quite out of sight when it sets. The way of travelling in those plains is with very high carts, which they cover over neatly with hoops, over which are cow-hides, with doors to go in and out; and these are drawn by oxen: there are also windows to give a free passage to the air, and on the bottom one makes one's bed with so much conveniency, that often travellers sleep out the whole journey, and feel not any of the inconveniencies which attend it. Generally they set out about two hours before sun-set, and travel all night, till it be an hour or two after sun-rising; so that a traveller just wakes when he comes to the baiting-place. This must be owned to be a great conveniency; because one may also walk on foot sometimes, in the cool, before one lies down, and so one comes merrily and easily to one's journey's end.

Manner of travelling.

Hunting.

There is also another entertainment which helps to pass the time pleasantly, and that is hunting: and for this end some carry horses empty, and dogs on purpose; and there is game enough both of hare and venison: for there are herds of *Guanacos*, of two or three hundred. The dog follows them; and the young-ones, not able to follow, are left behind, which the hunter knocks on the head with a club he carries,

without lighting from his horse, and returns to the carts loaden with venison, which serve for provision as well as entertainment. At other times they follow the partridges, francolins, or the bird called *Quiriquincho*. But to all this there are abatements and mixtures of trouble: the first is, the mighty heat in summer; for which reason, lest the oxen should be stifled with it, they travel in the night; and when they come to halt, or bait in the day time, 'tis in places where there is not so much as a tree, under whose shade one may rest; nor is there any other shade than that of the cart, and some coverlet upon it; for to go into it, is like going into an oven. But this is not all the way, there being some pleasant running streams and rivers bordered with green willow-trees, which very much mitigate the fury of the heat. The greatest inconvenience that I perceived in that journey, was the want of water; which is so great, that we were forced to provide ourselves, when we arrived at any of these rivers, for many days journey; for there is no other, except sometimes some plashe remaining of rain-water; and that is all green, and can serve only for the oxen: and yet this is rare too; for these are often dried up to mud, and then one is forced to double the day's journey, and march as far again; so that the cattle is almost dead with thirst. I have seen sometimes, on these occasions, the oxen take a run as if they were mad or possessed; for they know by instinct, a league or two before they come at it, the places where it is, as if they smelled it; so there is no stopping those that are loose; and even those who are at the yoke, make what haste they can; and when they get to the water, they raise the mud so by their haste, that they drink as much mud as water.

When this happens, while there is any of the water left that was taken at the river, and

and carried in carts, the misfortune is the less; but when that water is already spent, the people suffer extremely: for though most commonly some one man is sent before to take up some water of the clearest, before the oxen trouble it, yet they make such haste, that that prevention most commonly miscarries; and then we are fain to stop our noses, and shut our eyes to drink, and divert even our imagination, if we can. And to all this there is no remedy, but from heaven, as it happened to me once, that it pleased god to send us a shower in our greatest extremity, which filled several wells, and there was enough for us and our cattle, as also to carry away; for which we thanked the divine majesty, acknowledging his great mercy to us in so pressing circumstances.

This suffering would not be so great, if there were any towns and villages in the way; for there are little lakes by which they might settle, which though some years they yield no water, yet it is to be come at by a little digging, and that not very deep; and if there were people in those deserts, wells might be made, or the rain-water gathered in cisterns, as it is practised in several other places. But these plains are so vast, that they can hardly be peopled, being extended for several hundred leagues; and besides, there being no trade settled of any importance in those parts, there cannot be inns nor places of shelter settled; and so at present, whoever travels that way, must carry every thing; for when once one is set out, there is no addition to be made; and

therefore all is to be provided, more or less, according to one's ability; and that must be at least a fortnight's allowance, and some times twenty or thirty days, till one comes to some inhabited place. This is the manner of travelling in the plains of *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*, and the *Rio Plata*, where in many leagues one does not see a hill, nor a stone, nor a tree, but continual plains; and if, to dress your victuals, you have not the foresight to carry some wood, all the remedy is to gather the cow-dung, which serves the turn very ill. In some places of this province of *Cuyo*, there are woods near the rivers, from whence may be had materials for building; and hard by the *Cordillera* there is a sort of tree that breeds incense. I brought some of it to *Rome*, and the druggists told me, that it was finer than the ordinary, consumed in churches. There grows there also the herb called *Xarilla*, which is very hot, and a good medicine, as we have said already. There are many others, of which I cannot give so particular an account, as not having made any stay in those parts; neither am I in a place where I can advantage myself of those relations, that others might give me; and which may serve for larger histories than mine, I pretending only to brevity. Therefore let this suffice for an account of the situation, soil, heavens, proprieties, trees, plants, fruits, metals, flocks, fountains, rivers, sea-fishes, and birds, in all the three parts or divisions of the kingdom of *Chile*. Let us now say a word of its inhabitants, the old *Indians*, who have possessed it all formerly.

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BOOK III.

Of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of
CHILE.

CHAPTER I.

*Of the first that peopled America, and their Antiquity.*OVALLE.
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THE knowledge of the first inhabitants of the kingdom of *Chile*, depends necessarily upon that of the first inhabitants of *America*, which is not easy to be made out. If we should take the opinion of the *indian Guancas*, near the valley of *Xavia*, they would certainly affirm, that which is a constant tradition among the natives of *Peru*, and before they had any knowledge of our faith, and is, That many years before there were *Ingas*, who were the kings of those parts, the country being very populous, there was a great deluge: (thus far 'tis well.) But then they add, That in the hollow rocks of the highest mountains, there remained some alive, who returned and peopled the earth afresh; and the same tradition is received by the *Indians* of *Quito* in *Collao*. If this were so, the *Indians* of *Chile* might lay claim to the new peopling of *America*; for if any, their mountains were most capable of resisting the deluge, they being the highest that are yet discovered. There are other *indian* mountaineers, who are less mistaken; for they affirm, That none could be saved in the mountains, because they were all covered with water; but that six were saved in a float they made. If they had said eight, they would have hit upon the number which the apostle St. *Peter* says escaped with *Noah* in the ark which he built.

Antonio de Herrera, in the *Third Tome* of the *General History* of the *Indias*, excuses these errors of the *Indians*, saying, 'Tis probable there was some particular deluge in those parts, to which they might allude, because all the nations of that world are agreed in this tradition. The true and natural excuse is, that these poor wretches have not had the good fortune to see the chapter of *Exodus*, where they would have been undeceived; for there 'tis said, That out of the ark of *Noah* there was not left any living thing upon the earth, and that the water was fifteen cubits over the tops of the high-

est mountains. The other *Indians*, who talk of the six men saved on the float, may have had some tradition from their forefathers, who were nearer the time of *Noah*, about the ark; and as they are a people who have no books, because they cannot read, whatsoever they might learn from their ancestors, and retain in their memories, might by degrees be lost, or diminished; and so the descendants came to have the tale of the float and the six persons, not examining how it could possibly be, that upon so slight a contrivance, which can hardly last three or four days in the water, those people should maintain themselves for so long as the deluge lasted. As for the manner and time, how and when the descendants of *Noah* passed to people this new world, or how their generations have been extended so far, 'tis a most difficult thing to make out; for the *Indians* being without written records, as other nations have, there is no diving by their memories into their antiquities, which even when they are committed to writing, use to produce variety of opinions about the origin and beginning of things. Besides, there was in *Europe*, even among the most learned, so great an ignorance of all that regarded *America*, that it was judged scarce inhabitable, if it was at all; and so they could give us no light of a thing they had no notion of, or which they thought impossible; but after the discovery of this new world, people began to reason, and every one made his guesses or reasonings as well as he could. Some have said, with reference to what is hinted by *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, (as is related by our father *Acosta*, in his first book of the *New World*, in the twenty-second chapter,) that people passed from *Europe* and *Africa*, to certain islands; and so from one to another, till they came to the *terra firma* of *America*.

The same author advances something more probable, in his nineteenth chapter; where

where he says, That supposing we all came from the first man *Adam*, and that the propagation of the species of mankind, after the deluge, was made by those only who were saved out of the ark of *Noah*, 'tis not improbable, that the first inhabitants of *America* came to those parts, not with design, or by their own industry, because of the little use of navigation that was in those days, and particularly through so great a sea; but that they were cast by some storm on those coasts, as it happened since in its first discovery, as we shall see hereafter in its proper place. He brings, to prove this, the example of several ships, which, contrary to their course, have been driven to very remote shores. This is every day's experience, and will not surprize those who know any thing of the strength of the winds and currents in those seas; and that which the same father *Acosta* alledges of himself, That he had such a passage, that in fourteen days he came within sight of the first islands of the gulph of *Mexico*, going from *Spain*.

This, though probable, has yet a strong objection against it, which is about the wild beasts, such as tygers, lions, wolves, and others of that nature, which could not be carried in ships, because they were of no use to mankind, but rather mischievous: and though some may answer with *St. Austin*, in his sixteenth book *De Civitate Dei*, Chap. 7. when he solves the difficulty how these animals came into islands, and says, That they might either swim thither, or be carried by hunters, or that they might be created a-new by God Almighty, as they were in the beginning of the world; which is the best solution, if it were as probable as it is easy to say. But, first, there is against it the opinions of philosophers, who will not allow any great animals to be propagated any other way than by generation. And, besides, if God, as without doubt he might, had created them a-new, what necessity was there for him to command *Noah* to take so many pairs of all living creatures, all male and female? which care seems superfluous, if God resolved to make a second creation of all those species after the deluge. 'Tis more probable, these creatures might arrive at the islands swimming, and the birds flying, particularly to the nearest islands; but this does not prove, that they could arrive to those remote parts of *America*, there being such a vast ocean, that 'tis not possible that either beasts or birds should have so much strength as to swim or fly over it; for this reason he concludes in the end of the one and twentieth chapter, that the men, as well as animals, passed either by land or water to *America*, near some part where it joins to the other parts

of the world, either by the *Tierra de Bacalaos*, or the *Streight of Magellan*, that is not separated but by ordinary little separations of water and sea, which might be easily pass'd in small vessels, such as were in use in those ancient times.

This is the author's opinion; which, as to the *Tierra de Bacalaos*, carries with it only the probability of an ingenious conjecture; because as yet that part of the world has not been discovered; but if in time it proves like the conjecture about the *Streights of Magellan*, 'tis all without any grounds; for, as we have already related, 'tis now made plain, that *America* on that side is entirely divided from the other parts of the world by a vast sea. 'Tis true, that to the east 'tis not known yet how far that land runs, which is over-against the *Tierra del Fuego*, and is on the east side of the *Streight of St. Vincent*, otherwise called the *Streight of Le Maire*; for some think that it may run as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and so be so near that part of *Africa*, that men might pass in small vessels from the one to the other. 'Tis likewise uncertain, that the continent of *America* ever was nearer than it now is to any other continent, or that the sea has since broke away part of either, to make the separation wider, as we have observed it did in the island of *Santa Maria*, which is supposed to have formerly been all of one continued piece with the firm land of *Arauco*; but these are all conjectures, and he alone knows the truth who created these men, and other animals of *America*, and by whose providence they passed to those parts, for the great ends of his hidden secrets; to whom, with all veneration for his councils, we must submit the enquiry, why he has been pleased that that part of the world should remain undiscovered for so many ages, without any communication with those parts where his divine light has appeared sooner. These are considerations for the good to make use of with thanks, for having been admitted to it; and confusion of the wicked, who at noon day are as much in the dark, as if it had never dawned.

Peter Bereius, in his geography, as *John Bereius* and *Theodore de Brie* do relate, collects the antiquity of those nations of *America*, from their most ancient kings and lords, and from the ruins of ancient edifices, and other memorable things; for this argues the largeness of time, in which all this was done. Amongst other things, he mentions the report of one of their gardens belonging to some king, (which must be of *Peru*, who were always the richest,) in which all the herbs, and plants, and shrubs, with their trunks, leaves, and flowers of the natural proportion, were of massy gold; and in the

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the houses of recreation, there were all sorts of animals made of precious stones, and some of feathers of various colours. They say besides, that the *Ingas*, who were the emperors of *Peru*, were the richest princes in the world; and that they had so much gold, that not only the plate they eat in were of that metal, but all their household stuff and furniture were of the same, to their tables, benches, cupboards, nay, to the statues themselves; a great deal of which fell to the *Spaniards* share when they conquered those parts; but the best part was hid and concealed by the *Indians*, which to this day they keep undiscovered, being in that way of secret intractable and extrem close. Neither is it any wonder that those princes should use so much gold, since they were masters of more of that metal than any others; being so beloved by their subjects, that whatever they had that was precious, they presented it to them; and they were so inclined to hoard it, that whoever succeeded in the monarchy, made it a point of state not to touch, but rather to increase the treasure of his father; of which a great proof was the vast sum which *Atabalpa* offered for his ransom, and paid to the *Spaniards* for it, as we shall see hereafter.

Amongst other precious pieces of gold work, authors make particular mention, and admire with reason, that chain which the king *Guaynacapa*, the eleventh king of *Peru*, caused to be made at the birth of his son *Guascar*, who was to inherit his crown; for each link of it was as big as the wrist of a man, (as is reported by *Gareilasso de la Vega*, who had it from an uncle of his, an *Inga* also, who told him, when he asked the bigness, as big as this, (shewing his wrist,) and as long as twice the length of the great place of *Cusco*, which in all might

be above seven hundred foot long. And the contador, *Augustin de Varate*, in his first book, *Chap. 14.* treating of the incredible riches of that *Inga*, says these words: [Guaynacapa, at the birth of his son, caused a great cable of gold to be made (as is attested by several *Indians* yet alive) of so much weight, that two hundred *Indians* could but just lift it up from the ground; for memory of which they gave the name of *Guascar* *Inga* to the new born prince; for *Gualca* signifies a cable; and the surname of *Inga* was added, as that of *Augustus* to the Roman emperors.] Thus far this author: but this name, or word *Gualca*, not being so decent in its signification for a prince, they added the *r* to it, and nevertheless eterniz'd the memory of that rich chain.

The chiefest motive the king had to order this chain to be made, was, that the dances which were to be made at his birth, might be more solemn, and worthy of his royal person; because the manner of dancing of the *Indians*, is to take one another by the hands, and make a circle; and so moving two steps forward, and one backward, draw closer and closer to the king, to make their obeisances; and the king caused this chain to be made, for them to take hold of, instead of taking hold of one another.

A great proof likewise of this antiquity of the empire of *Peru*, is those two highways mentioned by *Herrera*; for being of that vast length, and work'd with all those conveniencies for travellers, they could not be made but by length of time, and with a long continued labour. This is what I find of the antiquity of the first inhabitants of *America*, in which we may comprehend the *Indians* of *Chile*.

CH A P. II.

Of the great Courage and Boldness of the Indians of Chile.

THE *Indians* of *Chile* are famed by all who have writ of them, for the boldest and most valiant warriors of all the vast extent of the new world: it were to be wished by us, that this had not been confirmed by woful experience, for then the kingdom of *Chile* would have been one of the most flourishing kingdoms of the *Indies*, without the continual wars which it has maintained for about an hundred years, without ever ceasing, or laying down its arms. This is the more considerable, if we reflect, that the *Spaniards* having subjected, in so little a time, those vast empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, have nevertheless not been able, in so great a time, to conquer the *Indians* of *Chile*, sons of the great *Cordillera*, from

whose rocks they seem to borrow their untameable strength and fierceness. Except we should say with fryer *Gregory* of *Leon*, That this bravery comes from the fertility of the earth, which, as he says, and is true, does not need any thing from abroad. To which he adds, the birth of these people, who all their life tread upon so much gold, and drink the water which runs over these rich minerals, by which they participate of its good and generous qualities, as it is observed of those who live at *Potosi*, near that vast mountain of silver, who are so stout and haughty, as has appeared in the many revolutions that have happened there. Let this be as it will all authors agree, that they are the top nation of *America*, though

though hitherto no one has treated purposely of this matter. There are now two histories in the press, which will make out, by particulars, all that has been said of this nation. Don *Alonzo de Ereilla* says enough, in his famous poem, call'd the *Araucana*; but because it is in verse, it seems to lessen something the real truth; and yet abstracting from the hyperboles and enlargings of poetry, all the historical part is very conformable to truth, he being a gentleman of great quality, and an eye-witness of what he affirms; for what he writ, was not by hearsay, but upon the very spot where the things happened; so that he might have had as many contradictors as he had witnesses, who were present as well as he at what pass'd.

He dedicated his book to the most catholic king, his lord and master; and presenting it to him with his own hand, when he came from *Chile* to *Spain*, 'tis to be presum'd he would not have dared to fail in the exactness of truth, for fear of receiving a chastisement, instead of a reward, which he obtain'd for it. Let any read his prologue, in which, in a very good stile, and in prose, he gives a noble account of the valour of the *Indians*, and concludes his preface with these words: [*I have said all this, as a proof and clear demonstration of the valour of these nations, worthy of all the encomiums I can give them in my verses; and besides, there are now in Spain several persons who were present at many of the actions which I here describe, and refer to them the defence of my work on that side.*] Thus far this author, worthy of immortal praise for his incomparable book, which, though published above fifty years ago, and printed in *Spain* and *Flanders*, is yet continually reprinted; which shews the value the curious and the learned have for it. The *Araucanos* are indeed the chief subject of it; and yet what is said of them may be extended to all the *Indians* of *Chile*, as we shall see in its proper place, when we shall treat of the wars they had with the *Spaniards*.

But before ever the *Spaniards* set their feet on their ground, they had given sufficient proof of their bravery, which was invincible, to the *Ingas*, emperors of *Peru*, since with all their power they could never conquer them, though they endeavour'd it, as being extremely inclin'd to enlarge their dominions; and they desir'd it the more, for the fame of *Chile*, to which they sent a powerful army, and which made some progress at first, subjecting some nations to extraordinary tributes. But as they pursued their point, and came to the valley of *Maule*, they met with the *Promocoes*, to whose succour the *Chilenos*, who inhabited more within the country, were come, and

forc'd the army of the *Ingas* to retire in haste. *Garcilasso de la Vega* relating this more particularly, says,

That the *Inga yn Pangué*, the tenth king of *Peru*, came to the confines of his own kingdom, to a place call'd *Atacama*, to be nearer at hand to attend the conquest of *Chile*; and from thence first sent his scouts through the fourscore leagues of uncultivated country, which was between his kingdom and *Chile*, with orders to dispatch a man, every two leagues, with an account of what they discover'd; which they did, one messenger following another, and leaving in the way certain marks, whereby they that came last might guide themselves. He first sent ten thousand men, under the command of general *Sinclairuca*, and two other colonels of his own kindred, not being willing to commit to any others care so great an enterprize. They came within sight of the valley of *Copiapó*, which is the first inhabited valley of *Chile*; with the inhabitants of which, the *Peruvians* began to skirmish, because they had not admitted the embassy which they sent them as from the *Inga*, to own him for their lord; and withal, having given notice of the resistance they found to the *Inga*, he sent them ten thousand men more, with a new summons, assuring them, That his design was not to take their country from them, but only that they should own him as son of the sun, and lord of all that was warm'd and enlighten'd by him. Those of *Copiapó* seeing this new relief to their enemies, and knowing that it would not be the last, because the *Inga yn Pangué* was preparing another succour, and being convinced that this acknowledgment would cost them less than the blood that must be spilt in a long resistance, they agreed to own the *Inga* as he desir'd.

This was the first entrance of the *Peruvians* as far as *Maule*, which is one of the rivers of *Chile*, as has been said already. By this time, the army of the *Peruvians* was fifty thousand men; and desiring to prosecute their conquest, they sent their ordinary embassy to the nation of the *Promocoes*, who having already been inform'd of their invading their neighbours, were in arms to defend their country. The ambassadors of the *Inga* deliver'd their accustomed message, protesting, that their lord desir'd nothing more, than to be acknowledg'd as son of the sun, and honour'd accordingly by their submission. The *Promocoes*, who were resolv'd to defend their liberties, made answer, *That the conquerors should be the lords and masters*; and so uniting all their forces, came on the fourth day, and presented battle to the *Peruvians*. The *Inga's* generals, surpriz'd at such a cou-

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Gar. de la
Vega.

OVALLE. 1646. religious resolution, sent them new summons, desiring their friendship and peace, calling the sun and moon to witness, that they came not to spoil them of their lands or goods, but only to oblige them to own the sun for their God, and the *Inga* for his son and their lord. To which they receiv'd answer, That they came not to spend time in talking, or vain discourses, but to fight manfully till they should conquer or die; adding, that they might prepare themselves for battle the next day, as it happen'd; and the *Promocacs* overcame that powerful army of the *Inga's*, so that they had no mind to try their fortune any more, but made their retreat, leaving the *Promocacs* in peace, and full possession of their lands, which they had so bravely defended. *Antonio de Herrera*, in his third tome, and fifth decade, treating of the reason why those of *Chile* refus'd to submit to those monarchs the *Ingas*, says, That it was because of the great reverence with which they made their subjects treat them, as if they were Gods, and approach them as if they were of another species; which the *Chilensians* could not bear, their mind being too lofty and generous to submit to such a tyranny, which they constantly oppos'd; insomuch, that though the *Ingas* had conquer'd the best part of that continent, yet the *Chilensians* never did yield to their power. Perhaps the nearest provinces to *Peru*, such as those of *Guasco*, *Coquimbo*, and *Copiapo*, did in some measure acknowledge their power, since they paid a tribute in gold; and for that reason, these provinces alone in all the kingdom of *Chile*, do speak the common language of *Peru*, which is a very strong proof of what I here say.

For the same reason that they resist'd the *Ingas*, they did not care to have any king of their own nation, the love of their liberty prevailing against all the reasons of state, which might move them to have one monarch; neither did they fall into any popular form of government, or commonwealth; for their warlike temper did not afford patience enough for the slegmatick debates, necessary for the union of so ma-

ny minds. Thus every family chose one among them to govern them. From this arose the *Caciques*, who are the sovereigns among them, and by degrees had that power hereditary, and their children after them enjoy it, with all its rights.

But though every one governs independently his own district or jurisdiction, yet when the occasion offers, that the safety of all is concern'd, there is an assembly of the *Caciques*, and some of the elders of the people, who are men of experience, and are summon'd after their way by particular messengers. In these councils they resolve what they think most convenient; which, if it be a case of war, either defensive or offensive, they chuse the general, not one of the most noble of the *Caciques*, or the most powerful, but he who has the fame of most valiant, and has best behav'd himself on the like occasion against their enemies; and when he is justly chosen, all the other *Caciques* obey him punctually. 'Tis after this manner that they have preserv'd themselves so many years against all the strength that has been brought against them. To make these assemblies, they chose out some very pleasant place, field, or meadow; and thither they bring great store of provision, and strong drink, call'd *Chicha*, which is instead of wine. Being all assembled, and well warm'd with this liquor, and excited in their martial temper, there rises up some one of the most antient, to whose lot it falls, to propose the business of that meeting; who with great eloquence (for in that they are very famous) opens the matter, and brings all the reasons and motives of persuasion that he can. All are oblig'd to yield to the majority of opinion; and when the result is made, 'tis publish'd with the sound of drums and trumpets, and a mighty noise; but yet allowing every one the term of three days to reflect and consider on what has been resolv'd; after which, if they find no inconveniency, the execution is infallible, and they think of the means of bringing the business about by the most proper methods.

C H A P. III.

The same Subject is pursued, and the Nobility of the Indians of Chile examin'd.

Antonio de Herrera, in the place already cited in the last chapter, says, That there are some of the *Indians* reputed above the rest as gentlemen; and then he adds these words, [Of this sort have been, and are still the *Indians* of Chile.] In which he says well; for if valour and the glory of arms makes gentlemen, as may be seen in

Andreas Tiraquello, in his book *de Nobilitate & jure Primogenitorum*; and if many noble families do to this day derive themselves from some great captain or famous soldier, the *Chilean Indians* having so often signalized their valour in fights, they may very justly be distinguish'd from all the other *Indians*, and reputed more noble.

In

In short, they are the untam'd *Cantabri* of *America*, who, like those of *Europe*, defended themselves, when all the rest of it was enslaved; and repulsed the conquering monarchs of *Peru* to the extrem confines of their provinces.

And there is one circumstance more particular than under the *Cantabrians*, because they had the advantage of their mountains, and the barrenness of their country, not so inviting to a conqueror; but in *Chile* it was otherwise: the richness of its mines, and its soil full of delicious valleys, and a clear and rich territory, having been always well known, the only valour and bravery of its inhabitants was then the defence of the country: these were the fortresses and walls of it; for without a bit of fortification of any fort, or so much as one fire-arm, they oblig'd their powerful enemy to a shameful retreat. Indeed, this is a thing worthy of great admiration; yet not so much to those who know how these *Indians* value themselves upon being good soldiers, using themselves to arms, even from their childhood; of which it will not be amiss to speak a little.

The education of the youth of Chile.

When a child is strong enough, they make it run up the rocky side of a hill, giving him that does it best, some prize or reward: this makes them very nimble and light; and I have seen them, in their feasts and entertainments, run two and two for wagers with wonderful swiftness; and those who shew little disposition to this exercise, are applied to follow day-labour, but the others they reserve for war, not suffering them to take to any other employments, but mind their arms and their horses, that they may be perfect in all their exercises. To these they assign their post upon occasion, according as each has behav'd himself in those which he has been in before; and they have in this no consideration of gentility, intercession of others, or other motives, but that alone of a good performance, and the many proofs given by them of their courage and conduct in war.

Their arms in war.

The arms they use, are pikes, halberts, lances, hatchets, maces of arms, bars, darts, arrows, and clubs; as also strong nooses to throw upon a horseman, and slings. Their horse fight with lance and buckler, which they have learn'd from the *Spaniards*, and from them they have had their horses; for before their time, they had neither horse nor iron, but they have a hard wood, which grows yet harder by being turn'd in the fire, and is almost as useful as steel. They have hard and strong corselets, back and breast, and thighs, arms, bracelets, gauntlets, helmets, morions; all these of a hardened leather, so prepared when raw, that it becomes by drying as im-

Their armour.

penetrable as any steel; and they are something better, because more manageable, and do embarrass the body less, as being lighter; and so the man is more at his ease, and better dispos'd in fight. Among them the pikeman may not be an archer; neither can any that uses the mace of arms, use other arms; so every one bestirs himself with the arms he is us'd to.

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In forming their battalions, every file is of above an hundred men, and between every pikeman an archer, who are defended by the pikemen, who close their shoulders together; and if their first battalion is broken, the second relieves them with so much readiness, that there seems not that any have fail'd; and so by the third and fourth following each other, like waves of the sea, without any interruption; and no man forsakes his rank, but by death. They always endeavour to have some bog or lake not far off for a retreat; for there they are more in safety than in the strongest castle. Their volunteers go before the battalion, trailing their pikes with so much state, and are themselves so haughty, that, like *Goliath*, they challenge their enemy to meet them body to body; and they do the same to the *Spaniards*, giving themselves great airs of pride. They march to the sound of their drums and trumpets, having their arms garnish'd with all variety of beautiful colours, and themselves adorn'd with great plumes of rich feathers, so that they appear very handsome and fightly.

Their warlike ornaments.

When they make any forts for their defence, it is of great trees interwoven with each other, and leaving in the middle a place of arms; and formerly within this fort they us'd to make another of thick planks. Behind this, they make a great ditch, cover'd over with plants and flowers, but underneath them sharp stakes to lame the enemy's horses; some they make deeper, that the horses may remain there stak'd thorough.

Their forts.

Many of them are subject to great superstitions and auguries, observing the omens, both before and at the time of their undertaking; but many of them laugh at those observations, saying, there are no better omens than good blows, and stout laying about them, without fear of either steel, fire, or any sort of death; and it is certainly so, that their first encounter is terrible, and as if they fear'd no one thing in the world. When they are drawn up, and ready to engage, there is silence made, and the general raising his voice, begins an harangue, so full of spirit, fill'd with such warm incitations, and such a lively action, that the cowardliest among them become like lions and tygers against their enemies. He lays before them the glory of victory, and

OVALLE. and the shame of being overcome, and made
1646. captives and slaves to their adversaries.

Their military exhortations. "Take notice, says he, that there is now no medium between those two extremes: are not you the sons and grandchildren of those brave men, who have fought so many battles, and ventur'd all to defend that country and liberty, for which we now fight? Shall we own that they exceed us in bravery, or that the enemies we encounter are superior to those whom they overcame? Had they less motives than we have? or do we hope for less glory? We must all die; and in the equality of that common fate, the only difference is dying nobly for our dear country, and the liberty of our wives and children; therefore rouse up that courage which you have inherited from your ancestors, who never could endure the thoughts of that infamous yoke of slavery upon their necks. Courage then brave men, as brave as any the sun sees; courage, for in that lies victory."

With these, and other such words, and calling to mind some of their victories, they grow so warm, that raising a cry of war, they drive away all fear, and express great desire of engaging their enemies; which they do with so much fury and resolution, that a battalion that stands their first shock is a very firm one. But we will treat further of this when we shall speak of the battles they have had with the *Spaniards*, whose valour has set theirs in its lustre, obliging them to give such proofs as are worthy to be recorded in history. Let us pursue now the account of their natural qualities, independently from the resistance which they have made to his catholic majesty's arms.

Their natural temper. The warlike spirit of this nation proceeds from their natural temper, which is choleric and impatient, proud, arrogant, and fierce, very cruel in their revenge, cutting their enemies (when in their power) inhumanly to pieces, and wallowing in their blood. We shall relate a case hereafter, in which something of this will be seen. They are strong and robust of body, well proportion'd, large shoulders, high chests, well set in their members, nimble, active, vigorous, and nervous, courageous and undertaking, enduring hunger, thirst, heat, cold; despising all conveniencies of life, even their own small ones, having little value for their very lives, when 'tis necessary to hazard them, either for glory or liberty; constant in their resolutions, and persisting in a thing once begun with incredible steadiness.

Good horsemen. They are excellent horsemen, and upon a single saddle-cloth, or without one, they are as firm as others in war-saddles: they'll ride down the side of a hill, or a precipice, as if they were goats, with their bodies as

stretight and as firm on horseback, as if they were nail'd to the horse: they have no trouble with the baggage they want, for they carry but little with them; not but that when they march they have their little pack of flower of maiz, a little salt, some *Pimientos*, or *Guinea Pepper*, and dried flesh; and this is enough to maintain them a good while. They need no other kitchen utensils than a gourd or *calabash*, with which, when they come to a river or spring, they open their flower-bag, and wet a little with the water; and that serves them for drink; and for meat, when they put more of it with a little salt and pepper, this they call *Rubul*; and sometimes they eat their meal dry; with slices of dried flesh.

The great numbers of people which that country has maintain'd, may be collected from the people that the *Spaniards* found there at their first coming, which was about 200000, more or less, according to the greatness of the districts or territories, and their habitations, which never were in form of a city or town; for the *Indians* cannot endure any formal constraint, but love to live free in the fields; and every *Cacique*, or lord, govern'd his own vassals, who placed themselves according to their conveniencies, some in one valley, and some in another; some at the foot of mountains, others on the side of rivers; some by the sea-side, or on the top of mountains; but all under no other form of government, than the will of their lord, the *Cacique*, to whom they yielded a ready and prompt obedience with joy. Their houses are generally of wood, without any stories, not very large, nor all of a piece, but each room fram'd by itself, so that when they have a mind to remove and chuse another situation, they carry away the house by pieces, or rooms, which ten or twenty men can easily carry. When they take it up, they clear the ground about it, and then at one cry, lifting all together, they get it up, and carry it cheerfully away, every one taking hold by its pillars; and when they are weary they rest awhile, and so on again. Their doors are of the same material, and they have neither hinges, locks nor keys, nor any thing under a lock or key, their security consisting in each other's fidelity, which they observe sacredly towards one another.

Their furniture is very mean, they being a people that despise all conveniencies and superfluities; infomuch, that that which is their natural way of living, would be high penance with any *European* nations: For first, as to their beds, they have neither quilts, nor sheets, nor pillows, much less do they need curtains, pavilions, or alcoves. The hard ground is their couch, upon which they lay some poor skins;

skins; and for boulder, they lay a stone, or a piece of wood, and double their cloaks to lay on it; and that is their highest contrivance of ease: they have one or two very coarse coverlets, which they weave of a sort of thread as thick as one's little finger. People that use so little about their persons, may easily be presumed to have no hangings, nor other ornament to their walls; they have no utensil of gold or silver, though they have so much in their country; their plate is four or five dishes, and some spoons of wood, or a shell from the sea side; a calabash or gourd to drink in; a leaf of a tree, or of maiz, for a saltcellar. This is all the apparatus of their table, which is the ground, or at best a little bench, without any cloth or napkins, but only a little broom, upon which they wipe their hands.

Their food and diet.

Their meats are the most simple, and easily drest, without any incitements to gluttony, as in other nations; but yet they are tasteful enough, and such as many of our Europeans like very well. They eat little flesh; and before the Spaniards came among them, they had neither sheep, goats, nor cows, no, nor hens: they use these only at their great feasts. Their ordinary diet is of maiz, variety of fruits and herbs, and most commonly gourds, or a sort of beans, which we call frizoles. They did eat fish; and the game they hunted, particularly a sort of small rabbits, which they call *Degus*; and since the coming in of the Spaniards, they eat beef and mutton, of which there is great abundance.

Instead of wheat bread, which they had not before the Spaniards brought it, they eat maiz boiled in water, just as rice in the

Maiz.

East Indias. This maiz is, and always has been the general nourishment of the Indians of America; and is not only their meat, but their drink, which they make of the same maiz, toasted and steeped in water, and then boiled, and set by; and that is their *Chicha*, or wine, which they make also of the fruit of other trees.

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Their way of making flower is very different from ours: they first toast their maiz in great platters of earth; these they set upon the fire full of sand, which when it is very hot, they take off; and putting the grains of maiz to it, stir them about very fast with a kind of broom: it is soon toasted. When done, they take it out, and put in more, till they have done enough to make flower. This they grind between two stones thus; They have a stone fixed in the ground, of about the shape and bigness of a sheet of paper, and so hollowed, as another stone of an oval figure may play upon it: this the indian woman takes with both hands, and being upon her knees, makes it play upon the other, putting, from time to time, with her left hand, the maiz between the two stones, so as to supply what falls away, and that the mill do not stand still. The flower falls forward into a sort of box, as it does in our mills, and almost as fast, comparing the strength of a woman to that of a stream of water. She can do enough at once for the maintenance of her family; and make a provision too for a journey or a voyage of her husband or son to the wars. This is the proper business of the women; and it would be a shame for a man to employ himself in it, or in any other household business.

Their bread.

The women make it.

C H A P. IV.

Of the same Subject.

WHEN the Indians are sick, they change little of their ordinary way of living, and they never have a better bed. Their way of letting blood is safer than ours; for it is not with a lancet, which may either fail to draw blood, or go too deep, and lame the arm, if the surgeon be not very skilful; but with a sharp flint, fixed at the end of a little piece of wood, so fast, that there is just enough left out to cut the vein, and no more: this they apply to the vein after they have made a bandage, as we do, and striking a little stroke upon it, the blood never fails to come, in greater abundance than our bleedings are. This is all they need a surgeon or barber for, they themselves having no beards to shave, and the little hair they have, every one pulls out; and they take it for an affront to look hairy.

Indian phlebotomy.

They have pinchers, which they make of cockle-shells, and always have them about them, using them from time to time in conversation; they thinking it as honourable to be without that, which other people nourish, comb, and take care of; which is a good conviction of the variety of opinions of mankind, about what is, and is not honourable. As for their hair, they let it grow just below their ears, and no lower, and so need no barber to cut it, but do every one help the other to keep the ends of it even.

Their manner of cloathing themselves, (though of various, and very beautiful corners of cloathing,) is very plain and simple: they have no lining to any of their cloaths, neither do they wear one under

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*Their fine-
r.* In their feasts, balls, and rejoicings, though they do not change the form of their cloaths, yet they have a richer sort, of finer wooll, and richer colours: they put about their necks some chains of shells, which they gather by the sea-side; these they call *Nancas*: others put snail-shells, strung upon a string, about their necks; and those of the streights of *Magellan* have pearls very well wrought, and of great artifice, as is affirmed by the authors already cited; and on their heads they put a kind of garland, not of flowers, but of wooll, dy'd of several beautiful colours, to which they hang fine little birds, which they esteem, and on each side they have a plume of high feathers, either white, red, or blue, and about half a yard high.

*Their dan-
cing.* Their way of dancing is with little jumps, and a step or two, not rising much from ground, and without any capers, such as the *Spaniards* use: they dance all together in a ring, round a may-pole or standard, which one of them holds in the middle as an ensign; and near it are all the bottles of their wine, of which they take now and then a sup while they dance, drinking to one another; for it is a custom among them never to drink alone any thing that is given them: he that begins takes a sup, and then he that he drinks to pledges him, and gives the cup to another, and so to a fourth, till it be empty; and yet one has not more than the other; for what this man does for that, that man does for this; and so at last they come to be so equally shared, that at the end of the entertainment, they are all alike drunk, and laid down; for they drink as long as they can stand. But this is not easily brought to pass; for besides what they drink in the day-time, they will often pass all night at it, without leaving off, singing and dancing to their drums and flutes. The women, as more bashful, do not enter into these dances, except some

one or two, when the wine has got into their heads, and then too they do not enter into the ring with the men, but dance by themselves. Few of them get drunk, so as to lose their judgment; so they are upon their guard more, to mind that the men do not quarrel, and hurt one another in their drink. Their flutes, which they play upon in these dances, are made of the bones of the *Spaniards*, and other enemies, whom they have overcome in war. This they do by way of triumph and glory for their victory: they make them likewise of bones of other animals; but the *Indians of war* dance only to these of their enemies.

Their way of singing is, all together raising their voices upon the same note, without any difference of parts or measure; and at the end of every song they play on their flutes, and a sort of trumpets, just as we do on our guitars in the *Passacalles*. This they repeat so often, and so loud, that one may hear them at a great distance; for in these feasts, they are very numerous. Those who are not engaged in dancing, sit together in several companies, talking together upon past occurrences, and still warming themselves with their wine; and then they begin to recollect the injuries they have received from one another, and so refreshing the memory of old contests and enmities not revenged; and this makes them break out into new animosities, and sometimes kill one another upon little provocation.

The women as well as the men have their arms naked, but no other part about them; for though they go barefoot, yet their cloaths, which are very long, cover them from head to foot, though in some places they wear them shorter: this is a plain sort of mantle, close to their bodies, without any linnen underneath; this they let fall to their feet, and having fastened it on their shoulders, gather it in plaits and swath themselves from their waste to the breasts with some fine coloured-woollen scarf, of about four fingers broad, and so long, that it takes so many turns about their waste, as to keep their bodies as streight as any: this is all their dress within doors.

The *indian* women of the better sort, that live in towns among the *Spaniards*, have learned the use of smocks and waistcoats under their mantles, but of no other thing; and one cannot affront an *indian* woman more, than to offer to put her on head-cloaths, or necklaces, or sleeves, or gloves, or any of those ornaments which the *Spanish* women use; and much more if they oblige them to put any paint upon their faces; nothing of this kind could ever prevail upon them, though born and bred among the *Spanish* women; and to talk to them

*The women
behave
at their
feasts.*

*Their care
of their
husbands.*

*Their wind
instrumen-
made of
their ene-
mies bones*

*The women's
dress.*

*The women
hate head-
dresses.*

and paint.

them of it, even to those among them who love to be fine, would be like giving them a cut over the face, so great a horror they have for any thing that is so very contrary to their antient customs. They wear nothing on their heads but their hair plaited behind their shoulders, and divided hand-somely upon their forehead over their eye-brows, and have locks which cover part of their cheeks; so their face is handsomely and simply adorned, without any artifice. When they go abroad, they put upon their shoulders another half mantle, square, and fastened before with a bodkin, or crochet, which answers the two others on the shoulders; and thus they go abroad with their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they are naturally very modest honest women.

Few artificers; all soldiers.

This manner of cloathing themselves, with so much simplicity and plainness, as well in the women as the men, with so little pride and vanity in their houses, does not much encourage artificers; who have little to do; and by that means there are the more men of war, which is the thing in which these men place their honour and felicity, as other nations do in the sumptuousness of palaces and furniture, or in other riches and eminencies, either of arts or learning: of all which these *Indians* never had any notion; and yet they learn them easily, when they are taught them, and to a great perfection. They can neither read nor write among themselves; but as to their way of remembering and keeping account, they have their *Quipoes*, which is a sort of strings of different bigness, in which they make knots of several colours, by which they remember, and can give an account of the things committed to their charge. With these they will give an account of a great flock, and tell which have died of sickness or other accidents, and which have been spent in the family, and for the shepherds; and they will tell every particular that happened in such and such occasions, and of what they did and said. When they go to confess, these *Quipoes* serve them to remember their sins, and tell them with distinction and clearness: they have besides excellent memories of their own, and do remember things of very antient date, just as if they had happened but a little while before; and when they begin to talk them over, (which happens generally when they drink, and begin to be warmed with wine,) 'tis wonderful how they will repeat things past, with all their circumstances, and particularly affronts and injuries that have been done them, or their ancestors, refreshing the memory of things that seemed to be quite forgotten. For proof of the care they take to keep the memory of remarkable passages, I must relate

Their way of keeping account.

here what I learned from father *Diego Torres Ovalle*. *Bollo*, a very extraordinary man, both for holiness of life, and skill in government. 1646.

This great man returning from *Rome* (whither he had been sent as procurator of the province of *Peru*) to found the province of *Quito*, he saw in a place where four ways met an *Indian*, who, to the found of a drum, was singing a great many things all alone in his own tongue: the father called one in his company, who understood it, and ask'd him what that *Indian* meant by that action; who told the father, that that *Indian* was, as it were, the register of that country, who, to keep up the memory of what had passed in it from the deluge to that time, was bound every holiday to repeat it by the found of a drum, and singing, as he was then doing. He was moreover obliged to instruct others in the same way, that there might be a succession of men to do the same thing after he was gone; and that which he at this time is singing is, That in such a year there had been there a white man called *Thomas*, who did great wonders, preaching a new law, which in time was lost and forgotten, &c. And thus we may see the manner by which the *Indians* supply the want of books and writings.

A singular way of registering events.

An addition of the interpreter, or a bye of the jesuit.

The women of *Chile* are so bold and manly in their courage, that when it is necessary, and that there is want of men, they take arms, and behave themselves as if they were men. They play likewise at a very active game called *La Chueca*, wherein the men shew their greatest agility and nimbleness, each side striving to get a ball from the other, and carry it to the mark with crooked bandy sticks. They are about forty or fifty on a side, who place themselves in different posts, so as to be useful one to another, and drive away the ball from the other party; and when it happens that two of different sides are at it together, 'tis a pleasure to see them run, the one to forward it with another stroke, and the other to get before him and hinder him from striking it, that he may drive it back to his own side. This is a sport much to be seen, and generally it has many spectators to see the end of the play, which often lasts a whole evening, and sometimes is forced to be put off to another day, such contention there is to win these prizes they play for.

The strength and boldness of the women comes from the little tenderness they are bred with, for they avoid neither heat nor cold; and in the coldest winters, when birds are killed with cold, they wash their heads in cold water, and never dry their hair, but let it remain wet, and dry itself in the air; and as for their children, they wash them in the rivers, when they are yet very young; and when they are brought to bed,

The hard education of the women.

1646. OVALLE. in a very little time they are about the house, as if it were not they, but some other woman that had lain in.

The Indian mens hardi-ness against wet and cold. If the women behave themselves thus, what may we expect from the men? 'Tis a wonderful thing how little they fear weather, though, in the midst of winter; and to see an *Indian*, with that simple habit we have described, his head bare, without hat, or any other covering. I have seen them in this condition endure mighty showers, which wet them all over, and came out at their breeches, and yet laugh and not value that, which to others would have been insupportable.

I remember, upon this occasion, what was said by a *Spanish* gentleman, of a merry humour, to one newly come from *Europe*, who, with great charity, was pitying these poor *Indians* for their sufferings in winter, which in that country is very severe. The gentleman asked the good father what he had to keep his face from the cold? To which he answered, *Nothing*, because every body's face was used to the weather. To which

the gentleman replied, *These Indians are all face*; for from their infancy they have no defence against the cold. Who is it that pities a trout, or other fish, for being in the water, because they are bred in that element? The same may be said of these *Indians*, who are like fishes, and are bred to all that hardship; and so we need not wonder at it. By these means they are so hardened, that a wound which ~~the bravest~~ ^{for the} *Spaniard* would take his bed for, does give ^{wounds bet-ter than the} *Spaniards* them so little trouble, that I have seen them go about without minding it. I have known them have a broken head ~~by accident at~~ ^{by accident at} play, and all they do is to wash it in cold water, never leaving their employment or business; and with this, and the application of their own herbs, which, indeed, are of great virtue, they are soon well; but the excellency of their own constitution helps not a little to their cure in wounds, as well as all other distempers, out of which they get well with a great deal less time and care than the *Spaniards*.

C H A P. V.

Of other Qualities proper to the Natives of Chile.

The people of Chile very patient.

A good story.

'Tis the custom in Spain to dance at processions.

The complexion of the Chile-nians.

FROM this strong constitution, comes the admirable patience of their minds, and the little sense they shew of that which amongst us *Europeans* would be a great mortification. That which happened between an *Indian* and father *Lewis* of *Valdivia* is admirable upon this subject. The *Indian* came to confess to the father; who, to make him enter into a penance for his sins, ordered him to wear a *Cilice*, or hair-cloth upon his skin: it was a very hard one, and such as would have punished one of us severely. The *Indian* put it on, and about a year after, there was a procession of the holy sacrament, at which he danced, and seeing his confessor in the church, he left his dancing, and came to him, saying, *Look here how I have preserved what thou gavest me a year ago*, and shewed it him upon his naked skin. The father was astonished to see, that what he gave him to mortify him, was turned to an ornament; and asking him how long he had worn it, was answered by him, *I have never left it off one minute since thou gavest it me*; and so returned to his dancing, shewing his companions the present the father had made him, as pleased with it, as if it had been a gold or silver brocade; and so far he was from taking it for mortification, or feeling its roughness, that he wore it for a favour given him by his father-confessor.

These *Indians* of *Chile* are the fairest complexioned, and whitest of all *America*; and those of the coldest countries are the whitest,

as we see in *Europe*; but the very antipodes of *Flanders* never come to be so white as the *Flemmings*; and among all the *Chilenians*, I do not remember a red-hair'd one; for ^{No red} they all, both men and women, have black ^{hair.} hair, and that very rough, and hard, and thick; insomuch that the mestitos, or mungrel breed of a *Spanish* man and *Indian* woman, are known and distinguished by that from the children of a *Spanish* man and *Spanish* woman; and this will last to the second and third generation before it softens. There is little difference in any thing else, either of shape, feature, or disposition; nor in the manner of speaking, or sound of the voice: and as for the language, not only the mestitos, but the *Indians* bred among the *Spaniards*, are as ready at the phrase and turn ^{They speak} of the *Spanish* tongue, as any *Spaniard*. ^{I Spanish perfectly.} I have made experience of this often in confessing them; for the confessional is so turned, as the father-confessor cannot see the woman that enters to confess. It happen'd to me often to have an *Indian* woman come in after a *Spanish* woman, and I could not find any difference, till she herself, finding I used her with that distinction and civility due to *Spanish* ladies, would humbly tell me she was but an *Indian*.

The constitution of these people is the ^{They bear} cause that time does not make so strong an ^{their years} impression on them, as on us; and they bear ^{very well.} their years mighty well, turning grey very late, at threecore, or thereabouts; and till then they look like young men. When they

they are over white, or have any baldness, you may guess them at about a hundred : *Live long.* they all live long, and particularly the women ; and when by age they lose their judgment, they seldom falter in their memory, which lasts them to their dying day, even to remember all the particulars of their young days from their infancy. Their *Good teeth.* teeth and eyes are so good, that they seldom lose either ; and, in short, all the infirmities of old men, which are the forerunners of death, come to them later than to other nations. But yet, if they happen to go out of their own country, they lose all their vigour, as we experience daily in our prisoners of war ; who being sold to *Peru*, as soon as they feel the heat of the tropick, they fall sick, and most of them die ; and this is no more than what happens to the *Spaniards*, when they come from their own climate to *Porto Bello*, or *Panama* ; nay, the *Spaniards* born in *Chile*, venture their lives that go to those countries that are between the tropicks.

Cannot endure to leave their own country.

From this experience the *Indians* have of the hot countries, comes the great reluctance they shew to go out of their own, and the resentment they express against those who carry or send them abroad ; and 'tis not to be imagin'd the strange and rash contrivances they have to make their escapes from *Lima* ; for though they have above five hundred leagues to go to their own home from *Peru*, yet they undertake it, and most commonly compass it, through a vast number of dangers and inconveniences. For first, they are forced to go all along by the sea-side, by which one may guess how much they go about, since they fetch the compass of all the bays and nooks, and double all the capes.

The next inconvenience which they meet with, is want of food ; for they dare not enter any town, or inhabited place ; so they are reduc'd to feed on cockles and other shell-fish on the sea-side, which is no very good nourishment. The third difficulty is the passing of so many, and such swift rivers.

The fourth inconvenience is the want of water to drink ; for 'tis not possible, that in so great a journey, they should not sometimes miss of fresh water to quench their thirst. All these difficulties, and many others, which are obvious to travellers, are overcome by these *Indians* by length of time and patience ; and they get at last to their own country, and are out of slavery, not by the means of gold or silver, but by the bravery of their minds.

The boldness of some other *Indians* was yet more remarkable : these were carried in a ship to be sold as slaves at *Lima*, by a *Portuguese* gentleman of the *Habit of Christ*,

who was going about things belonging to war, at the time that I went the same voyage : this navigation is made commonly in sight of the coast, more or less, according as the winds serve ; but still they keep a good way out at sea, for fear of the rocks. These *Indians* resolv'd among themselves to throw themselves into the sea, to avoid this slavery ; and one day, when they found the ship in a proportionable distance to the shoar, so as they durst venture to trust to their swimming, they got loose very dexterously from their fetters, and slid, without being perceiv'd, down by the ship's side into the sea ; and when they miss'd them they were out of sight, and so it was in vain to follow them. Among these prisoners there was an old man, who either because he was not trusted by the others, or because they had not the opportunity of acquainting him with the design, he not being shut up with them, but having the liberty of the ship as an old man, remain'd behind after they were gone. This *Indian* began to think of the thing, and to weigh with himself how his companions had undertaken and perform'd an extraordinary action ; he reflected how they had arrived at their own land, and among their friends, who perhaps were enquiring about him, and that every body despis'd him as a coward, and a man of little spirit, since he had not been able to overcome the adverse fortune which the others had conquer'd, but had submitted to it : he represent'd to himself the welcomes and joys which their friends express'd, and the feasts and entertainments made for their return, and the embraces and caresses which they receiv'd from their relations. All this, I say, made such an impression in his mind, and rais'd such an emulation, that he could not bear the reproaches he made himself, particularly seeing himself without a remedy. At last, after much thought and pensiveness, he came to a resolution, which was, to do something which should be bolder than what his companions had perform'd, and that in the manner of doing it ; for he resolv'd to do it by day, in the sight of all the *Spaniards* ; and for a beginning, he design'd to kill his master, not in the night, and without witnesses, as he might easily have done, but upon the deck, in the sight of all those in the ship, to get himself a greater name of bravery. To this end, he took one day, a great knife in his hand, and fell upon the captain ; and having wounded him in several places, with as much precipitation as he could, leap'd overboard with so much suddenness, that he slipp'd away from those who endeavour'd to seize him. 'Tis to be imagin'd, they were all wonderfully surpris'd at the resoluteness

OVALLE. 1646.

An odd story.

A desperate old Indian.

OVALLE of the action: they immediately brought the ship too, and put out the boat in all the haste that could be to follow the *Indian*, who swimming like a fish, was already almost out of sight; but they overtook him, and bid him yield himself a prisoner, since he could not escape; and finding him still endeavour to get away, they struck at him with their lances, but he dexterously avoided all their strokes with great presence of mind, diving and appearing again where they least expected him. Upon this they fir'd upon him, and wounded him in several places; but neither then did he yield, nor would ever had a thought of it, but the loss of blood taking away his strength, had made him unable to get away, so they brought him almost expiring to the ship, having more valued death with the reputation of a brave man, than life with the infamy of a coward, and the loss of reputation among his own people. This fact does not only shew the bravery of the nation, but likewise their great aversion to go out of their own country, and how heavy a yoke they think subjection to be; and we shall see hereafter how much they have done to defend their beloved liberty.

Now let us speak of some other customs these *Indians* have. They solemnize their marriages their own way, and in a very contrary manner to that of the *Europeans*; for as to the portion, the woman does not provide it, but the man; and neither of them enjoy it, but it passes to the propriety and use of the father of the young woman; so that the husband has a charge upon him of maintaining his wife without any help; nay, rather with less ability, for he parts with some of his substance to purchase her; so that in this country 'tis no charge at all to have many daughters, but rather a part of their estate and substance.

Daughters are no burthen, but rather riches to a father.

They take many wives; and the greatest obstacle they have to be converted to our religion, is this vice of *Poligamy*, which they embrace with great sensuality, though 'tis chargeable, because at the same time 'tis a figure of power and riches. The first wife has some preeminence over the others, and has the ordering of them, yet they all look upon themselves as lawful wives, and their children as legitimate; yet the son of the first inherits the estate and the honour of *Cacique*, and has a power over his other brothers.

How they manage poligamy.

Natural obedience to their Cacique.

The subjects obey their lord with great punctuality, love, and respect; and for this reason they have no prisons nor strong places to hold them in; for their natural love and respect they bear their *Cacique*, is a law inviolable in their hearts, and a reward of their obedience, which they shew in all regards that may please him.

When a *Cacique* has a mind to make war, he need not make provision of money for pay, without which, amongst us, men will not fight, even for their king: he need only give out his orders, and they all come with arms and horses, bearing their own charges during the enterprize; and this is the reason that they can assemble so powerful an army in so little time, they all looking upon the common cause as their own; and as they make the good of their country the motive of their arms, every one thinks himself sufficiently rewarded if they can defend that from their enemies. The sound of the drum and trumpet is only to shew them the necessity of their meeting in arms; at which they immediately leave wife and children, and all that is dear to them, with the hazard of never seeing them more, as it often happens.

In the distribution of the booty and slaves taken in war, there is no other method, than that every one has what he can get, so that the bravest and most diligent are the best provided, without any obligation of giving any part of it to their captains or general; for in this they are all equal, and valour alone makes the distinction, which they shew in an eminent degree, being very desirous to recover some of our arms, such as guns, swords, lances; for they have no iron of their own. When they return from war, and find what men they have lost, 'tis incredible what lamentations, cries, and tears, proceed from the widows and children of those who are dead; and though this be a common sentiment of humanity, practised amongst all nations who value society and proximity of blood, which are the foundation of friendship, yet the *Indian* women seem to surpass all others; for they do not cry in secret, but set up their notes, so that when any one hears them at a distance, it provokes more to laughter than moves to compassion. When a man dies at home, the manner of their expressing their sorrow is more remarkable; for the women all get about the dead body, and the eldest beginning, the others follow all in the same tone; and thus they continue a great while, so that they never give over as long as they can hold out; and this custom they preserve, even after they are baptiz'd, and live among christians; but not that which they had of opening the dead bodies, to know of what disease they died, and to put meat, and drink, and cloaths in their graves with them, as also jewels and things of value; neither do they cover their graves with pyramids of stones, nor use other ceremonies practised by the gentiles of those parts.

Their wars voluntary, without pay

Very brave.

Want iron.

The women's manner of mourning.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Chilenian Indians, who inhabit the Islands of Chile:

WE divided the kingdom of *Chile* into three parts, and the *Islands* made ~~one~~: these are very well peopled: those who live in the fertile *Islands*, which are capable of producing corn, and feeding flocks, pass their lives as the *Indians* of *terra firma* do, eating flesh and several fruits, the product of their *Islands*. Those who inhabit the barren or less fertile *Islands*, eat fish of the sea, and shell-fish, as also *Potatoes*; and some, who cannot have any wooll, cloath themselves with the barks of trees. Some go stark-naked, though their climate is mighty cold, and by custom do not feel the hardness of the weather *overmuch*.

Their
cloathing.Very singu-
lar.

Others have a strange way of cloathing themselves, which is to gather a certain earth with roots about it, to give it a consistency; and others cloath themselves with feathers, as brother *Gregory* of *Leon* reports in his map. They are all tall men, and in some places there are giants, as the *Dutch* relate, who say, they found skulls that would contain within them some of their heads; for they us'd to put them on like helmets: they found also dead mens bones of ten and eleven foot long, whose bodies by consequence must have been thirty foot high, which is a prodigious thing. Those whom they saw alive, were generally taller by the head and shoulders than the *Dutch*. This appears by the relation of general *Schewten*; and from that of *George Spilberg* we learn, that when they were in the *Streights* of *Magellan*, they came to an *Island*, which they call'd the *Island* of *Patagoons*, or giants, because of some they saw there, and on the *Tierra del Fuego*. Among the rest, they saw one who was upon a rock, to see the ships go by, and they say of him, that he was *immanis admodum, & horrendæ longitudinis*.

Giants.

Likewise we know, from the fleet commanded by *Don Fray Garcia, Josre de Loaísa*, a knight of *St. John's* order, that at the cape of the *Eleven thousand Virgins* they found the footsteps of men of a large stature, and met two *canoos* of savages, whom, because of their strength and stature, they call'd giants: they came near the ships, and seem'd to threaten them; but those of the ship endeavouring to follow them, they could not come up with them, for they rowed so swiftly, they seem'd to fly. 'Tis

Good row-
ers.Canoos of
whalebone.

probable these canoos were made of the ribs of whales, which are there in abundance; and they found one before with the sides and steerage of whalebone.

In another voyage, made by *Thomas*

Candish, an *English* gentleman, they found in a port, (in a very inaccessible place,) a company of *Indians*, very lusty men, who notwithstanding the prodigious cold of that country, lived in the woods like satyrs, and shewed so much strength, that they would throw stones of three or four pound weight a great way. We read likewise in the relation of the voyage of *Magellan*, that as he winter'd in the bay and river of *St. John*, there came to the ship six *Indians* so tall, that the lowest of them was taller than the tallest *Spaniard* aboard; that having made a great kettle of the sweepings of the bisket for them, enough for twenty men, those six eat it up entirely, without leaving a crum of it. *Magellan* gave them a sort of coats of red wooll, with which they were much pleas'd, never having seen any before; their ordinary wear being deer skins. They learn'd from them, that in the summer they us'd to come down to the sea-side to live, but in the winter they withdrew more into the heart of the country. We know likewise by these same authors, that the number of the *Indians* that inhabit those coasts, is considerable, particularly in the port called the port of *Sbell fish*; where as soon as they landed great numbers of *Indians*, with their wives and children, came to them, and exchanged with them great quantities of pearl, ready wrought in points, like diamonds, very artfully, for scissars, knives, and other baubles; as also for *Spanish* wine, which pleas'd them extremely; but they came no more, for they were frighted with seeing the *Spaniards* shoot some game.

The fleet of *George Spilberg* found also great numbers of inhabitants in the land, on the other side of the *Streight*; and when the captains, call'd the *Nodales*, were by the king's order to view the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*, they found, upon a point of land of that *Streight*, great store of people. The same is said by the *Saballas*, and others, who went from *Peru* to search the *Tierra del Fuego*; and all those who have pass'd the *Streights*, have constantly seen men and inhabitants on the shoars in several places; and at one place some of *Spilberg's* men landing to pursue some birds of a very fine colour, which they saw on shoar, had scarce begun to shoot them, but they were environed with *Indians*, who attacked them so furiously with clubs, that happy was he that could make his escape to the ship; and many of them were knocked on the head.

OVALLE. 1646. The *Nodales* likewise saw in the bay of *St. Gregory* great numbers of inhabitants, with whom the seamen drove a trade, by exchanging some *Spanish* trifles for gold. By all which 'tis apparent how well peopled all that coast and the *Islands* are; yet we do not know what sort of people inhabit the fourscore *Islands* discovered by *Pedro Sarmiento*, for no body landed out of that fleet; but we know that the *Islanders* of *Mocha*, are a peaceable civil nation, several ships having touch'd there, and at *Santa Maria*. As for the nation call'd the *Chonos*, they are a poor people, but good natur'd, as has been seen by the *Chilenians*, in whom the *Spaniards* have found great docility, and a good understanding.

The Islands and Straights are well-peopled by savages.

Naked people in a very cold country.

In the *Islands* discovered by *Francis Drake*, in about five and fifty degrees, of which we have already made mention, they met with canoos of men and women stark naked, which is the more remarkable, because of the excessive cold of those parts, where there is a continual night, without any appearance of day, when the sun coming to the tropick of *Cancer*, makes our summer; and on the contrary, when he draws near the tropick of *Capricorn*, there is continual day, without any shadow of night.

And now lately, in the year forty three, the *Dutch* having sent a fleet under the command of *Anthony Brun*, which pass'd the *Straights* with a design to settle at *Valdivia*, as they endeavour'd; they sail'd afterwar's into seventy degrees, where they discover'd an *Island*, which they call'd *Barnevelt*, in which they saw the footsteps of men of large stature, and observ'd great smoaks: this place was so cold, that the *Dutch* could not endure the rigour of the weather, which was nothing but frost and snow, it being then *June* or *July*, which is the depth of their winter; and a perpetual night, without seeing the sun one hour in a day. 'Tis a wonder how those *Islanders* pass their time in so much cold and darkness, without any thing to cover their nakedness; for wanting commerce with *Chile*, or other parts in *Europe*, they have neither sheep, nor goats,

nor any thing that produces wooll fit to make them garments. It must be own'd, ^{Man kind} that men are quite other creatures than the ^{naturally} nice imagination of some effeminate nations ^{hardly} takes them to be; and human nature by custom accommodates itself to the place where 'tis bred, so that very often men will not leave that place for any other more full of conveniency. 'Tis for this ~~that~~ their *Indians* shew such an aversion to leave their country where they were born and bred: and though it be a miserable one, and those they go to more delicious, yet there is no sweetness in any one like that of their own country.

There is a report likewise, that in the ^{reports of} *Straights* of *Magellan* there are pigmies, ^{Pigmies,} but I know not upon what it is founded; for all the authors that relate the voyages made into those parts, speak always of giants, or men of a gigantick form, who exceed us in strength and stature; and 'tis said in one of these relations, That the ship's men, in a certain place, beginning to fight with these *Indians*, they pull'd up great trees by the roots, to use them as a retrenchment, as we may see in a picture in *Theodore* and *Jean de Brie*; but I cannot imagine how this report of pigmies was invented; and it seems to me a jest or irony, or, perhaps, among these giants there are some dwarfs.

That which was seen by the vice-admiral of *George Spilberg's* fleet, was a body of about two foot and a half high, which was buried with another of an ordinary stature in a grave of very little depth, and cover'd after the *Indian* way, with a pyramid of stones, in an *Island* call'd the *Great Island*, about the second mouth of the *Straights*; and from hence, perhaps, or from having seen some of that littleness alive, this report of *Pigmies* took its rise.

This is all the account I can give of the inhabitants of the *Straights*, and *Islands* about it. Time will, perhaps, enable us to be more particular, when by commerce we are better acquainted with them; and then without doubt there will not be wanting authors to write about them.

C H A P. VII.

Of the *Indians* of *Cuyo*, who are on the other Side of the *Cordillera*, to the East of *Chile*.

THE *Indians* of the province of *Cuyo*, though in many things they are like the inhabitants of *Chile*, yet in many others they are not so. For first, they are not so white, but more copper-coloured, which may be attributed to the great heat they endure in summer. Secondly, they are not so cleanly, nor do not build such neat houses

The Indians of Cuyo are copper-colour'd.

to live in; but their habitations are wretched; nay, some, who live in the marshes, make themselves holes in the sand, into which they go like wild beasts. Thirdly, they are not so laborious to cultivate their land, and so have not such variety of product as those of *Chile*. Fourthly, they are not so brave, nor warlike as the *Indians* of

of *Chile*: their language is likewise different, and so different, that I do not know one word of the one, that is in the other; but yet the language of *Chile* being so universal, that it is the same all over the kingdom, to the foot of the *Cordillera*; those of *Cuyo* learn'd it too, and that very perfectly; but I never observ'd that a *Chile Indian* spoke the language of *Cuyo*, which shews the advantage that the language of *Chile* has over the other.

Basket-work that will hold water.

In return of these advantages which the *Chilenians* have, those at *Cuyo* have some over them. And the first is in the stature, which is taller, but not so strong and well-set as the *Chilenians*, but rather raw-bon'd, without flesh. I do not remember I ever saw a fat *Cuyian* among so many as I have seen. They are likewise better workmen in some things which require patience and length of time, such as basket-work of several figures, all of straw; and yet so close work'd, that they will hold water; for which reason they make their drinking vessels of them; and as they cannot break by a fall upon the ground, they are very lasting, and the curiosities of this kind, which they make, very much valued for their work and colours.

Likewise they prepare several firs of animals, which they hunt; and they are very soft and warm for winter: they hunt and catch ostriches likewise, and make many works of their feathers, with which they adorn themselves on their festivals, mingled with the feathers of other birds. They likewise hunt the wild goats and deer, and are the masters of all the *Bezoar-Stones*, which they sell to the *Spaniards* so dear, that any one who should buy them to get by them, would make but a small profit in *Europe*.

The Cuyians more hairy than the Chilenians.

These *Cuyians* are also more hairy, and have more beard than the *Chilenians*, though they pull their hair as the others do, but with more trouble; and they never look so smooth as those of *Chile*. They are all well-shap'd, and nimble, and have a good air: they have also good understandings. The women are tall and slender, and I do not know that I ever saw taller: they paint their faces green, which is so well settled in their skin, that there is no getting it out: most commonly they paint only their nostrils, some their whole faces, and the men their beards and lips. Their habit is decent in both sexes: the women let their hair grow as long as they can, but the men only below their ears. In all other things are like the *Chilenians*.

The women paint their faces green.

They are very nimble, and good travellers, without tiring. I have seen them run up the steepest and straightest hills of the great *Cordillera*, like so many goats; and this the women will do as well as the men;

the little children too. The women will run with their children in a cradle fastened to their backs by a strap that comes over their forehead; and with all this weight they follow their husbands with so much ease and agility, that 'tis wonderful.

OVALLE. 1646.

For a proof of the admirable disposition of these people, in walking and running, a corrigidor and captain-general of that province told me a story about their hunting their venison, which is very singular: He told me, That as soon as they find their game out, they draw near them, and follow them upon a half trot, keeping them still in sight, without leaving them so much as to eat; and in a day or two they begin to tire them so as they can come up with them, and kill them, and return home loaded with them, where they feast upon them, with their families, till they have made an end: for these *Indians* are such gluttons naturally, that a few of them will eat up a calf, or a young heifer in a meeting: but they are as good at fasting, when they have nothing to eat; for they will pass several days with a little maize and some roots, which grow wild: they are also very dexterous archers, and often kill with their arrows the game they see.

A proof of their agility.

I shall not omit a particular favour bestowed on these *Indians* by God Almighty, which is a singular instinct of tracing and following any lost thing. Of which I shall give two examples which happened in the city of *St. Jago*.

They pretend to an instinct of finding lost things.

Our college had a cart belonging to it, which stood at the gate of a garden, to which our *Seminarists* did use to go to refresh themselves: it was stole one night, and being miss'd in the morning by one of our lay-brothers, he immediately went to find out a *Guarpe*, (for that is the name they give those finding *Indians*;) he presently fell upon the scent or piste, and followed it, taking with him the lay-brother, till he came to a river, where it fail'd him: but he lost not the hopes of finding it; he crossed the river, and recross'd it again, once and twice, by so many different fords, (the man that stole it, as he since confess'd, had cross'd so many times to break the piste to the follower.) After this he went four leagues outright, and there he found it, when the man that had it, believ'd himself most safe from being discover'd.

Another time, a certain person having lost a parcel of oranges, he employed a *Guarpe*, who having led him through many streets and turnings, brought him at last to a house; where finding the door shut, he bid him knock, and go in, for there, said he, are thy oranges: he did so, and found them. There are every day experiments of this kind made by them to admiration:

OVALLE. they are likewise stout workers, very strong, and lasting in labour.

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Next to these *Indians* of *Cuyo*, are the *Indians Pampas*, call'd so because they inhabit those vast plains, which are extended for about four hundred leagues to the east, and reach to the north sea. Those of the point of *Los Venados* are the nearest the kingdom of *Chile*, and are much of the same kind. These *Pampas* have no houses, in which they differ from all mankind; for the first thing men generally do, is to cover themselves from the inclemency of the air: and this is the thing which these *Pampas* do the least care for; perhaps, they are of opinion, that 'tis an injury to the author of mankind, to look for more shelter than he afforded men at first, which is the earth, with the heavens for vault or cover; and that to defend themselves from rain, it was enough to make any little cover, which might easily be taken away, and set up in another place.

Build no houses.

Love independency.

This they observe; and look upon it as a sort of prison or captivity, to be tied to one place: for this reason they will neither have house, nor gardens, nor plantations, or possessions, which are like chains to hinder their removal to other places; for they judge that the greatest of all earthly felicities is to have the absolute, entire, and independent use of their own free will; to live to day in one place, to morrow in another. Sometimes, say they, I have a mind to enjoy the freshness of a river side; and being weary of that, I pass to another. Otherwhile I have a mind to live in woods and solitudes; and when I am weary of their shades, I go to the open air of plains and meadows. In one place I hunt, in another I fish: here I enjoy the fruits of one territory; and when they fail, I seek out another, where they are beginning to ripen. In short, I go where I will, without leaving behind me any thing I regret or desire, which uses to be the torment of those who are fixed. I fear no ill news, for I forsake nothing I can lose; and with the company of my wife and children, which I always have, I want for nothing.

This is the account that these people give of themselves; and thus they pass a life without cares; here to day, to morrow in another place; making in an instant, with four little posts, a hut cover'd with boughs, or some hide of a beast. Their incomes are their bow and arrows, with which they provide them with flesh, with which they drink water; only sometimes they make their drink, call'd *Chicha*, of fruits of the trees, as they do in *Chile*. Their cloaths are some leaves for decency, and a skin, which is like a cloak, to cover them in other parts. They make holes in their lips, and put some

glass or brass pendants in them, and sometimes silver ones. The men let their hair grow to their shoulders, and the women as long as it will. There seems to be one thing wanting to this nation, which all other *Indian* nations have, which is the bread they make of maize, or wheat, and some of rice: but yet they do not want a supply of this kind; for because they have not these grains, they make bread of the coes of a tree, which we in *Spain* call *Algaroba*; and because that does not last long, they have invented a strange sort of bread made of locusts, (nay, I have heard of *Mosquitos*;) but the locusts use to be in such vast quantities in those great plains call'd the *Pampas*, that as I travell'd over them, I often saw the sun intercepted, and the air darkened with flights of them.

The *Indians* observe where they lye to rest; and those plains being here and there full of thickets, they rest in them, and chuse the highest for shelter. This the *Indians* know; and approaching softly in the night, they set fire to the thicket, which, with the high winds that reign in those plains, is soon reduc'd to ashes, and the locusts with them. Of these they make great heaps; and as they are ready roasted, they have nothing more to do, but to grind them to powder; of the flower of which they make a sort of bread, which maintains them. To the same end they use an herb call'd *Cibil*, which either by pact with the devil, or by natural virtue, affords them a sustenance for several days, only by keeping it in their mouths, where it makes a white foam, which appears upon their lips: it is a very disagreeable sight, and made me very sick to see it.

The herb Cibil; its virtues.

Though these people are not so warlike as the *Chile Indians*, yet they are courageous, and have shewed it upon several occasions. They are very dexterous at their bows and arrows, with which they make incredible shots. But besides these, they have a very extraordinary sort of weapon of a new kind, which is made up of two bowls; the one bigger, and is a stone perfectly well rounded, about the bigness of an ordinary orange; the other is of a bladder or hard leather, which they fill with some matter of less weight than the stone: these two balls are tied strongly to each end of a strong whipcord, which they twist of a bull's pizzle: the *Indian* standing on a high ground, takes the lesser ball in his hand, and lets the other fly, holding it like a sling over his head to take aim, and hit his adversary with the heavy ball, which they direct to the head, or legs of their enemy; and thus they entangle him so, as to bring him to the ground, and then the *Indian* leaps from the height where he was, and without giving him time to disembarass himself,

A strange sort of weapon.

himself, they kill him; and this instrument is so powerful in their hands, that it not only brings a man to the ground, but a horse or a wild bull, which are very frequent in those parts, since the coming of the *Spaniards* among them.

At this time they have no wars with any; for though they do not own a subjection, yet they carry themselves to the *Spaniards* very friendly; and the reason is, because they see their towns so populous and strong, that it would be in vain for them to stir, or make any attempt against them: they have the liberty of going in and out as they please; and when they have taken a kindness for a *Spaniard*, there will come a troop

of them in harvest time to help him to get it in, and when it is over, they return to their own way of living: but there are others who come in troops to the highway, and if the *Spaniards* are not well armed, attack them in their waggons; for which reason they seldom set out but a great many together, and well provided for an encounter; but most commonly they are well pleas'd with some little present, which they ask very boldly, as if they were masters of all the goods in the waggons: they generally are content with a little biscuit or wine; but if the travellers are too niggardly, they are in danger all the way, and must owe their safety to their fire-arms.

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BOOK IV.

Of the first Entrance of the *Spaniards* into the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction to this Book.

HAVING hitherto treated of those three parts, into which at first we divided the kingdom of *Chile*; of its soil and climate; of its temperature and properties; of its inhabitants, and their antiquity, nobility, and customs; the order of this history requires we should now treat of the entrance of the *Spaniards* into their country; since by that it has been changed much for the better in many things: and although what we have already mentioned about the *flocks, fruit, bread, wine, oil, &c.* of which they had no idea before the *Spaniards* came among them; yet this is nothing in comparison with the advantages they receive by the light of the gospel, which by the means of the same *Spaniards*, was, and is communicated to them. Upon this consideration, we may well excuse some military excesses of covetousness in some of the first discoverers and their soldiers, who as such, and men who are bred in disorder and confusion, and used to imbrue their hands in blood where they find resistance, had less regard to the strict rules of justice towards the *Indians*. But this was against all the orders of their catholic majesties, who from

the beginning recommended most strictly the preservation of the privileges of those poor people, charging all their governors, captains, conquerors, and royal ministers, that they should always have before their eyes, in the conquest of this new world, not so much the dilatation of their royal power and monarchy, as the propagation of the gospel, and the kind usage of the *Indians*, their conversion being the principal motive of the undertaking, as we shall see in its proper place.

But how is it possible, morally speaking, that human actions, though never so well design'd upon high motives, should not have a mixture of the inconveniencies which passion, not overcome by reason, produces? And so 'tis no wonder, that in the beginning of those discoveries some disorders should happen, though they never were so exorbitant as some authors make them; and particularly in *Chile* they were much less, because the inhabitants of those parts made the *Spaniards* feel their valour at their very first entrance, where they found their progress opposed with greater vigour than they imagined.

But

OVALLE. But since this kingdom is one of the considerable parts of *America*, it will be necessary first to say something of the discovery of the new world; for this being the remotest part of it towards the south, it was necessary to pass all the rest before it could be discovered; and therefore, though I have not a design to make any relation but of the kingdom of *Cbile*, I shall nevertheless

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touch upon the other discoveries, and follow the steps of the conquerors in order, as the histories of them do relate; so the subject of this book will be better understood, by opening the manner of the finding them, and the order of time in which this progress was made; and so place each kingdom according to its antiquity.

CHAP. II.

Of America in general, and what Light may be found of it among the Antient Philosophers.

AMERICA, called otherwise the *New World*, because of its late discovery, is now as well known as it was formerly hid for so many passed ages, not only to the vulgar, but to those piercing wits among the pagans, *Aristotle*, *Parmenides*, *Pliny*; and among the christian philosophers, to *St. Austin*, *Lactantius*, and others, who judged all that climate to be inhabitable that lay between the tropicks, founding their opinion upon a point of their philosophy, which was, That the preservation of the animal demanded by its temper the just proportion of the first four qualities, which they supposed could not be found under the torrid zone; for so they called it, because of the force of the sun upon it, it being all the year almost perpendicular to it; and having observed its effects on this side the tropicks, how it dries the earth in summer, consumes the fountains, thinking that if it did not withdraw to the other tropick, it would have entirely fired the earth, though refreshed by the nights, 'tis no wonder, if they were persuaded that where its beams were continual, there could be no habitation for man.

But experience, which is the touch-stone of all philosophical discourses, has discovered that not only there is a plain passage, though troublesome, from one pole to the other, but also that those regions contained under the *Zodiack* have been, and are inhabited by innumerable nations; and that there are even under the *equinoctial* line, some places, as that of *Quito*, so temperate and healthful, that they are manifestly preferable to several in the temperate Zone. This new world has, by common consent, been called *America* unjustly enough, as *Herrera* complains in the first book of his fifth *Decade*, by the crafty usurpation of this discovery appropriated to *Americo Vesputio*, instead of *Columbus*, who by this means is deprived of his true glory.

Quito temperate, though under the line.

It is not easy to make out what knowledge the antients have had of this new world: *Marinco Siculo* pretends, in his *Spanish Chronicles*, that the *Romans* had known it, and made some conquests in it; and his

foundation is, That in one of the gold mines of *America*, there was found a medal, or antient coin, with the figure of *Augustus Cæsar*; which, he says, was sent to the pope by *Joannes Ruso*, archbishop of *Cozensa*: but this is refuted, as ridiculous, by *Pedro Bercio* in his *Geography*; and 'tis not very probable, that that coin alone, and no other, should have been found in all this length of time, since the mines are working in the *West Indies*. But, besides, if the *Romans* had been once in possession of those parts, it would not have been easy to have lost all commerce with them, considering the great riches that communication produces; for the nations would have called in one another, as we see they have done since the discovery made by their catholic majesties, and their possessing of those parts, to which there goes every year so much people from *Europe*.

As to the *Roman* coin, 'tis probable, that some who passed from *Europe* with the first conquerors of the *Indies*, and out of a humour of spreading novelties, (which though little worth, are generally applauded by the vulgar,) feign'd he had found it in the mines; or it might fall from him, and be found by another, who carried it as a rarity to the bishop, who is said to have sent it to the pope. I am not ignorant that there are many arguments and conjectures, and those not contemptible, of some knowledge that the antients had of this so principal a part of our globe, which are related by *Abraham Ortelius Gorosio*, father *Acosta* of our company, in his first book of the *History of the Indies*, Chap. 11, 12, & 13. *Thomas Bosius*, Book XX. Chap. 3. *Malvenda*, frier *Gregory Garcia*, in the first book of the *Origin of the Indians*, taking their hints from *Plato*, *Seneca*, *Lucian*, *Arrian*, *Clemens*, *Romanus*, *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, and others, who seem to have had some knowledge of this new world. There may be seen in father *Pineda*, of our society, in the fourth book about *Solomon's Court*, Chap. 16. the words of *Abraham Ortelius*, which make very much to this purpose.

C H A P. III.

What Light may be had from Scripture about this New Region.

THERE is another question which seems to be better founded, than the first; and that is, What light may be had from scripture about these remote regions? because there are many authors, who from these words of the second of *Chronicles*, Chap. iv. *The servants of Hiram brought, with the servants of Solomon, gold from Ophir*, infer, that the scripture here speaks of the *West Indies*, and interpret *Ophir* to be *Peru*, or all *America*; and as the most famous *Christopher Columbus* was the first who discovered it, so he seems to have been the first that used that expression; for they say, that when he was in the island of *Hispaniola*, he often said, that at last he was come to the desired land of *Ophir*, as is related by *Peter Martyr*, in his first book of the *Decade of the Ocean*. But he who first set out this opinion in form, was *Francis Vatable*, who upon the third book of *Kings*, in the ninth chapter, and so on, makes *Ophir* to be the island of *Hispaniola*, and the continents of *Peru* and *Mexico*. He was seconded in his opinion by *Postel Goropio*, *Arias Montano*, *Antonio Possentino*, *Rodrigo Yepes*, *Bosius*, *Manuel de Sa*, and other authors, reported by *Pineda*, in his treaty *de rebus Solomonis*; which makes father *Martin del Rio*, of the company of *Jesus*, say, that this opinion is not without good grounds; but he who defends it most vigourously, is father *Gregory Garcia*, of the order of *St. Dominick*, in his book *De Indorum Occidentalium Origine*, where he strives mightily to clear this opinion from all objections and opposition.

The things said by these authors are not of small weight, though those who would make an inference from the word *Peru's* having a nearness to *Pharvim*, which is used by the septuagint in 2 *Chron.* iii. where speaking of the gold with which *Solomon* adorned his temple, they say, that it was of gold of *Pharvim*, which in the vulgate is translated *Aurum Probatissimum*, or most pure gold, have against them a powerful adversary, to wit, *Gareilasso de la Vega*, who affirms, that the name *Peru* is not the name of the land, but that the *Spaniards*, endeavouring to inform themselves of the country, took an *Indian*, whose name was *Beru*; and that asking him what country they were in, and he imagining they asked him his name, he answered *Beru*; and the *Spaniards* thought he had said *Peru*, and that that was the name of the country, which ever after was called so. That which, in my opinion, confirms most the belief of *Ophir*, is, that which *Solomon* says of him-

self in the book of *Wisdom*, That he *knew the disposition of the earth*; with which it seems that ignorance was incompatible; and that he could not but be informed of that great and principal part of the world; so that we may conclude he knew how to send his fleets thither, and bring home the riches of those parts: and this may be more probable, if we consider the great desire he had of gathering together all the precious things from several parts of the earth, and the purest gold, for the ornament of the temple and house of God; for the gold of *Valdivia* and *Carabay* being the purest in the world, and the precious woods of odours that are in those kingdoms, and *Paraguay* and *Brazil* the finest, it appears hard he should not use all diligence to have them, they making so much to his end, which was to gather treasure and precious things.

That he could do it, there seems no reason to doubt, since we know he had a great and powerful fleet; and if this fleet spent always three years from the time of its setting out in the *Red Sea*, to the time of its return, as the interpreters of the scripture all say, in what could they spend so much time, but in going to the utmost bounds of the east and west? and, 'tis possible, went round the world, as the ship *Victory* did since, in the same time; in which, the great Captain *Magellan* discovered and passed the *Streights* of his name; and since we know, that the fleets of the catholic kings do, in our days, penetrate to the utmost parts of the east and west in less than a year's time, why could not the same be done by those of so powerful and so wise a king as *Solomon*, who may be supposed to have understood himself, and instructed his captains and pilots in the art of navigation? Neither is it improbable, but he might know the use of the loadstone, and the sea compass, as some authors do affirm he did. This is yet more confirmed by what we have observed already about the knowledge and conjectures which the ancients had of this new world, of which he likewise could not be ignorant, but rather have a more particular insight into them, being himself so perfect in the sciences of cosmography and geography, as well as hydrography; all which he had by infusion from God Almighty, that he might see into the errors of those who believed there were no antipodes, nor that the torrid zone could be inhabited, denying the roundness of the earth, and other such mistakes.

Ophir said to be Hispaniola.

Reasons for Solomon's knowing the land of America.

Peru how named.

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The course
of Solo-
mon's
fleets.

Lastly, we know, that his fleets came to *Syria, Phœnicia, Africa, and Europa*; and to come to those coasts, 'tis certain, that if they set out at the *Red Sea*, it was necessary for them to sail southward to double the cape of *Good Hope*, and then north, and pass the equinoctial line a second time, as the *Portuguese* do now in their voyages from *India to Portugal*. This being supposed, and that *Solomon* had the knowledge of *America*, 'tis probable he was not unacquainted with the communication of the *North and South Seas* by the *Streights of Magellan and St. Vincent*; for *Solomon* being so powerful, both by sea and land; and so well instructed in all things, 'tis probable he caused those shores to be searched, to find the communication of both seas, as it was since done by men much inferior to him in every thing, which were *Magellan, and Jacob le Maire*; or, it might be discovered by some ships driven by storms into those parts, as some say it befel the first discoverers of *America*.

This once supposed, those who understand any thing of navigation, and the art of the sea, cannot but know how much more easily a fleet, being placed at the cape of *Good Hope* in thirty six, may sail south to the fifty fourth degree, where the *Streights of Magellan* lie, than to sail to the north above seventy two degrees, which it must do from the cape to *Europe*: from whence may be inferred what I say, that if it was true that his fleet came to *Africa and Europe*, and entered the *mediterranean sea*, it was much easier to go to *Chile and Peru*; for from the *Streights* it might run before the wind all along that coast; and having taken in the gold, precious woods, silver, and other commodities, it might return by the same *Streights*, as *Pedro Sarmiento*, and others, have done to the *North Sea*, and so to the cape of *Good Hope* and the *Red Sea*: or, the fleet being in the *South Sea*, might sail west to the *Philippine islands*; and from thence coasting along those parts we call the *East Indies*, it might take in all the eastern commodities; and so having gone round the world, return loaden with all the riches of east and west, with pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other fine stones, as also musk, amber, ivory, and other valuable eastern commodities; and from the west, with gold, silver, odoriferous woods, pearls, emeralds, fine dyes, rich and fine woolls, amber, and other riches, which were wanting to make up the opulency of *Solomon*.

Neither ought this to be thought impracticable, since 'tis made out already in these books, how easy the navigation would be from *Chile* to the *Philippine islands* in two or three months: the conveniencies of which

navigation have been set out in the fourth chapter of the second book; and we do know how the ship *Victory* did return that way, and so have many others since: by all which the possibility of *Solomon's* navigation is made out, and that within the compass of the three years, in which they used to return to their port in the *Red Sea*; and if it did not do this, it can hardly be imagined, how it could employ such a space of time.

For these, and many more reasons of this nature, our most learned *Pineda* retracts the contrary opinion, which he had published in his commentaries upon *Job*; because, when he writ them, he had not so well examined, the grounds of the last opinion, nor weighed all the authority and strength of conjectures that attend it; and, indeed, so far every prudent man would go, as not to despise and contemn an opinion of which he believed the contrary, if it were maintained with probability, and by persons worthy to be hearkened to. Though, Reasons against Solomon's having discovered America. to say truth, if I must speak what I think, that one reason which I gave above against the *Romans* having had knowledge of those parts, [which is, That it appears incredible, that having once made the discovery, and enjoy'd those mines, not only the communication with them, but the very memory of them should be lost,] seems, in my opinion, to be as strong an argument against *Solomon's* fleet; for if that did once overcome all the difficulties of that navigation, what cause could interrupt that commerce in such a manner, as that the total remembrance of it should be abolished? 'Tis true, that as to the *Jews*, they were a people who did not care to live in foreign parts, nor settle among other nations, nor inhabit the sea coasts; for God Almighty was unwilling, that by the communication with the gentiles, they should contract any of their customs; and therefore we do not know, that of all the race of their kings, any more than three went about any such thing, which were *Solomon*, who compassed it, and *Josaphat* and *Ochobias*, whose undertakings had no success. By which it may be infer'd, that when *Solomon* died, and the temple was finished; this navigation was neglected, till at last it was quite forgot; besides, that it appears from the *Chronicles*, and other places of scripture, that in those times silver and gold were but little valued, the covetousness of mankind not being arrived to the height it is at now a days: they did not think it worth leaving their houses, to endure labour in the search of them, and run all those hazards which the voyagers to those parts do undergo. This therefore might take off the edge and desire which we see in the *Europeans*,

peans, of continuing those voyages; neither would they desire to settle in those parts; or if they did, the memory of them might be lost. See *Padre Pineda*, particularly in the fifth section of the sixteenth chapter, where he answers the arguments of the negative opinion; to which he gives very handsome solutions; and in particular, to those who say, that *Solomon's* fleet could bring nothing but gold and silver, as if this were nothing, or like ballast; and that this were not motive enough for him to send his fleets, for a thing of which it appears he made such use, both for the temple and

his own palaces; so that it does not seem possible he could have it all from the east, but must have recourse to the west, where there was such a mass of it, as is made out by what we have said of the mines of *Chile*, and those of the *Inga*, with those trees, fruits, and plants of massy gold, and statues of the same metal in his gardens; besides what they call *Guafcas*, where to this day they keep concealed a vast store of those riches gathered together for the liberty of the *Inga*, when the *Spaniards* had him prisoner; all which may be seen in what has been said already in several chapters.

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C H A P. IV.

Of the Discovery of America: And by what means it was performed.

AMONG the hidden and wonderful secrets of nature, we may reckon the singular virtue of the loadstone, which has produced such wonderful effects, as they seem more the object of our eyes than of our faith, as men; for who, if they did not see it, could believe the experiments made every day, which surpass all imagination? See the curious and elaborate treatise of father *Albanasius Kirker*, of our company, *de arte magnetica*; for there the most aspiring mind after curiosities will find all he can wish about this matter, as well what is ancient, as what is modern, the whole treated with so much erudition and clearness, that the study of it is not less delightful than profitable. The same subject is also treated of excellently by father *Nicholas Cabeo*, of our company, in his book of *magnetical philosophy*.

Among all the virtues of this rare stone, I think that its quality of taking up iron is not so admirable as that which it has had of drawing gold and silver to *Europe* from *India*; the mass of which has been so great, that some curious persons having made a calculation in this matter, which they understood very well, and reckoning the millions brought by the galleons and flotas, from the discovery of the *Indies* to their time; and having also computed the distance between *Europe* and those parts, have found that there might have been made, from the one to the other, of bars of silver, a bridge of a yard and a half wide; so that if all that metal could be found now a-days in any one place, it would make a mountain like that of *Potosi*, from which the greatest quantity has been fetched; and for that reason it appears hollow, and bored through in so many places. We may therefore say of the loadstone, that gold has given it a virtue like that of faith, to transport mountains, not only from one place to another, but from one world to

The mass of silver brought from America.

another, through those immense seas which separate them.

Who the first man was that applied this virtue to facilitate navigation, it is hard to prove by authors; for though we know that this stone was known to the *Jews*, and to the *Egyptians*, yet who first made use of the sea-needle and compass, is very hard to find out. Some say it came from *China* to *Europe*: others, that it was found by the inhabitants of the cape of *Good-Hope*; and that *Vasca de Gama*, met with some of their vessels, when he made the discovery of the cape, who used this instrument: others give the glory of it to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*: others to a man of the kingdom of *Naples*, called *John Goyas*, of the city of *Amalfi*, who was rather the man that perfected this invention, being himself an experienced seaman. But let every one have his opinion, it is not my business to decide; I only say, that to this admirable virtue of the loadstone we owe the discovery of *America*: for though some authors say, that *Solomon's* fleet sailed by the observation of the stars, the winds, the flight of birds, and other signs, with which they supplied the want of this useful invention, not then known according to the common opinion, (though the contrary is not altogether improbable,) yet it must be owned that the use of this sea-needle has been the thing that has facilitated the navigation, so as the first discoverers, trusting to this, durst venture into vast seas, and pass the gulph which leads to that remote and unknown world, so as to land in it; which was a performance worthy of immortal memory to the man who undertook and executed it.

The inventor of the needle at sea.

This man was the most famous captain *Don Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, whom the *Spaniards* in their language call *Colon*, who, though he were not, as he was, nobly descended, might have given by himself nobility and fame to his descendants, and

to

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Neither does that which *Gareilasso de la Vega*, and others, do relate, any ways affect the glory of this great man, when they say, that he undertook this design upon the knowledge communicated to him by a man whom he entertained, and who died in his house as his guest; for we must own that his chief praise does not come from what he knew of this new world before he undertook to find and conquer it, but from his generous mind and constancy in pursuing his enterprize; and this is all his own, which puts justly the laurels upon his head, and makes his memory immortal in spite of time and envy, though one would think no body should have any for the common benefactor of two worlds. That which these authors relate about this history, is, That a pilot, an inhabitant and native of the town of *Guelva*, in the county of *Niebla*, in *Andalusia*, called *Alonso Sanches de Hualva*, or as others say, *Buxula*, used to trade with a small vessel to the *Canaries*; and that one time, in his return to *Spain*, he met with a mighty strong *Levant*, which was so powerful, that in twenty days he found himself in one of the islands of the *West-Indies*, one of those which we call the *Islands of Barlovento*, or the *Windward Islands*, and 'tis judged it was *Hispaniola*; from whence, fearing to perish for want of provision, he returned to the *Island of Madera*, having endured so much, that almost all his company died, and himself came in such a condition, that though *Columbus*, who loved sea-faring men, and for that reason had chosen that *island* to live in, received him, into his house, and took great care of him,

The story of the pilot who died in the house of Columbus.

yet he died; but before he died, being willing to make some return for the kindness received, he called *Columbus* to him, and left him, as an inheritance, the journal he had made, with the rhumbs of wind both going and coming, and all others his observations in the voyage, and about the place where he landed.

This is thus related by *Gareilasso de la Vega*, and father *Joseph d'Acosta*, who says, he does not know the name of this pilot who left this legacy to *Columbus*: and this he attributes to the particular providence of God, who would not have the honour of this discovery be owing to any human industry, but immediately and entirely to the divine majesty, to whose disposition we ought to attribute, so much as appears contingent and casual in this ship's miscarriage, from its course and all the other accidents attending that storm, till the pilot was brought to die in the house of him whom God had chosen for a second cause and chief instrument of this enterprize; who being of himself a great philosopher and cosmographer, compared these notions which he had from his dying guest, with his own speculations which he had long had upon the same subject; and this made him resolve to undertake what he afterwards accomplished. In order to this he began to consider of those who were likeliest to assist him; and first of all, he offered it to his own country, who took it for a dream; after this, to the kings of *Portugal*, *France*, and *England*; and at last he addressed this rich offer to their tholick majesties, for whom it was designed, from the beginning, by him who had resolved, in his providence, to amplify their monarchy by the addition of so many rich and powerful kingdoms, as they have acquired in this new world.

Columbus offers his discovery to Genoa, France, Portugal, and England, who all refuse it.

Ferdinand and *Isabella*, who are worthy of immortal glory, having examin'd the grounds *Columbus* went upon, and the honour might be done to the cross of christ, and to the preaching of his gospel, if this enterprize should take effect, having seriously considered of it for eight years together, they commanded all necessary provisions to be made, without sparing any charge, or minding the contingency of a design so new, so difficult, and so much without example.

C H A P. V.

Don Christopher Columbus sails from Spain in search of the New World.

IN the year of the birth of our favour 1492. upon the third of *August*, about half an hour before sun-rise, (the happiest day that ever shined upon our *antipodes*, as

being the beginning of their greatest felicities,) *Don Christopher Columbus*, the most famous *Genoese* that ever was, sailed from *Spain*, with the title which he had received from

Columbus
had but
ninety in
two ships.

from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, of admiral of the seas of all those countries he should discover and conquer; so leaving behind him the famous *berculean Streights*, as disdain-
ing their *Non-plus-ultra*, and laughing at their pillars, he launch'd into the vast ocean, and begun his navigation with no less confidence than admiration of those who saw him leave the shore and steer a course never before attempted, by new rhumbs of winds. Having touch'd at the island of *Gran Canaria*, he again sailed from thence the first of *September*, with ninety in company and provisions for a year. After some days of navigation he began to find himself near the tropick of cancer, and under the *torrid zone*; whereupon his men who had been bred in the temperate climates of *Europe*, being impatient of heats, which they never before had experienced, and wearied with seeing nothing but a vast ocean without land, began to enter into distrust of discovering any. At first they murmured only between their teeth; but at last, speaking out boldly, they came to their captain *Columbus*, and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from pursuing his discovery, as vain and without hopes of success; and that it would be much better to return back to *Spain*; but he with a generous mind being deaf to all their persuasions, pursued his voyage with constancy. His men perceiving still how he went further from *Spain*, and that they had almost worn out their eyes with looking out from the topmost-head of the ship, without finding any appearance of land, renewed their instances and reasons; and that the more earnestly, by how much they perceived every day the consumption of their water and provisions; calling now *that temerity, which before they said might be constancy*: for they alledged that the time was increased, their provisions lessened, the winds scarce, and calms to be feared; no land in view, its distance not to be known nor guessed at; that the danger was certain, and no avoiding to perish, if they staid any longer; therefore, said they, let us secure our lives, except we intend to be a fable and laughing-stock to all mankind, and looked upon as our own murderers.

To say truth, it cannot be denied but this was an urgent danger, and greater perhaps than can be imagined by those who never were in the like trials; for when no less than life is at stake, all dangers appear great, and particularly at sea: besides, these allegations were of themselves of great consideration, and capable of shaking the greatest constancy and valour; yet the courage of the great *Columbus* was such, and so singular his prudence, that sometimes dissimbling, and sometimes taking no notice of

what he heard, but talking to this man ^{OVALLE!} and the other in private, and then comforting them all up in general, and giving them some account of his well-grounded speculations, he so fed them with hopes and expectations, (he himself shewing no distrust of success,) that he brought at last his project to a happy issue. They were following their voyage thus, through all the inconveniencies of heat, ready to stifle them, when on a sudden a voice was heard crying *Land, Land*: they all flew to the prow and sides of the ship, and fixed their eyes on the horizon like so many *Argus's*, to find out the land which seemed to appear like a cloud upon the sea. The desire of getting to it made some doubt, if it were land or clouds; but others were more confident: some assure it to be low land; others think they see rocks, and a large extended shore; and all was but guesses, occasioned by the great distance they were at sea from any land; for in truth it was not land but clouds. And this was an invention of *Columbus*, their admiral, who seeing them almost ready to mutiny, made use of this artifice to prevent the ill effects of their despair, causing this voice to be heard to give them a short joy, and amuse them.

This succeeded well for that time: he steered his course towards this pretended land till night; and when they were asleep he set his prow to the west, in search of the true land: but in the morning when it was day, seeing those clouds, which they took for land, vanished as it often happens in long navigations, they began to afflict themselves a-new, and remonstrate to the admiral boldly to his face which I do not wonder at; for besides the danger of perishing with hunger, they found themselves in a climate so scorching and fiery, that in the third voyage that the admiral made, they being becalmed eight days, about the same place, were afraid the sun would have set fire to their ships; for all his casks flew under decks, the hoops smoaking as if they had been set on fire, and the wheat was all in a ferment; and the salt flesh was, as it were, boiled again, and stunk so, that, to avoid infection, they were forced to throw it overboard.

The admiral was thus pursuing his voyage, in which patience was his most necessary habit, to endure the terrible persecution of his own people; when on the 11th day of *October*, of the same year, it pleased God to crown all his invincible sufferings, and the confidence he had in him, first, by ^{Signs of} manifest signs of land, which in such occasions do generally put a stop to all complaints and afflictions, and are the beginning of joy and content, which is followed with forgetting all past sufferings. The

1646. OVALLE. first thing they saw was a bough of a tree new cut, with its fruit on it, which though a kind of thorn, was a branch of olive to the inhabitants of this new ark; another had seen green fish, and some pieces of wood floating; all which were clear marks of land not far off, as to the navigators from *India* are the quantity of sea-weeds which meet them about ten leagues from the coast of *Spain*. The joys which sailors and passengers shew generally at the signs of land, the capers they cut, and embraces they make each other, with their congratulations to the pilot, their thanks to heaven, nay, the tears they shed, and devout prayers they make to God and the virgin *Mary*, in acknowledgment of their protection; all these are not so much matter for my pen, as for sight and sense. All this happened to the admiral's company, which not only forgot their sufferings, and the hatred they bore to the author of them, but they run and threw themselves at his feet, as admiring and congratulating his constancy, and begging his pardon for so many hard thoughts, and as hard words, they had entertained, and let fly against him: he received them all with embraces and marks of benignity, assuring them that by the end of that day they should be within sight of land, and having said this, he went upon the highest part of the ship's stern, as being desirous to be the first, that should give them the good news of discovering land.

There was a rent of ten thousand *Mara-vedies* a year for the first discoverer, which made them all look out with great attention; some on one side, and some on the other side of the ship, fixing their eyes where they thought it was most probable to find land; but it was about two hours before midnight, when admiral *Columbus* discover'd a light, and calling to two officers, shewed it them; and presently he perceiv'd that the light chang'd place, for it was a light carried from one house to another, as was known afterwards when they landed: they sail'd on towards that light, and about two hours after midnight they discover'd land, which was at the same time made by the other ships in company, whereupon there were many claims for the *Albricias*; but at last they agreed that the *Albricias* belong'd to the admiral, because he first discover'd the light: this was confirmed by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, king and queen of *Spain*, and settled upon the shambles of *Seville*, as the best fund for the admiral.

Herrera, the *chronologist*, makes his reflections upon this light, and moralizes upon it, that it signified the spiritual light, which those nations wanted, and which was now brought to them from *Europe* by these discoverers; as a proof likewise of the piety

of the catholic kings, who having made war upon the *Moors* for three hundred and twenty years, had hardly finish'd it; but they put their shoulders to this new conquest, to spread by their means the glory of the gospel, and make the voice of it to be heard to the utmost limits of the earth, making out by this manifest proof, how firm supports they were to the faith, since they were constantly employed in propagating of it. Thus far *Herrera*: to which I may add, that the light *Columbus* saw in the middle of the night, was the tacit working of reason, which being buried in profound errors, did yet throw out some sparks from under those ashes, and cry to heaven for the enlivening spirit to deliver it, and by the means of Christ revive it, so as to enlighten that gentillism, so long overwhelm'd in darkness, and for so many ages past buried, as it were, in the shadow of death.

Thus it was; and as soon as day broke they landed: the admiral carried with him the royal standard spread, the other captains having in theirs the banners of this conquest, which were prepared, and had in them a green cross crown'd, and round about the names of *Fernando* and *Isabella*, to signify the hopes that those princes had entertain'd to make subject, and lay at the feet of the crucified Jesus, the crowns and scepters of those powerful monarchs of that new world; they themselves having first submitted their own, that there might be no crown, command, nor lordship, but that of the exaltation of the cross.

To this end, as soon as the admiral landed, kneeling down with all his company, he kissed it once, and twice; and lifting up his eyes to heaven, all in tears, he ador'd our Lord God of all things, who had brought him thither, thanking him for his favour, and doing homage to him in the name of those people, who were to be brought to his knowledge; in sign of all which, and the possession he then took, he call'd that island *Saint Salvador*: he rais'd also a most beautiful cross, which was a declaring war to hell, to make it renounce the possession of that land, which for so many ages it had tyranniz'd over.

The admiral being rose up, they all approach'd, and not only embrac'd him, but carried him upon their shoulders in triumph, as having perform'd the greatest work that ever man attempted, or brought to pass. Immediately after this, the admiral, in presence of a notary, took possession of that land in the name of their catholic majesties, and caus'd himself to be own'd as viceroy, and as such they began to own him, and obey him in all things.

This

This island, which we shall call *Saint Salvador*, was about fifteen leagues in length, very woody, and having good water, with a lake of fresh water in the middle of it, and well inhabited by the *Indians*, who

call'd it in their tongue *Guanaani*; and it is one of those which since have been call'd the *Lucaicks*. It is nine hundred and fifty leagues from the *Canaries*. OVALLE:
1646.

C H A P. VI.

WHEN the *Indians* saw such great bulks in the sea, with great sails, and the whole unlike their canoos, and they were drawn near the shore, they remain'd astonish'd and beside themselves, because tho' by their motion they guess'd them to be living things, yet for their bigness they took them for some strange sea-monsters, never seen before on those coasts. The ships came to an anchor close by the shore, and the admiration of the *Indians* increas'd still so much the more, seeing white men come out of them with beards and cloaths; yet they did not run away, but drew near without fear, the rather when they saw that the *Spaniards* began to present them with bells, needles, and other things of *Europe*, which pleas'd them extremely, as being new to them: in return they gave the *Spaniards* Gold, Provisions, and other things of their country: they came some in their canoos, and some swimming to the ships, where it was wonderful to see how they valued every thing, even to the bits of glazed dishes, or broken earthen ware, that lay about the ships, which they gather'd up as jewels which they had never seen. And to say truth, most things borrow their value from their rarity; and for this reason they had as little value for gold and pearls, which were things very common among them, they exchanging whole strings of pearls, and some of them as big as pease and small nuts, for needles and bells, as happened in the *Islands* of the *Margarita*; so great is the difference in the estimation of things common, or rare ones. The admiral having here got an account of some other *Islands*, went out to discover them; and the second he found he nam'd *Santa Maria de la Conception*, dedicating it to the queen of heaven: the third he call'd *Fernandina*, of the king *Don Fernando*: the fourth he nam'd *Isabella*, in consideration of his mistress queen *Isabella*. Of all these he took possession in the name of their majesties, by setting up their royal standard before a publick notary, with the same solemnity and ceremonies observ'd in the taking possession of the first *Island*.

Cuba discovered.

On a *Saturday*, the 29th of *October*, they discover'd the famous *Island* of *Cuba*, where the *Havana* is: there the *Indians*, frighted to see the *Spaniards*, whom they thought descended from heaven, went to them kissing their hands and feet. The admiral's last discovery was of the *Island* call'd *Hif-*

paniola, where he met with a great deal of gold, and some birds and fishes, like those of *Castile*. Here the cacique *Guacanagari* received him with much humanity; and in his land he made the first *Colony*, or settlement of *Spaniards*, which he nam'd the city of the *Nativity*.

The *Spaniards* generally were receiv'd in these and other the *Barlovento Islands*, and on the coasts of *terra firma*, with much love and kindness, very few of the *Indians* offering to resist them. On the contrary, they all were pleas'd with their coming upon their lands, furnishing them with all that the country afforded, and presenting them with gold, pearls, parrots; contenting themselves with a return of a very small value. Of the *European* things, those they seem'd most to mind, were needles; and at first they could not imagine what they were good for; but being told they were to sew, they answered they had nothing to sew; but yet they kept them, because they had never seen any thing of iron or steel. They were much surprized at the use of swords, and particularly when they had experienced their sharpness; for at first they us'd to take hold of them by the edge with great simplicity.

The simplest city of the Indians.

The admiral, as viceroy of those new kingdoms, began to govern, as he discover'd them; and that he might regulate them the better, by consulting their majesties in his doubts and difficulties, he made two voyages backwards and forwards to *Spain*, still making in his returns discovery of some new *Islands*, and amplifying the monarchy, as historians do relate at large, to whom I refer myself, not to engage in matters which are far from my subject; but I cannot but make some reflection upon what happen'd to this great man. Who would not have thought, considering the happiness with which he had executed all that he design'd, in the most difficult subject in the world, that he was eternizing his felicity, and putting fortune under his feet? But that no one may strive to do it, but that all may know how constant is her volubility, and how perpetual the motion of her wheel, and that there is no human power, nor star, can fix it, I will relate here briefly what befel him.

Let him who governs be undeceiv'd once for all, and know, That to sit upon a throne, and take possession of power, is to be a mark

OVALLE mark for the censure of the good and bad to aim at; 'tis just putting himself into the hands of anatomists, to be taken in pieces, and examin'd to the very bones; and very often envy oppresses innocence by feigned accusations: this is not the place to examine that of the admiral; I only know that there were so many complaints, and such appearances of misdemeanors alledg'd at court against him; as, that he did not advance the conversion of the *Indians*, but make them work to get gold, desiring more to make them slaves than christians; and taking no care to maintain them, and such other imputations, as mov'd their catholic majesties to send the commander *De Bobadilla* to examine the truth of what was alledg'd, and to do justice in requisite cases; writing at the same time a kind letter to the admiral, that he should let the commander execute their orders.

But he exceeding his commission, and the intention of their majesties, took all the informations against the admiral and his brothers, and without hearing them, made himself be own'd for judge and governor, giving rewards, and publishing, that he came to relieve the oppressed, and to pay their salaries, and put all things in good order. This drew over to him all those who had any grudge to the admiral, and most of the common sort sided with him; so he entered into the houses of the admiral and his brothers, seized their goods and their papers; all which he might safely do, without any resistance, for the admiral was away: he sent to seize him and his brothers, putting irons upon their feet, and so shipping them into a vessel, call'd a *Caravel*, he sent them away for *Spain*, to give an account of themselves.

When they came to put irons upon the admiral, there was none so bold as to do it, out of the respect that all had for him; and if he had not had in his family a rogue of a cook, who was villain enough to do it, they had not found any one to execute so barbarous a command. When *Columbus* saw himself put in chains by his own servant, 'tis said, that shaking his head, he pronounced these words, full of resentment for his usage; [*Thus the world rewards those*

who serve it; this is the recompence that men give to those who trust in them. Have the utmost endeavours of my services ended in this? Have all my dangers and sufferings deserv'd no more? Let me be buried with these irons to shew that God alone knows how to reward and bestow favours, of which he does never repent; for the world pays in words and promises, and at last deceives and lies.]

Having said this, the ship set sail; and as soon as he came to *Spain*, their majesties, when they were inform'd of the prison of the admiral, were much concern'd; for by no means, had that been their intention. They sent for him to come before them; but his tears and sighs were such, that in a great while he could not speak; at last he said, assuring their majesties of his great zeal for their royal service, which had always been his guide, that if he had fail'd in any thing, it was not out of malice, nor on purpose, but because he knew no better.

Their majesties comforted him, and particularly the queen, who favour'd him most; and after some time, in which the truth of the matter was made out, they order'd, That all that the commander *Bobadilla* had confiscated of the estate of the admiral and his brothers, should be restor'd to them; as also, that the capitulation with them should be observ'd, as to their privileges and exemptions. After this, the admiral return'd a fourth time to the *Indies*, in an honourable way; and employing himself in new discoveries, he arriv'd upon the coast of the *terra firma* of *America*, the second of *November*, 1502. and coasting along by *Cubija*, arriv'd at the port; which, because it appear'd so good a one, and the country so beautiful, well cultivated, and full of houses, that it look'd like a garden, he call'd *Puerto Bello*, or the *Fine Port*, having discover'd other islands in the way, and endur'd very bad storms. At last returning back by some of those places which he had discover'd, taking, as it were, his leave of them, and returning to *Spain*, to order there a better settlement of affairs, he died at *Valladolid*, where the court was, making a very christian end, and giving great signs of his predestination.

Columbus in irons.

Columbus dies at Valladolid.

CH A P. VII.

After the Death of Columbus, the Castilians pursue the Discovery and Conquest of the new World.

AMONG those who accompanied the admiral in his first discovery, there was one *Vincent Yanes Pinzon*, who being a rich man, set out four vessels at his own charge. He, at his return to *Spain*, set sail from the same port of *Balos* upon new

discoveries: he first came to the island of *St. Jago*, which is one of the *Cape Verd* islands: he set sail from thence the thirteenth of *January*, in the year 1500. and was the first who pass'd the *equinoctial* line, by the north sea, and discover'd *Cape St. Augustin*,

Augustin, which he call'd the *Cape of Consolation*, taking possession of it for the crown of *Castile*; from thence he found the river *Maragnon*, which is thirty leagues over, and some say more at its entrance, the fresh water running forty leagues into the sea; then coasting towards *Paria*, he found another river very large, though not so broad as *Maragnon*: they took up fresh water out of it, twenty leagues at sea. He discover'd in all a coast of six hundred leagues to *Paria*, and lost two ships in a terrible storm that he endur'd. We have seen also in the last chapter, that *Columbus* had discover'd the island of *Cuba*, though he could never sail round it, being hinder'd by the storms and ill weather; so he died without knowing whether it was an island, or no, for he judged it to be rather a point of some continent; but it is a very large island, with many fair ports, and mountains full of precious odoriferous woods of cedar, ebony, and many others; and there are in it several cities of *Spaniards*, and among the rest the strong fortrefs of the *Havana*, which is a *Scala* or rendezvous for the galleons and *flotas*, loaded with silver from the *West Indies*: this is one of the best fortifications the king of *Spain* has in all his dominions. But, in my opinion, that which makes this island most valuable, is, the good nature and docility of those who are born in it; which was a product of that soil before ever the *Spaniards* trod it, as they shewed to *Columbus*, and those who came after him, receiving them with all kindness and humanity.

The Havana.

To further what the admiral *Columbus* had begun, God raised an instrument in the person of *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa*, one of the first discoverers of this new world; a man of a good understanding, as he shewed upon the occasion which I shall now relate. He was, with others, upon the discovery with general *Enciso*, the governor: they came to a place call'd *Uraba*, and as they enter'd the port, by negligence of the steersman, the governor's ship struck upon a sand, and was lost, nothing being saved out of her but the lives of the men, who got into the boats, but naked, and in danger of perishing for want of provision. *Vasco de Nunnes* said, That he remember'd there was not far off a river, the banks of which were inhabited by much people: he guided them thither; and the thing being found to be as he had said, he gain'd great reputation among them all. They came thither, and found the *Indians* in arms against the *Castilians*, whose name was already become odious to those nations: they made a vow to our lady, to dedicate to her the first settlement and church to the honour of her image, under the title of *Sancta Maria la Antigua*, or the

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ancient *St. Mary*, which to this day is venerated in *Seville*; and to send her many rich gifts of gold and silver, which one of them, as a pilgrim, should carry in the name of the rest. Being encourag'd by this vow, they fell upon the *Indians*, and obtain'd the victory.

OVALLE. 1646.

Presently they made a settlement, and built a town, dedicated to the virgin, calling it *Sancta Maria el Antigua* of *Dairen*, because that was the name of that river. After this, to accomplish their vow, they sent the promis'd presents to the devout image of the virgin.

The good opinion of *Vasco de Nunnes* increasing thus daily, and having cunningly order'd it so, that *Enciso* resign'd his government, they chose *Vasco Nunnes* in his room: at first, with an associate; but he found means in time to be alone, as it was necessary he should, in point of command, being to overcome such difficulties as were to be met with at every turn: and, indeed, he knew how to make himself be both fear'd and belov'd, having a very good spirit of government. In the new discoveries he undertook, he came first to the lands of the *Cacique Ponea*, and not finding him at home, he destroy'd them: he pass'd on to the lands of the *Cacique Careta*, who not caring to enter into war, receiv'd him peacefully, and treated him as a friend. This *Cacique Careta* had a kinsman, who was a lord, that liv'd further in the country, and his name was *Suran*; who perswaded another neighbouring prince, call'd *Comagre*, to make a friendship with the *Castilians*: this prince had a very fine palace, which astonish'd them; and particularly when they saw, in a kind of chapel or oratory, some dead bodies lying cover'd with rich mantles, and many jewels of gold and pearls; and being ask'd whose bodies those were, they answer'd, of their predecessors; and that to preserve them from corruption, they had dried them with fire. The king caref'd the *Castilians*, and gave them great presents: he had seven sons, and one of them, more liberal, gave the *Spaniards* a present of near four thousand *Pesos* of fine gold, and some pieces of rare workmanship: they weigh'd it, and taking the king's fifths, they began to divide the remainder. In the division, two soldiers fell out about their share: the *Cacique's* son, who had made the present, hearing the noise, could not bear it, but coming to them struck the balance where the gold was weighing, and threw it all upon the ground, saying, "Is it possible you should value so much a thing that so little deserves your esteem? and that you should leave the repose of your houses, and pass so many seas, expos'd to such dangers, to trouble those

A noble re-
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OVALLE. "who live quiet in their own country?"
1646.

"Have some shame, christians, and do not value these things: but if you are resolved to search gold, I'll shew you a country where you may satisfy yourselves." And pointing with his finger to the south, he told them they should see there another sea, when they had pass'd over certain high mountains, where they should see other people who could go with sails and oars as they did; and that passing that sea, they should meet with vast quantities of gold, whereof the natives made all their utensils; and that he would be their guide, and conduct them with his father's vassals; but that it would be requisite they should be more in number, because there were powerful kings, who could hinder their passage: giving them by this the first notice of *Peru* and its riches.

The first notice of the South Sea, and its riches.

This was the first knowledge and light which the *Spaniards* got of the *South Sea*, and of the gold and riches of its coasts, which gave them all great joy; so that they were impatient to see the hour of breaking thorough all obstacles, to see that sea never before heard of, and enjoy the riches of it. *Vasco Nunnes* immediately disposed all things, and went out of *Dairen*, in the beginning of *September*, in the year 1513. and going along the sea-side, to the habitation of the friendly *Cacique Careta*, he went towards the mountains by the lands of the *Cacique Ponea*; who, though at first he endeavour'd to oppose their passage, yet being advis'd by the *Indians* of *Careta*, who accompanied the *Castilians*, he presented them with gold and provisions, and gave them guides; they, in return, giving him looking-glasses, needles, knives, and other baubles, which they valued very much. Then they began to mount the mountain through the country of a *Cacique*, call'd *Quareca*, who appear'd in arms, and attack'd the *Spaniards*: he had a long robe of cotton, but all his men were naked. They began to skirmish, and threaten by their actions, to hinder the passage; but no sooner did they hear the noise, and feel the effects of the muskets, and find some to fall, but they turn'd their backs, flying like a herd of deer, frighted to see the fire, and hear the sound of the vollies, which appear'd thunder to them, and thought the *Spaniards* had thunderbolts at their command; so they left the passage free for them. The *Indians* of *Careta* had said, that from their country to the top of the highest mountain, there was the time of six suns; for by that they meant so many days journey; but the ways were so bad, that they employed five and twenty days to get to the top. A little before they were at the highest, *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa* caus'd a halt to be made, desiring to have the glory of having himself been the first man that

ever saw the *South Sea*. And so it was: he *Vasco Nunnes* goes alone, discovers that vast ocean, and the large bays of the *South Sea*, call'd *Pacifick*; and upon his knees, with tears in his eyes, lifts up his eyes to heaven, giving thanks to the great creator of all things, for having brought him from such remote parts to contemplate that which none of his ancestors had ever seen: he made a sign after this to his companions to come up, and so they all run in haste, pushing one another on; and when they were on the top, where there is a full prospect of the sea, 'tis not to be imagin'd the content they all receiv'd in admiring that vast and smooth liquid chrystal, which not being animated, did not on its side give leaps of joy, nor go out of its bed to the tops of the mountains to welcome those who came to deliver it from the tyranny the devil exercis'd over it, by infesting it with storms and tempests, and infecting the air with the breath of idolatry, which was breath'd in all those parts, both east, west, north, and south. Oh! if all the creatures of that world could have come one by one to see the good that was coming to them by means of the gospel, which dawned in those mountains; or, if the predestinated of that new world could have viewed from their cottages, and poor habitations, or rather from the deep night of their errors and sins, the sun that was beginning to enlighten them from that high mountain, and the virtue and efficacy of grace, which then began to appear to reconcile them with God, and the blood of Christ, which like a great river was falling through those precipices, till it should bath the utmost parts of the earth, and give life to those, who, being fallen and cover'd with the dark shadow, did not only not hope for life, but not so much as know it; how would the children have leap'd out of their cradles, who, to go into paradise, expected nothing but baptism, as has happened to great numbers, who just expired when they were made an end of baptizing? and the old men, who wanted only the knowledge of the gospel to shut their eyes, and being reconciled to God, fly into his glory, how they would open them, and lying upon the ground, fly, at least, with their spirit if they could not with their body, to receive the preachers of the gospel, who brought peace and a general pardon for their sins? All the other predestinated, every one according to his state, who have by this means been saved, (which are infinite,) how they would melt and cry with joy, to hear this news, which is as welcome to them, as that of the coming of Christ to the holy fathers in *limbo*, who were expecting it with such languishing desires.

C H A P. VIII.

Balco Nunnes de Balboa *pursues the Discovery of the South Sea, and dies.*

OVALLE
1646.

Basco Nunnes de Balboa, having performed his devotion, and thanked our Lord, with all his companions, for so great a favour done them, as to bring them to that place, and for the favour he was about to shew to that new world, by the means of the preachers of the gospel, to whom he thus opened a way to publish it; he then bethought himself of his second obligation, which was to his king; in conformity to which, he took possession, in his majesty's name, for the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, of the place where he was, and of the sea which he discover'd from thence; cutting for this purpose many trees, and making great crosses, which he set up, and writ upon them the names of their majesties.

After this they began to go down from the mountain, marching always prepar'd for any encounter that they might have with the *Caciques* in their way; so, though the *Cacique Chiapas* oppos'd them with his people, who were stout and many, yet by setting the dogs at them, and beginning to fire their muskets, they were soon routed. This made the *Cacique* offer terms of peace, and receive and make much of the *Castilians*, presenting them with gold; and he prov'd so good a friend, that he pacified many other *Caciques*, who were in arms, to hinder the passage, who likewise made their presents of gold.

From the town of *Chiapas*, Basco Nunnes sent out, to discover the coasts of the *South Sea*, the captains *Francisco Pizarro*, *Juan de Escara*, and *Alonso Martin*, each to a different place: this last found two canoes dry on the shoar, and the sea below them above half a league: he wonder'd to see them so far from the sea; and as he was considering it, he perceiv'd the sea coming very fast in, and did not stay long before it set the canoes on float: he enter'd into one of them, and took witness that he was the first *European* that had ever been upon that sea. The tides on that coast ebb and flow every six hours, so as great ships will be left on shoar, the water retiring so fast, that it gives great admiration when it returns, to see so great a space cover'd so fast, that it appears an inundation.

The tides
very rapid.

Basco Nunnes having advice of this, came down also to the coast; and going into the sea up to the mid-leg, with a naked sword in his hand, said, That he took possession of it, and all the coasts and bays of it, for the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*; and that he was ready with that sword, as often as it should be necessary, to make good that claim, against all that should oppose him. The *Indians* were in great amaze at

this new ceremony; and they were more surpriz'd, when they saw him, against their advice, and that of the *Cacique's* nature to cross the gulph of *Pearls*, to discover the riches of it in that commodity; though it had like to have cost him dear, for he was near perishing in crossing that arm of the sea. Now let us see (in order to undeceive those who shall read this,) how little this courage and boldness avail'd this generous conqueror of the new world, and the great things his invincible mind had brought to pass. All his military prudence and cunning, by which he made himself be respected by unknown nations, avail'd him little; for this so fortunate a great captain had a tragical end: he lost his life in *Dairen* at his return, finding there the governor *Pedrarias*, who came to succeed him. The king in sending this man had recommended to him the person of *Basco Nunnes de Balboa*, and order'd him to make use of his council, as of one who had honour'd him by his bold undertakings, and to whom for a reward he order'd the governments of *Panamá* and *Coiba*, and the admiralship of the *South Sea*, which he had discover'd, and on which he had already built four ships, and got together three hundred men to go upon the discovery of *Peru*. But the said *Pedrarias* commanded him on shoar, and there seizing him, caus'd him to be beheaded publicly as a traytor. The crier went before him, crying, as is customary, that he was a traytor; which, when *Vasco Nunnes* heard, he said it was a lie, and that no man had serv'd the king with more zeal, nor more fidelity than he, nor more desir'd to extend his monarchy; but all his complaints were like voices in the desert, which were of no force against envy and emulation, which had prevail'd in his enemies, and which can never fail against those who govern. His death was much resent'd, and appear'd very unjust in *Spain*, because, indeed, the king lost one of his bravest captains, and one who would have discovered *Peru* with more facility, and without all those tumults, which since happened; for his prudence, valour, and zeal, were above the ordinary size.

The barbarity of the Spaniards one to another.

Vasco Nunnes beheaded.

It cannot be denied, but that the sentence may be justified according to the depositions of witnesses; but yet it was a great argument of his innocency, that which he himself said to the governor *Pedrarias*, which was, That if he had in his heart to make himself master, and independent, as they accus'd him, he would not have obeyed his call as he did, and leave his ship without any difficulty; for he had then three

1646. **OVALLE.** three hundred men all at his devotion, and four vessels, with which he might have been safe, and gone upon new discoveries, if his conscience had accused him. They add here, That an astrologer had told him, That that year he should see something extraordinary in the heavens, he should be in guard

against some great misfortune that threatened him; and that if he escap'd from it, he should be the most powerful and happy man in the whole *Indias*. And that accordingly he did see this sign, but laughed at it, as thinking himself in so high a state

CHAP. IX.

The Discovery of the South Sea; its Ports and Islands is continued.

IT is a common passion in those who govern, either to oppose the designs of their predecessors, or at least not to execute them by their means, nor by their creatures, that their assistance may not lessen the glory, which they pretend by making themselves the authors of the enterprizes. As we have already said, *Pedrarias* succeeded *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa* in the government, just as he had made the discovery of the *South Sea*; and though the king had recommended the person of *Nunnes* to him, yet he could not be brought to grant him leave to follow his discovery, though the bishop of *Dairen* advised it very earnestly; but he had resolved to give this good morsel to a creature of his, called captain *Gaspar Morales*; to whom he added, as companion, captain *Francisco Pizarro*, because of the experience he had, having been already employed in the discovery.

They set out from *Dairen*, and got to the *South Sea*, and embarking there in canoes, they came to the *Isle of Pearls*, which the *Indians* called *Tarargui*. These by this time began to endeavour to hinder the *Spaniards* from settling in their lands; but they were not able to do it, their forces being so much inferior to those of the *Castilians*, who, passing from one island to another, came at last to the largest, where was the king of almost all those nations, who took arms against the *Spaniards*, having a brave number of men, and well chosen; but they not being used to fire-arms, they soon yielded and came to composition: to which they were brought also by the fear of a famous dog, that was in the christian camp, who used to fall upon them like a lion; and they having never seen an animal of that sort, did flee him as a devil, because of the mischief he did amongst them; for they being naked, he could fasten any where without danger. The *Cbiapeses*, our friends, presently interposed; and telling the king what dangerous enemies the *Spaniards* were, and of what importance their friendship was, they being invincible, he at last prevailed upon to grant them peace. They came to his palace, which was very sumptuous, and, as they judged, better than any they had seen yet. The king received them

A famous dog frights the poor Indians.

with marks of friendship; and, as a token of it, caused a basket of rushes full of pearls, which weigh'd five marks, to be given them; amongst which, there was one which had but few fellows in the world, (for it weighed six and twenty carats, and was as big as a small walnut,) and another as big as a muscat-pear, perfect and oriental, and of a fine colour, weighing ten half scruples. The first came from hand to hand, till it was in the empress's, who valued it as it deserved, as is told by *Antonio de Herrera* and others. They presented the king, in return, with the usual presents of pins and needles, bells, knives, and other baubles of *Europe*, which the *Indians* valued much. The *Spaniards* not being able to forbear laughing, to see the value they put upon them, the king said to them, *What do you laugh at?* And having heard what it was, he said, *We might more justly laugh at you, for valuing things so much which are of no use in life, and for which you pass so many seas. As for these knives and hatchets you give us, they are very useful instruments to men.* This was not the only return the king had for his pearls; for he had the precious pearl of faith by their means: for growing very fond of them, and being by them instructed, he and all his family received the christian religion, which was the principal end to which the *Castilians* directed all their enterprizes. They made a solemn christening; and the king, to treat his spiritual fathers, who had engendered him in the gospel, carried them to see the pearl-fishing, which was in this manner: The *Indians* dived to the bottom, having about their necks a bag full of stones, that they may sink the faster; and it served them for a ballast to keep them steady while they gathered the oysters, that the water might not buoy them up. The greatest oysters are about ten fathom deep; for when they do not go to feed, they keep as low as they can, and stick so fast to the rocks, and to one another, that it is very hard to loosen them; nay, it happens sometimes, that while they spend too much time in doing it, their breath fails them, and they are drowned: but, generally speaking, they are not in danger, because, as they gather the oysters, they

Pearls of a prodigious bigness.

A wife re- partee of an indian king.

The pearl-fishing.



they put them in their bag, and lighten it of the stones, and before their breath fails they come up again with their fish. They open the oysters, and take out the pearls, which use to be many if they are small, and few if they are large. They say that among those they presented the *Castilians* at this

time, were several of the bigness of large Ovale. 1640
pease and hazle-nuts; with which they returned very well pleased to have made a discovery of so rich a treasure, as well as of the rich one they had given in exchange to the king and his people, by making them christians.

C H A P. X.

Of the Discovery of the River of Plata, and the Coasts of Chile, by the Streights of Magellan.

WE have hitherto gone by the north sea to the *terra firma*, and the discovery of the *South Sea*, with intent to follow the discoveries of this new world to its utmost bounds, which is the kingdom of *Chile*, to which all this narrative is directed. We shall follow this order by the same steps that the first conquerors went; but while they are disposing all things for this great enterprize, it will not be amiss to leave the *South Sea*, and follow those who endeavoured to discover the coasts of *Chile* by the *North Sea*. The first we shall follow is captain *Juan Dias de Solis*, who sailing from *Spain* the eighth of *October*, 1515. run along the coasts of *Brazil*, till he discovered the famous river of *Plata*, which was so nam'd, not from any silver that is found near it, or on its banks, but from some plates of that metal which the *Indians* gave the *Spaniards*; which silver they had brought from the country about *Potosi*, with which they had communication by the means of the *Tucuman Indians*, who are the nearest on that side to *Peru*. *Solis* entered that mighty river, which, if I am not mistaken, is threescore or seventy leagues over at its first entrance, and is known at sea by its fresh water, at first, till being further in, they can see the mountains and lands that bound it. This river is one of the most famous in the world, of sweet and excellent water, being observed to clear the voice and lungs, and is good against all rheums and defluctions; and all the nations of the *Paraguays*, who drink this water, have admirable voices, so tunable, that when they sing they appear organs; and therefore they are all inclined to musick; and those who come from abroad mend their voices by living there. I knew one who was born in *Chile*, and had naturally a good voice, which he mended extremely by living in *Paraguay*; but when he left that country, and came to *Tucuman*, he lost his improvement, as he himself told me. This river has another property, which is, that it petrifies the branches of trees which fall into it. The governor *Hernan Darias*, born in *Paraguay*, a gentleman of a singular ta-

The Rio de la Plata discovered 1515.

The virtue of the water of the Rio de la Plata.

lent for government, had in his house a whole tree all of stone, which had been taken out of this river. Likewise there are formed naturally of the sand of this river. certain vessels of various figures, which have the property of cooling water. There are also certain *cocos de terra*, which contain stones in them, which at a certain time are, as it were, ripe, and burst, discovering amethysts within them; they burst open with a great noise.

There are also bred upon its banks most beautiful birds of several kinds; and in its streams great variety of fishes, very dainty, and in great quantity. The river is navigable every where in canoes, but not with the same canoes, because of the prodigious fall that is in the midst of it, the whole river precipitating itself into a deep gulph, from whence it runs many leagues, till it empties itself into the sea. The noise that this fall makes, the foam that it raises, the whirlpools it causes, by the rencounter of its waters, is not to be imagin'd. The land on both sides this river is very fertile: on the west side, which is the *Tucuman* side, corresponding to *Buenos Ayres*, there are several cities, as *St. Fago de Estero Cordoua*, *St. Michael la Rioga*, and *Esteco Juzuy* and *Salta*, which border upon *Peru*: these cities are not very populous, because they are in the midst of the land, and far from commerce with both seas; but they do increase very much, particularly *Cordoua*, which, amongst other properties, has that of producing rare wits in the university governed by the Jesuits, who may match their professors and scholars with those of any other part, as I myself have experienced. There are likewise in this district many houses and families of men of quality and antient nobility. Higher up the river to the west, are also the cities of the *Assumption*, *Santa Fee de las Corrientes del Guayta*, and others. The city of the *Assumption* is the chief, and was peopled by gentlemen that came first to the *Indies*, and is since much increased in people, but not in riches; because it being so far within the land, cannot have sufficient vent for its commodities,

Its fall.

An university, and rare wits at the west-indian Cordoua.

OVALLE. which are chiefly *Sugar*, and preserved fruits; among the rest they are famous for a dried sweat-meat, called *Ladrillos*, which are slices of cetron, done up in *Sugar*, in the form of a tile: but the best sweet-meat they have they will give in great abundance for an apple, or any *European* fruit. In all this tract of land there are three governments, which are also bishopricks, to wit, *Paraguay*, *Rio de la Plata*, and *Tucuman*.

Higher yet on the east side are many heathen nations, who have others that answer them on the west; and among these are distributed those famous missions which our fathers of the society of *Jesus* have founded.

A religious digression of the author's. I am sorry I am insensibly engaged in this matter; and I must own I have mentioned that which I cannot well explain. This is not a place for panegyrics, nor does the thread of my history admit of such large digressions; yet I cannot but stop a little, and give some consideration to that we may call miracles of grace, which are perform'd in those deserts, of which I myself have been an eye-witness, having lived some time in that holy province, to which I owe all that I am. But who can explain what those apostolical men deserve in the sight of God, who seem to have nothing of man but what is necessary to make their life more admirable, which they lead like angels in human bodies?

Who would not wonder to see in those mountains and solitudes men ill fed, worse lodged, naked, painful, and in anguish for the souls of others, when they might save their own with less trouble, enjoying the good morsels and merry days, which, without sin, and sometimes meritoriously, they might have in their own country among their friends, and in the best of *Europe*? Who can but admire to see so many youths banish themselves, and renouncing all preferment, resolve to pass all their lives like hermits, for the love of God, and zeal of the salvation of souls? Is this a work of nature? and can human force arrive to this of itself? Let us go out from this consideration, lest it be like a load-stone to draw us in further; and yet let me fly as far as I will, I cannot hinder my heart from being with them, and desiring to end my days in this employment. They who desire to see the fruit of these missions of our company, the numbers of the gentiles which they have brought from solitudes to live in cities, the great progress of the faith, and the numbers of martyrs they have consecrated to God, let him read the book made of all this by that apostolical man *Antonio Ruiz de Montoya*; and then he will be extremely edified, and admire the work, as well as the author. And so I return to the thread of my history.

Juan de Solis being landed here, found little resistance from the *Indians*, who are not so cruel nor warlike as in other parts; so he took possession of all that tract, in the name of their majesties, for the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, as was always the custom of the first discoverers. And he for himself took possession of those seven parts of earth which death allows to those he seizes, let them be never so ambitious, though while they are alive a whole world will not suffice them. He lies buried there; and an end was put to his discoveries.

Much about the same time, there were at his catholic majesty's court the two famous captains *Ferdinand Magellan* and *Ruy Falero*, offering their persons, valour, and industry, for to find out, either towards the south or west, an end to *America*, or some canal or streight by which both seas might communicate with each other; and so the navigation from *Europe* might be made in the same ships, in which they might go round all its coasts. They were treating upon this subject; and the *Portugal* ambassador made it his business to oppose *Magellan*, because being fallen out with his king about this discovery, he desired he might not make it for the crown of *Castile*; but at last the king having heard at *Saragoça*, in presence of his council, the reasons and grounds that *Magellan* and *Falero* went upon, he accepted their service, and honoured them with the habits of *St. Jago*; and having settled the capitulation with them, his majesty commanded the squadron to be made ready, and named the captains and officers of it; and having heard that there was a dispute risen between *Magellan* and *Falero*, about who should carry the royal standard or flag, and the like, he ordered *Falero*, as not yet well recovered of a distemper he lay under, to stay at home, and mind his health; and, in the mean time, that another squadron should be got ready, in which *Falero* should follow.

The first squadron being ready, his majesty commanded the assistant of *Seville*, that he should deliver the royal standard to *Magellan* in the great church of *Santa Maria*, of victory of *Triana*, taking at the same time from him an oath of fidelity, or homage, according to the custom of *Castile*, that he should perform the voyage with all fidelity, as a good and loyal vassal of his majesty. The captains took likewise an oath to obey *Magellan* in all things. He, after many vows, having recommended himself and his voyage to our lord, went on board the ship called the *Trinity*, and the treasurer-general in the *Victory*, (so famous for being the first that went round the world.) The other ships were the *Conception*, *St. Jago*, and *St. Antony*

They

Magellan sets sail for his discovery very

They set sail the tenth of *August*, in the year 1519. They took the isle of *Tenerif*, then made the coast of *Guinea*, and arrived at *Rio Genneiro*; from whence they sailed on *St. Stephen's* day, and having had a great storm, they entered into the river of *Plata*: here they stay'd eight days; and then following their voyage, they had another terrible tempest, which carried away their fore-castle, and forced them to cut away their poop. They made vows to our lady of *Guadalupe* and *Monferrat*, and to *St. Jago of Galicia*. It pleased God to hear them, and they took shelter in the river of *St. Julian*, but not all; for one of their ships was lost: the men got on shore, but endured so much by land to port *St. Julian* by hunger, that they seemed skeletons when they came to their companions.

Magellan's men mutiny.

While they were wintering in this river, either idleness, or the great sufferings they had undergone, and those which they feared, made them mutiny against *Ferdinand Magellan*. There were some of his ships that revolted; but he with great boldness, and no less art, made himself master of them, punishing some of the guilty, and pardoning others; and for *Juan de Carthagena* and his companion in rebellion, he set them ashore when he set sail, leaving them a good provision of bread and wine. It was never known whether this were sufficient to sustain them, till they should meet with some of those giants which had been with the ships, and had been treated by *Magellan*, who perhaps received them.

Sets some mutineers on shore, and there leaves them.

Passes the stright of his name in twenty days.

Magellan seeing the winter over, as he thought, set sail the seventh of *November*, which is when the summer begins in those parts; and having by land observed what he could of the *Streight*, they passed with great good fortune in twenty days, and then steering north, they coasted along *Chile*, which they left something at large, as having no knowledge of that land, *Peru* being not yet discovered. After this, they came to the *Philippine Islands*, in one of which this most courageous captain, and famous *Portuguese*, *Magellan*, died by the hands of the natives, or to say better, by his own rashness and overboldness.

Magellan killed.

1534.

Some years after, which was that of 1534. *Simon of Alcazova*, a *Portuguese* gentleman of the habit of *St. Jago*, and gentleman of the chamber of the king, a great cosmographer, and one very expert in navigation, having been employ'd many years for the crown of *Castile*, made an agreement with the king to discover and people two hundred leagues from the place where *Almagro's* government should end, which was in *Chile*. He sailed from *St. Lucar* on the 21st of *September*, 1534. with five good ships, and two hundred and fifty men; and without

seeing land from the *Gomera* to the *Streight* of *Magellan*, only having touched at cape *Abre Ojos*, and the *Rio de Gallegos*, about twenty five leagues from the *Streights* mouth, he entered them on the 17th of *January*, 1535. having endured so much thirst, that the cats and dogs were come to drink wine, and the people were ready to perish. They found a great cross erected by *Magellan*, and the wreck of the ship which he lost there. There appeared about twenty *Indians*, who gave signs of much joy to see the *Spaniards*. They followed their course, keeping still the right hand, as the safest; but yet they had so furious a storm, that it carried away half their sails: it blew so, that they thought the ships would have been carried away through the air. They took shelter into a port; and because the season was so far advanced, they persuaded their general *Alcazova* to go out of the *Streights*, which he did, and return to the port of *Lions*, or of *Wolves*, which was a very good one.

OVALLE. 1646.

While they were wintering in those parts, they resolved to enter further into the country, and make discovery of those riches which the *Indians* told them were there; so having celebrated mass, they blessed the banners, and the captains took a new oath of fidelity and obedience; and with this they set out about 225 men, having fifty *arcabuses*, seventy *cross-bows*, four charges of powder and ball, which every one carried with his bread, which was about twenty six pound weight. Thus they marched about fourteen leagues; and there *Alcazova*, being a heavy man, could go no further, which was his ruin: he named a lieutenant, against whom the men mutined; for having gone ninety leagues, and their provision failing, they resolved to go back, as they did, though they had met with a river full of fish; and that their guides told them that a little further they should come to a great town, where there was a great deal of gold; for the inhabitants wore plates of it in their ears, and upon their arms: but nothing could move them; and as one mischief seldom comes alone, they resolved to make themselves masters of the ships at their return, and to kill all that should oppose them; and so they executed it. But God Almighty punished them immediately; for as they were going out of port, they lost their admiral; and then having but one ship, durst not venture for *Spain*, but put in at *Hispaniola*, where doctor *Saravia*, of the audience of *St. Domingo*, chastiz'd the most guilty. And thus the discovery of *Chile*, for that time, and that way, was disappointed; for God reserved that honour for another.

OVALLE.
1646.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Discovery of other Parts of America before that of Chile.

WHILE the ships are making ready to go to the discovery of *Peru*, it will not be amiss to touch upon the discovery of some other parts of *America* by-the-by, that at least the order of time, with which the discoveries proceeded each other, may be understood; and what we are to say afterwards about *Chile* will be made plain-er, that being our chief design.

It has been said already, in its proper place, how the admiral *Columbus* discover'd the *terra firma*, or continent of *America*, in his fourth voyage from *Spain* to the *Indies*, and found the port of *Puerto Bello* the second of *November*, 1502. We have also said how *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa* having founded *Sancta Maria la Antigua* of *Dairen*, discover'd the *South Sea*, and took possession of it in the month of *September* or *October*, in the year 1513. as also that in the year 1515. *Juan Dias de Solis* discover'd the river of *Plata* the first of all discoverers.

Now we will add what is known about the discovery of other lands; amongst the which, one of the first was that of *Yucatan*, which was undertaken by captain *Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua*, in the year 1517. and the *Adelantado* of it is at this day *Don Christoval Soares de Solis*, a gentleman of an antient and noble family in *Salamanca*. This same year other *Castilians* discover'd the land of *Campeche*, where, in a chapel of the *Indians*, full of their idols, they found painted crosses, of which they were not less astonish'd than rejoiced, seeing light in darkness, and the trophies of *Christ* by the side of *Belial*; which, at last, by the *Spaniards* arrival in those parts, were better known to those barbarous people. In the year 1518. the licentiado *Espinosa*, who was nam'd deputy to the governor *Pedrias*, founded the city of *Panama*, which is the canal by which all the treasure of *Peru* pass'es to *Spain* in the galleons. This city has not increased so much as many others of the *Indies*, because being situated near the equinoctial line, its temperature does not agree with those born in *Europe*; but yet there are many constitutions that do very well there, because of the great riches that are easily acquir'd there; and those who seek them, think no air bad. There are a great many people of quality; for there is a bishoprick, a royal *Audiencia*, or court of judicature; a tribunal of royal officers, and a chapter of canons, seculars and regulars. But that which in my judgment is most

Panama
founded in
the year
1518.

commendable in it, is the piety, mercy, and liberality of its inhabitants. I have this year receiv'd advice, that by the negligence of a female slave, the greatest part of the city was burnt; for the houses being of wood, if one take fire, 'tis hard to stop the flames: there was lost in this a great mass of riches, a great part of the loss falling on the cathedral; and a little after there being a gathering made, though this misfortune had concern'd almost everybody, who for that reason were less in a condition to contribute by way of alms, which some of them wanted, yet they gave above twenty thousand pieces of eight, and went on contributing. This was an extraordinary mark of their charity; but the ordinary ones, in which they constantly shew their generosity, are to strangers and passengers who pass from *Spain* to the *Indies*, who most of them are at a loss till they meet with some patron, or friend, or countryman, to assist them; and they would often be reduced to great extremity, if this were not, as it is, a common inn for all those people; for in the college of our company alone, though it is not yet founded, but lives upon alms, I saw, when I was there, a cloth laid at the porters chambers, where every day they provided for, and fed about fifty or sixty passengers, with bread and flesh in abundance. The same is done by other convents; and the seculars, I saw, gave them money and other necessaries. This, as to the city of *Panama*, founded in the year 1518. in which year the religious friers of *St. Dominick* and *St. Francis* pass'd from the island of *Hispaniola*, and began to found convents in *terra firma*, and the *Pearl* coast; from whence these two holy orders pursued their mission through all the land, enlightening it with their doctrine and holy examples; by which they have made such a progress among the *Indians*, that the present flourishing of the faith is owing to them, to the great saving of the *Indian* souls. The year 1519. *Ferdinand Magellan* made the discovery of the coast of *Chile*; and the same year *Hernando Cortes* went from the point of *St. Antonne la Havana* to *Corocha*, which is the first point of *Yucatan* east, to begin the conquest of the great empire of *Mexico*; of which, and the noble actions of that great man, 'tis better to be silent than to touch upon them, only by-the-by, as we should be forc'd to do; this being not a place to explain the state and grandeur of that mighty monarch *Montesuma*, who was

1519.

sove-

sovereignly obeyed in so many and such great provinces. Who can express in few words all this, and the felicity that accompanied Cortes in all his undertakings, which were such as they appear'd possible only after they were done, seeming otherwise so high and difficult, as to be inaccessible to the extreme boldness? Indeed, it cannot be denied, but that he was assisted by heaven, whose instrument he was in planting the christian faith among those gentiles, and shewing such reverence to the preachers of it, as might serve the *Indians* for an example; a quality which will always give reputation to princes, both before God and men.

Buenos Aires founded in 1528.

In the year 1528. the king sent a colony to the *Rio de la Plata*, having agreed with the merchants of *Seville* for that purpose. The city they founded was that of *Buenos Aires*, which is on the side of that river, in that part of it where it grows narrow from its large entrance at sea; and the river there is not above nine leagues over.

Carthagena founded in 1532.

In the year 1532. *Cedro de Heredia* of *Madrid* sail'd from *Spain*, and founded the city of *Carthagena*, which is the first *Scala* which the *Spanish* galleons make coming from *Spain* for the *Indies*, to fetch silver. It was so call'd, because its port was like that of *Carthagena* in *Spain*; for the old name of the *Indians* was *Calamari*. He had at first an engagement with the *Indians*; and though they shewed themselves very brave, yet he beat them, and founded the city, which is at present one of the best of the *Indies*, being wall'd with stone, and so strong, that we may name it as an impregnable fortress.

The situation of Carthagena.

It is situated in an island, divided from the continent by a small arm of the sea, which ebbs and flows, and comes to the bog of *Canapote*: there is a bridge or causeway there, that goes to the *terra firma*. The port is very safe, and good ships go into it by two mouths or entrances, a greater and a less; the great is sandy; and the year that I was there, they told me it was almost shut up by the sand which a river casts up against it; and now they write me word, that it is quite fill'd up, so that there is no going in, but by the lesser entrance, which makes it so much the stronger, and it is defended by a good castle; besides which, the city is well garnished with artillery, so as not to fear an invasion. The plot of the city is very beautiful, all the streets being handsomely dispos'd, the houses of free-stone, high and noble; so are the churches and convents, particularly that of the *Jesuits*, which makes a beautiful prospect to the sea. Here is a custom-house for the king, and a house call'd of the *Rigimiento*, with other publick buildings: it is very populous, and of a great trade, by reason of

Well built.

the coming of the galleons; and from them they have wine and oil; corn they have in their own territory: there resides a bishop, and there is a tribunal of the holy inquisition. The governor hath both the civil and military command: it increases every day in riches, being so situated, that it shares all the riches of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and *Spain*.

OVALLE, 1646.

In the year 1540. captain *Francisco de Orellana* discover'd the great river of the *Amazones*, which is call'd also *Orellana*, and by a common mistake *Maragnon*; and went from it to *Spain*, where, upon the relation he gave of its greatness, the emperor *Charles V.* order'd him three ships, with people, and all things necessary to make a settlement. But this had no effect, because having lost half his men at the *Canaries* and *Cape Vert*, he was too weak when he got thither; yet he attempted to go up the river in two large boats, to which his fleet was reduc'd; but finding his wants of every thing, he came out again, and went by the coast of *Caracos* to the *Margarita*, where he and his people are said to have died. About twenty years after, the viceroy of *Peru* sent a good fleet under *Pedro de Orsua*; but this miscarried also, because he was killed treacherously by *Lopes de Aguirre*, who rebell'd with the fleet; but having mis'd the entrance of the river, he landed on the continent, near the island of *Trinidad*, where he was executed by order from court. Some years after this the serjeant general, *Vincente de los Reyes Villalobos*, *Alonso de Miranda*, and the general *Josepb de Villa Mayor Maldonado*, undertook the same design, but with the same fortune, death taking them away; so that they gave over at that time all attempts on *Peru* and *Quito* side. But still the fame of this river continuing, *Benito Maciel*, general of *Paria*, and since that governor of *Maragnon*, and *Francisco Coello de Caravallo*, governor likewise of *Maragnon* and *Paria*, attempted its discovery up the river; and though they were back'd by the king's royal commands, yet there were many cross accidents as to hinder the execution of their enterprize.

The fathers of our company of *Jesus at-tempted* likewise this discovery, by the motive of saving so many souls; but beginning with a nation call'd the *Cofanes*, their progress was stopp'd by the cruel death given to father *Raphael Fernandes*, who was preaching the faith to them. Thirty years after, which was 1537. some friers of the order of *St. Francis*, mov'd by the zeal of amplifying the glory of the gospel, and by order of their superiors, went from *Quito*, in company of captain *Juan de Palacios*, and some soldiers: they began to sail down this river, and came to the *Encabellados*, or

In the year 1507.

1646. **OVALLE** people with long hair; but not finding the harvest ready, they return'd to *Quito*, except only two of their lay-brethren, which were *Domingo de Brieua*, and frier *Andres de Toledo*, who with six foldiers more sail'd down as far as the city of *Paria*, a settlement of the *Portuguese*, about forty leagues from the sea. They pass'd by the city of *St. Luis de Maragnon*, where the governor *Jacomo Reymondo de Moronna*, by the information he had from these friers, caus'd seven and forty canoes to be got ready, and embark'd upon them seventy *Spaniards*, with 1200 *Indians*, some of war, and some to help to row, under the command of captain *Pedro Texeira*, who having spent a whole year in his voyage, came at last to the city of *Quito*, having discover'd and navigated the whole river of the *Amazones*, from its entrance into the sea to its source or rise.

The river of Ovellana navigated from the sea to Quito.

The viceroy of *Peru*, who at that time was the count *de Chinchon*, being inform'd of this voyage of captain *Pedro Texeira*, resolv'd to send two persons back with him for the crown of *Castile*, who might give a perfect relation of the discovery.

At this time the city of *Quito* was govern'd by Don *Juan Vasques de Acunna*, as corregidor for his majesty over both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and who at present is corregidor of *Potosi*, who very zealously offer'd his person for one, and his fortune to raise people at his own charges, and provide them with all necessaries; but the royal *Audientia*, considering how much he would be wanted in his office, where his prudence, experience, and zeal, had shew'd themselves, refus'd to let him go, and chose a brother of his, that they might not totally deprive his illustrious family of that glory. This brother was a father of our company of *Jesus*, and nam'd father *Christoval*.

Christoval de Acunna, who was rector of the college of *Cuenca*, and gave him for companion, father *Andres de Arrieda* of the same company, who was professor of divinity in the same college.

They set out from *Quito*, in the year *1539*. and having navigated the whole river, which, according to their account, is thirteen hundred and fifty six leagues long, (though *Orellana* makes it eighteen hundred leagues,) observ'd exactly the rise of this great river, its situation, its course, latitude, and depth, the islands it makes, the arms into which it is divided, the rivers it receives, the riches, quantities, temperature, and climate of its shores, the customs and manners of that multitude of people that inhabit it, and particularly of those famous *Amazones*. All which may be seen in a treatise made of it by father *Christoval de Acunna*, printed in *Madrid*; and it is a relation that deserves credit, he being an eye-witness, and having examin'd various nations as he went.

These informations were well receiv'd in *Madrid*; but the revolutions which succeeded in those kingdoms, hinder'd all further progress, and prevented those holy designs for the conversion of that great part of *America*. There are infinite numbers of *Indians* that inhabit the islands, and other parts of this river. 'Tis said they have one settlement, that is, a town above a league in length. And now omitting many other conquests, made much about the same time in the islands and coasts of the *North Sea*, and that which was made in the *South Sea* by *Xil Gonçales de Avila*, in the land of *Nicaragua*, in the year 1522. Let us attend (for it is high time) to the discovery of *Peru*, of which we shall treat more at large, because it has a connexion to that of *Chile*.

C H A P. XII.

The Discovery of Peru is given to Don Francisco Pizarro, and Don Diego d'Almagro, and Hernando Loque; and how much they endur'd in it.

THE captains Don *Francisco Pizarro*, and Don *Diego Almagro*, in company with the scholastick of the cathedral church of *Dairen*, call'd *Hernando de Loque*, came to the governor *Pedrarrias*, and desir'd of him, as friends, the favour of being employed in the discovery and conquests of those coasts which run south from *Panama*, where lies the powerful kingdom of *Peru*, of which at that time there was little light; and for this they propos'd their reasons, among which, that which was of least value, they relied most

The first discovery of Peru attempted.

upon, and that was their experience they had attain'd under their general *Vasco Nunes de Balboa*. They met with little difficulty with the governor; for so long as they did not desire any assistance of the king's treasure, but ventur'd their own and their lives, they easily obtain'd leave to undertake what they would. They presently bought one of the ships which *Balboa* had built for that design; and having got together threescore men, and four horses, (for at that time horses were a great rarity,) *Hernando de Loque* said

mass;

mas; and when he came to consecration, he divided the *Hostia*, or sacrament of the body of Christ, into three parts, of which he took one, and gave the other two to his two companions, offering themselves to God, with intention to propagate among those people his glorious name, and plant the christian faith amongst them by the predication of the gospel. Those who were present shed tears out of devotion, and at the same time pitied these undertakers, looking upon their enterprize as a mad one.

About the middle of *November 1524*. Don *Francisco Pizarro* having left Don *Diego Almagro* behind him, to get more people together, sail'd from *Panama* to the isle of *Pearls*, to the port of *Pinnas*, (the last discovered by *Balboa*, and after him by *Pasqual de Andagoya*.) and went up the river of the *Cacique Biru*, or *Biruquete*, to the country of *Cbocama*, where he stopped to wait for his companion *Almagro*. The hardships that the *Castilians* endured of hunger and other inconveniencies are not easily to be told: twenty died starved, and the rest were sick, having no other sustenance than the bitter palmetos; yet captain *Pizarro*, without shewing the least weakness, took care of them all with great affection, which made them all love him. At that time Don *Diego de Almagro*, his companion in the undertaking, came to him: he was received like an angel, for the relief he brought: he had lost one of his eyes by the shot of an arrow, in a rencounter he had with the *Indians*. They both together pursued their conquest; but provision failing them once more, and their soldiers being almost naked, and so persecuted with mosquitos, which are infinite there, that they could not live, they began to talk of returning to *Panama*, to which *Pizarro* himself was well enough inclined; but *Almagro* exhorted them rather to die than lose patience, offering to return to *Panama* for new succour, while he should leave his companion in the island of *Gallo*.

The effect that this had, was, That he found the government altered in *Panama*, and *Pedrarias* succeeded by *Pedro de los Rios*, who hearing of the miserable condition of those *Castilians*, would not suffer *Almagro* to return to them, being desirous they should give over the enterprize as impracticable. He sent for this end a gentleman of *Cordoua*, call'd *Juan Tafur*, a man of excellent parts, equal to his noble descent, with a commission to bring those people back, that they might not all perish. He came, and signified his order to *Pizarro*, at which he was out of all patience, seeing it would be the ruin of his project. *Tafur* seeing

this, took a prudent *medium*, which was, That he should draw a line between him and *Pizarro*, who should be at the head of his men: and *Tafur* told them, That all those who resolved to return to *Panama*, should pass the line, and come on his side. Having said this, they began to pass the line, all to thirteen and a *Mulatto*, who said they would die with *Pizarro*: and so *Tafur* returned with all the rest to *Panama*.

Captain *Francis Pizarro* remained with his thirteen companions in an island, which, for the greater proof of his courage and constancy, happened to be the *Gorgona*, which is a picture of hell for the closeness of its woods, the asperity of its mountains, the infinity of its mosquitos: the sun is scarce ever seen in it for the continual rains that fall.

When *Tafur* came to *Panama*, and his two friends *Almagro* and *Loque* found that *Pizarro* stay'd behind with so few companions, 'tis not credible how much affliction they shewed: they sollicited the president, that at least another vessel might be sent to bring them away, in case they found them alive; and after many difficulties, at last a ship was ordered after them, but upon condition to be back at *Panama* in six months: A ship the ship sail'd, and came to the place where *Pizarro* and his companions were left. Who can express the joy and surprize of those poor abandon'd wretches, when they descried at a distance the sails of the ship? At first they could not believe their own eyes; for the desire and longing for a thing makes it appear less probable to come to pass: but at last it arriv'd; and *Pizarro* seeing himself master of a good vessel, could not forbear attempting some discovery.

They sail'd as far as the country of *Tumbese*, which is very rich; though the *Tumbese* *Indians* said, That their riches were nothing in comparison of what they might see further. The lord of that country having heard of the arrival of the *Castilians*, he sent presently to visit them at their ship with twelve baskets of provisions, and among the rest a sheep of that country, which was presented to them by the virgins of the temple, as to men who seemed descended from heaven, and sent by God for some great thing. The ambassadors came; and wondering to see the ship with white men who had beards, they asked them who they were, whence they came, and what they pretended. They answer'd them, That they were *Castilians*, vassals of a powerful monarch, who, though so great, had yet a greater over him, whom he owned, with all other kings, and who is in heaven, and is call'd *Jesus Christ*, in whose name they came to undeceive them of their errors in worshipping gods of stone and wood, there being but one God, creator of all things, whom

OVALLE.
1646.

*Pizarro re-
mains with
thirteen and
a Mulatto
in the isle
of Gorgona.*

*A ship
comes to
them from
Panama.*

*Tumbese
discovered.*

OVALLE 1646. whom we all ought to worship. They explained to them, That there was a heaven and hell, the immortality of the soul, and the other mysteries of our faith.

The *Indians* stood staring and gaping, hearing this doctrine, which had never been heard of before in their country; for they believ'd, that there was no other king in the world but their king *Guayanacapa*, nor other gods but their idols. Among all the things they admir'd, there were two chiefly: the one was a negro; for they never had seen one, and did believe that his colour was some strong dye; for which reason they bestowed much pains in washing his face to get it off; but when they saw that he was rather blacker, and that he shewed at the same time white teeth, for he could not hold laughing to see their simplicity, they fell a laughing too, and could not but admire such a sort of men. The other thing was the crowing of a cock, which the captain sent them with a hen of

They wonder at the crowing of a cock.

Castille: every time he crowed, they ask'd what he said; for they thought his voice articulate, like the human voice; which is an argument that they had not that kind of fowl: and *Garcilasso de la Vega* is of that opinion, answering the objection of the *Indian* name they give a hen, that is, *Atagualpa*, which, he says, was a name given by the *Indians* after the coming of the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* having refresh'd themselves well on shore, began to desire of *Pizarro* to return to *Panama*, and gather a greater force, that which he then had being very disproportioned to his undertaking: he yielded to their persuasions, having, for this time, made discovery only as far as a place called *Santa*, which is very near the equinoctial line; and having had a more certain account of *Cusco*, its riches, and the mighty *empire* it was head of. So taking with him some *Indians*, and some patterns of the gold, as a testimony of the discovery, he return'd to *Panama*.

C H A P. XIII.

Captain Francisco Pizarro returns to Panama, goes from thence to Spain, and pursues his Conquest.

PISARRO being come to *Panama*, went with his two companions to the governor *Don Pedro de los Rios*, to represent to him their reasons for continuing their discovery, upon the account of the riches of the country, as well as the planting the faith in the capital of so great a monarchy, and so in all its dominions: but the governor would not agree to it; and so they resolv'd that *Pizarro* should go to *Spain*, to propose it to the king himself. He undertook the voyage; and to give more credit to what he should say, he took along with him several things proper to the country he had discovered, as pieces of gold and silver, some of those sheep we have mentioned, and some of the *Indians* themselves clothed after the manner of their country. The king was much pleas'd with them; and *Pizarro*, in his first audience, began to propose the intent of his discovery, the great hardships he had endured, he and his companions going naked, and almost starved, expos'd to the mosquitos and poison'd arrows of the *Indians*; and all this, having spent three years in this sort of life, for the increase of the gospel and his majesty's royal dominions. His majesty heard him with much attention and goodness, shewing great compassion for his sufferings, and ordering a gratification for himself, and his two companions, as also the thirteen who would not forsake him: he receiv'd all his memorials, and order'd them to be dispatch-

ed to his mind, having first made an agreement with him proportionably to his great merits. They did not believe in *Spain* (and that is an old disease every where) all that *Pizarro* said of the riches of *Peru*, and of the palaces and houses of stone which he had seen, till he shewed them the pieces of gold and silver which he had brought with him; and then the fame of that land began to spread its self, and with it the covetousness of sharing those treasures, every one blaming the governor of *Panama* for not having given the necessary assistance to the discovery.

Pizarro being dispatched with the title of *Adelantado* of the first two hundred leagues he should conquer, having also a new coat of arms, and other privileges granted to him; and taking with him four stout brothers that he had, he embark'd for the *Indies* with one hundred and twenty five *Castilians* more. He left *Sanlucar* in *January* 1530. and arriv'd at *Puerto Bello*, where he was received with great joy by his companions and friends, who were all pleas'd with the favours the king had bestow'd upon them by his means: only *Don Diego de Almagro* was not so well pleas'd that *Pizarro* had made a better bargain for himself than for him, his partner in all the undertaking; he made his complaint to him, and resolv'd to part company, and discover and conquer by himself: but being assured that as soon as the first two hundred leagues should be conquer'd

The riches of Peru not believed in Spain.

1530.

quired, he would use his interest to have him made *Adelantado* of two hundred more before any of his brothers; and so suffering himself to be persuaded, they agreed anew, and fell to preparing every thing for their enterprize. He remain'd at *Panama*; and the *Adelantado*, with his brothers, went from thence with a good crew of men, being to be followed by *Almagro*, as before. To make short about the things performed by this great conqueror, the great riches he got, and among the rest an emerald as big as an egg, which was presented to him, we will suppose him at the island of *Pura* in war with the *Tombezinos*; and there he came to a clearer information of the riches of *Cusco*, and the state in which that monarchy was at present: and because he had receiv'd a special command, and was himself inclin'd to propagate our sacred religion, as the best means of furthering his own design, the first thing he did, in landing upon the continent of *Peru*, was to build a church to God, to give a beginning to the spiritual conquest of souls. His first settlement was at *Pura*, where was built the first church that was ever erected in those kingdoms. While he was employ'd in this, he sent out to discover more lands, to know more of the state of the country. There he learnt the division that was between the two brothers *Guascar* and *Atagualpa*, which was occasion'd by the death of their father *Guaynacapa*, who was a most powerful monarch, and among other sons had these two, which were now in war, and some of his subjects follow'd the one, and some the other. *Guascar* was the lawful heir, but not so brave and warlike as *Atagualpa*, who, though a bastard, yet because he had follow'd his father in his wars from a child, drew to himself a great part of the kingdom, with which he made war upon his brother, with hopes to prevail.

The *Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro* resolv'd to have an interview with *Atagualpa*, who was the nearest to the place where he was. So putting his trust in God, he set out with his small army, more to be valued for its bravery than its number, which nevertheless was feared and respected in its march. He came near the place where *Atagualpa* had his camp, which was near fifty thousand men, and sent him his ambassadors on horseback, which was a new thing in that country, to give him advice of his arrival, and the reason of it, which was, To persuade his majesty, and his vassals, to give obedience to the true king of glory, from whom is derived all the power and command that princes have on earth. *Atagualpa* receiv'd the ambassadors in a stately tent, shewing in all his behaviour a sovereign majesty; and though his courtiers

were in great admiration of the horses, which they had never seen; yet he kept his countenance, and conceal'd the effects such a novelty might have over him. He look'd upon them with some pleasure, and not as on a strange thing he had never seen; for the horses beginning to corvet, some of his *Indians* run away, whom he presently caused to be put to death, for having shewed cowardice in his royal presence. He answered the ambassadors courteously, shewing the pleasure he should have to see and hear their general; and set a day for it, telling them, That they should not be disturbed, nor afraid to find him and his people in arms, for it was his custom to use them to

The day came; and *Atagualpa* marching in order with his army to the place where the *Spaniards* were drawn up, he discover'd to his captains the mind he had to make an end with those strangers, who had been so bold as to enter into his country, and come so near him without having any respect to his royal power: but he order'd them not to kill them, but to take them alive, because he would use them as his slaves; and as for the dogs and horses, he resolv'd to offer them in sacrifice to his gods. The *Castilians*, who were not totally ignorant of this false appearance of peace and friendship, though they were so few that the *Indians* were four hundred to one, yet they did not lose courage; but with confidence in God expected the encounter, taking their posts, and preparing every thing for it, though secretly, that they might not be thought the *Aggressors*. Therefore he drawing near, the *Adelantado* stay'd for him with only fifteen men, the rest being retir'd and hid, and sent him an embassy by a frier, who carried the gospel, and told him, That in those books were contained the faith, by which he and his people might be saved, and they brought it him from God Almighty.

The king heard the frier, and took the mass-book out of his hands, looking earnestly upon it: but not knowing how to read it, and taking it all for a jest and a fiction, he threw the book up into the air, making a sign at the same time to his people to fall on; which they did: and then the *Adelantado* lifting up a hankerchief, which was the signal to our men, they play'd upon them with their muskets on one hand, and the dogs and horsemen attacked them on the other, so that the victory soon appear'd for the *Castilians*; God Almighty having resolv'd to destroy that monarchy of the *Ingas*, and to remove that obstacle to the propagating of the faith, and to put that land into hands that should increase it, as their catholick majesties have done. They took the king *Atagualpa* prisoner; but treat-

OVALLE.
1646.
All the Indians surpriz'd at the sight of the horses.

Atagualpa designs to surprize and destroy the Spaniards.

Atagualpa summoned by a frier.

He is taken prisoner.

Peru discovered, and a church built.

A civil war between the heirs to the empire of Peru.

1646. **OVALLE** ed him with all respect due to his royal person, as the historians relate more at large. While this happen'd, which was on a *friday*, a day dedicated to the cross, in the month of *May*, in the year 1533. the army which *Atagualpa* had sent against his brother *Guascar*, near *Cusco*, overcame him and took him prisoner, and were bringing him to *Atagualpa*, without knowing any thing of what had happened between him and the *Castilians*; but on the way *Guascar* learned that his enemy was a prisoner too; and *Atagualpa* was at the same time informed of the victory he had obtained; he hearing it, shook his head, and cried, *O fortune! what is this, that I am this day a conqueror, and conquered?* *Guascar* moderated his grief with the news of his enemy's misfortune, thinking that the *Castilians* would revenge him on the tyrant, who pretended to take from him his lawful inheritance.

Guascar taken prisoner also.

Atagualpa, though a prisoner, began to make reflections in this manner: If I cause my brother to be put to death, how do I know how the *Castilians* will take it? and whether they will not put me to death for this, and remain lords of the land. If I let him come on, and he speaks with them, the justice of his cause will speak for him, and I must perish; for I cannot expect mercy from any. What remedy? He found it cunningly, as he thought: he feigned a great sadness, with a design that the *Pisarras*, who visited him every day, should ask him what was the matter. They did accordingly; and seeing him so afflicted, desired to know the cause of that extraordinary grief. He answer'd deceitfully, That having received the news that his generals had put to death his brother *Guascar*, it gave him an exceeding grief, of which he was not to be comforted; because though they were enemies, yet he was his brother; and he could not but be much concerned at his death. All this was feigned, to see how the *Spaniards* would take it; and finding they did not seem offended at the thing, he sent orders immediately to his generals, who were coming on with his brother, that they should put him to death presently by the way; which they did, by drowning of him in a river, which amongst them is an infamous death. His cries to heaven to revenge his unjust death were useless at that time.

Guascar put to death by the order of Atagualpa.

But let no man give it to another to save his own life; for there is not a shorter, nor a more certain way for him to lose it: let him not strive by politick maxims, which an unjust and ambitious passion suggests; for though that may be an appearance of stability, yet divine justice breaks thorough it all like cobwebs, and at length leaves no

crime without its chastisement. *Atagualpa* proved himself a great example of this truth, all his artifices serving only to afford his enemies a pretext to take away his life. He had promised to fill the room where they kept him prisoner, which was a very large one, with gold and silver, beside ten thousand bars of gold, and some heaps of jewels, as an earnest, for his ransom. And though this was accepted; and that he performed it according to his promise, yet he did not obtain what he pretended; for instead of his liberty they pronounced to him a sentence of death, which he justly deserved for having put his brother to it, and tyranniz'd over that which was none of his own; and because of the advice the *Spaniards* had every day of the army that was gathering together, which if it were true, and *Atagualpa*, at liberty at the head of them, there would have been good reason to fear from his subtilty, great and irremediable inconveniences; which they thought they could no ways avoid so well as by taking his life, though with some hopes of his exchanging it for a better and eternal one, if it be true, that before he died he was instructed, and received baptism, as some say he did.

A prodigious ransom.

The Spaniards take the ransom, and perfidiously put Atagualpa to death.

About this time, which was in the year 1533. *Don Diego d'Almagro* being made marshal, came from *Panama* to *Tombez* with a good body of men and arms; and from thence he went on to help his good friend, the *Adelantado Pisarro* in his conquests, not letting his men do any injury to his *Indians* as he went. There were a hundred thousand pieces of eight given them upon their arrival; for though they were not at the battel, yet their presence confirmed the victory, and helped to keep *Atagualpa* prisoner. The remainder of the treasure, which was above a million, was divided among *Pisarro's* men; and they being few, were all made rich, and in a condition to make discoveries of their own. The *Adelantado* sent his brother *Hernando Pisarro* to *Castile*, with the news of this happy progress of their discoveries, and of the propagating the christian faith in the conversion of the *Indians*; and he also carried with him the claim of *Don Diego d'Almagro* to two hundred leagues of land beyond his brother's, of which he was likewise to be *Adelantado*. All this he negotiated very much to the content of all; and in the year 1534. there was granted, in *Toledo*, to *Don Diego d'Almagro* the government of that which they called the new kingdom of *Toledo*, which began at a place called *Las Chincbas*, where the territory of *Pisarro* ended, and extended itself to the *Streights of Magellan*.

1533.

1534.

C H A P. XIV.

OVALLE.
1646.

The News of the Government of Don Diego de Almagro is brought to him ; and he goes upon the Discovery of that of Chile.

DON Francisco Pizarro had given commission to Don Diego d'Almagro, to take possession of *Cusco*, when the news came of the government of two hundred leagues given him by his majesty, to begin from the *Chinchas*. This caused great disturbance ; for it was believed that *Cusco* would fall into this division ; and the friends of Don Francisco Pizarro, judging this of great prejudice to Pizarro, that the marshal, even by his commission, should find himself in possession of *Cusco*, they advised him immediately to revoke the powers he had given, which he did ; and this was the first cause of the disturbance in *Peru*, which made afterwards so great a noise, and for which they both lost their lives. But I being to write the history of *Chile*, and not of *Peru*, shall leave the reader to those historians who treat of it at large. This news being known in *Truxillo*, one Diego de Agüero set out to carry it to Almagro, who was upon his march to take possession of *Cusco*. He overtook him at the bridge of *Acambay* ; and he having received it with great moderation, shewed himself above the greatness of his fortune, and gave him as an albricias, or present for his good news, seven thousand *Castilians*, which are near twenty thousand ducats ; and by this news he was moved to change his design of conquering a people called the *Chiriguænaes*, and treated of that of *Chile* ; for he supposed it would fall into the government he was to have, and (as *Herrera* says) moved by the informations he had of the great riches of *Chile*.

To prepare himself for this enterprize, which was like to be very chargeable, he caused a great deal of silver to be melted in *Cusco*, to draw out the king's fifths. Amongst other things, there was a man's burden of gold rings to be melted down ; and one *Juan de Lepe* being by, and taking a fancy for one of them, begged it of marshal Almagro, who shewed himself so much a gentleman, and so liberal, that he said presently, that he should not only take that ring, but that he should open both his hands, and take as many as could lie in them ; and hearing he was married, he ordered him besides four hundred crowns as a present for his wife. He shewed another piece of liberality to one *Bartholomew Peres*, for having presented him with a shield, which was, to order him likewise four hundred pieces of eight, and a silver pot weigh-

ing forty marks of silver, and had for handles two lions of gold, which weighed three hundred and forty pieces of eight ; and to one *Montenegro*, who presented him with the first Spanish cat that ever came to the *Indies*, he ordered six hundred pieces of eight. There are a great many stories more of his liberality and charity too, he being very generous and noble minded. Having disposed all for his enterprize of *Chile*, he caused proclamation to be made, That all those who had not some particular employment to stay them at *Cusco*, should make themselves ready to go along with him. They were all overjoy'd at this, he being extremely beloved for his liberality and courtesy ; and that they might furnish themselves with arms and horses, he caused one hundred and eighty load of silver to be brought out of his house, (in those days a load of silver was as much as a man could carry,) and twenty more of gold : this he distributed among them all. Those who were willing, gave him bonds to pay him out of what they should conquer in the land they were to discover ; for this was the way of these conquerors in gaining to his majesty this new world, having no other pay but what they could purchase.

The *Inga Mango*, who was brother to *Guascar* and *Atagualpa*, had succeeded them in the government, as the son of *Guayanacapa*, who had also many others. This *Inga* had taken a great kindness for marshal Almagro ; so he gave him, as a companion in his enterprize, a brother of his, called the *Inga Paullo Topo*, and the high priest *Villacumu* ; the Spaniards call him *Villaoma*, or *Vileboma*, that they might by their authority not only keep all his vassals from falling upon them in the way, but rather should receive him, and make him presents. The marshal desired these two persons to go before, in company with three *Castilians*, and make a settlement or habitation at the end of two hundred leagues. The other people, and *Juan de SAVEDRA*, went by another way ; and when they had gone one hundred and thirty leagues from *Cusco*, they founded the town of *Paria*. Here the marshal overtook them ; and he was likewise assured of the title of *Adelantado* granted him by his majesty, with the government of the new kingdom of *Toledo*, which was to begin from the borders of *new Castile* ; for so they called Pizarro's government. His friends advis'd him to return immediately,

A cat no indian animal.

The vast riches of the first conquerors in India.

Almagro and Pizarro fall out.

diately, wherever this express overtook him, because there was one come to the city of *Los Reyes*, with a commission from the king to regulate limits of both governments to each of the *Adelantados*: but *Almagro* was so possess'd with the ambition of conquering so great and rich a kingdom as that of *Chile*, that he did not value the land he had discovered, in comparison of what he was to discover, out of which he design'd to reward his friends, and the many gentlemen that accompanied him; so he pursued his journey; where it will not be amiss to leave him engaged with the snows, and ill passages of the *Cordillera*, while we give a visit to the great city of *Lima*, called otherwise *de los Reyes*, because it being the head of those kingdoms, we cannot well pass it by.

This city was founded by the *Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro* in the year 1555. in a very pleasant plain, about two leagues from the sea, upon a fine quiet river; which being derived by drains and cuts all over the plain, fertilize it so copiously, that it is all covered with several sorts of products, as vineyards, sugar-works, flax, garden products, and other delightful plants: and if there be any thing they want from abroad, 'tis brought them so punctually, that all their markets are supplied with all manner of delicacies that can be wished for.

A delicious place.

For this and many other delights of this city, it happens to most people who live there, that they cannot endure to think of leaving it for any other place; so that it seems an enchanted place, where the entrance is easy, and the getting out difficult. I myself heard the *Spanish* merchants, who, the year I was there, had sold their goods themselves at *Lima*, whereas they used to sell them at *Puerto Bello*, so enamoured of it, though they stay'd but a little while there, that during our whole navigation, they could talk of nothing else; and to say truth, it deserves their praises; for though it cannot be denied, that some cities I have seen in *Europe* do out-do it in some things, yet few come near it, take it altogether: and, first, for riches, it is the fountain from whence all the rest of the world drinks; its bravery in cloaths, and magnificency of the court, out-does all others: 'tis extraordinary populous; for a father of our company, who had the care of catechising the negroes, told me, they were at least sixty thousand, and more, that came to confession. They have sumptuous buildings, though outwardly they make no shew, having no tiles; for it never rains all the year round: all the furniture, as pictures, beds, &c. are mighty rich. There are great numbers of coaches, and abundance of gentry; all the inhabitants very rich, merchants of great stocks, tradesmen and han-

Its magnificence.

It never rains at Lima.

dicraftsmen of all professions. But that which is to me most considerable, is, what belongs to the worship of God, and cult of religion; for the cathedral church, and all the parish churches are very sumptuous, and provided of admirable learned men, which come out of that university; of which those of the country are not the least to be valued, having furnished so many preachers and other subjects for all other dignities, even to the highest government. What shall I say of the orders of friars and nuns? I scarce know one order that has not two or three convents in the city, beautiful cloisters, great buildings, and yet greater churches; some after the old fashion; all with burnished gold from top to bottom, as are those of *St. Augustin*, and *St. Dominick*: others after the modern way, with curious well-wrought ceilings; as is that of the *Jesuits*, and of our lady of *Mercedes*, which are of a very fine architecture. There are eight nunneries, some of which have above two hundred nuns in them. There are besides many oratories, confraternities, hospitals, and congregations. In our convent alone of the *Jesuits*, I remember there were eight foundations of several kinds, and for people of as many different ranks and estates in the world. The great congregation has few in the world equal to it: the chappel of it is very large, and of a very rich material, covered with silk and gold, and rare pictures, with other rich ornaments belonging to it. There is here great frequentation of the sacraments by monthly communions: the body of Christ is exposed, and the church so adorned with musick and sweet smells, that it is a paradise upon earth. And amongst other pieces of devotion performed by this congregation, there is a great entertainment or treat given once a year at an hospital, which is so magnificent, that it is worth seeing: the same is done in proportion by the other congregations.

This city is the seat of a viceroy, who indeed is a king in greatness and authority, disposing of a vast number of places, commands, and posts of honour and profit. There is likewise a rich archbishoprick of great authority; three courts, or royal audiencias; a merchant court, which decides all matters of trade; a famous university, in which are professors very learned in their professions; three colleges or schools for youth, under the care of the fathers of our company of *Jesus*, in which are about one hundred and thirty professors or masters: there are every day new foundations for orphans, widows, and to retire women from lewdness: there is the famous hospital of *St. Andrew* for the *Spaniards*, and *St. Anne* for the *Indians*; all which would require a relation by themselves.

This

The best cities in Peru next to Lima.

This is what I could not avoid saying about this great capital of *Peru*; and if it continues increasing as it has done for this first age, it will not have its fellow in the world. The same may be said of *Cusco*, *Arequita*, *Chuquizaga*, and the great town of *Potosi*, which increase so, that he who is absent a few years, does not know them when he sees them again; and the reason is,

that the veins and mines of gold and silver, ^{OVALLE 1646.} which like a loadstone, have drawn so many people thither, are so far from lessening, that new ones are discover'd every day, and those richer than the old ones; for which reason there comes yearly more people, and among them much gentry, as well as tradesmen of all arts and professions, who most of them settle and increase there.

C H A P. XV.

The Adelantado Almagro enters into Chile, having suffered extremely by the Way.

1535. WE left the *Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro* in a place call'd *Paria*, from whence he was to pursue his journey to *Chile*, as he did in the beginning of the year 1535. He himself going before, order'd *Juan de Sacedra* to follow with twelve horse by the royal highway thorough the province of *Las Chichas*, the chief place of which was *Topisa*, where he found the *Inga Paulo*, and the priest *Villacumu*, who presented him with ninety thousand pesos of very fine gold, it being the tribute they us'd to send the *Inga* from *Chile*, and which they were now sending, without being inform'd of the tragical accidents that had befallen the family; and there he sent back a great many *Caciques* of the countries he left behind him, and who had waited upon him thither.

The three *Spaniards*, whom he had sent with the *Inga Paulo*, and two more who joined themselves to them, being desirous of making new discoveries, and acquiring honour, and withal making their court to the marshal, went before, till they came to a place call'd *Jujuy*, which is a place or country where the people are very warlike, and eat human flesh, and who kept the *Ingas* always in great awe. This boldness cost three of the *Spaniards* their lives, though they sold them dear. The *Adelantado* being resolv'd to revenge their deaths, sent captain *Salsedo*, with sixty horse and foot, to chastise those *Indians*; but they, being alarm'd, had call'd together their friends, and made a fort to defend themselves in, and many pits with sharp stakes in them, that the horses might fall into them; with which, and many sacrifices and invocations made to their gods, they had resolv'd to expect their enemies. Captain *Salsedo* found them thus fortified, and being himself inferior in strength, sent to the *Adelantado* for relief, who sent it him under the command of *Don Francisco de Chares*; but the *Indians* then avoided engaging, and resolv'd to abandon their fort; though, not to lose all their pains, they resolv'd first to at-

tack *Don Francisco de Chares*, where they kill'd a great many, and particularly of the *Indians Yanaconas*, and carrying off the spoils, they made a safe retreat: the *Spaniards* return'd back to their chief body. Since we mention'd the *Yanacunas*, it will not be amiss to explain the signification of that word, for the better understanding of what follows.

The *Yanacunas* were, among the *Indians*, ^{What the Yanacunas were.} a people subject to perpetual slavery; and to be known, were bound to wear a sort of habit different from the rest. These seeing the bravery of the *Spaniards*, and how much they made themselves be fear'd and respected, began to rise against their masters, and adhered to the *Spaniards*, hoping thereby to shake off the yoke of slavery; and became cruel enemies to the other *Indians*. That which this word *Yanacuna* now signifies in *Chile*, is, those *Indians* who do not belong to any particular lord; for as to freedom, there is no difference, the king having made them all free alike.

From *Jujuy* the *Adelantado* march'd with the vanguard, pursuing his journey, leaving the rear to the care and command of *Nogarral de Ulloa*. He came to a place call'd *Cbaquana*, where he found the *Indians* in arms; for though at first they were frighted with the swiftness of the horses, yet at last they grew so little afraid of them, that they took a solemn oath by the great sun, either ^{The resolution of the Indians of Chile.} to die or kill them all. The *Adelantado* attack'd them, and was in great danger, for they kill'd his horse under him in the engagement; but he continuing still to fight them, they resolv'd at last to retire: then he pursued his journey, with his whole army, which was of two hundred horse, and something above three hundred foot; with a great many *Indians*, as well *Yanacunas*, as others, who assisted the *Inga Paulo*. The army being thus numerous, they began to want provisions; and which was worse, they were without hopes of finding any, there being no place thereabouts that could afford it, the country being a desert, which

OVALLE 1646. which lasted seven days, all barren ground, and full of salt nitre; and for their comfort, as they descended a hill or precipice, after which they hop'd for some relief, they met with the snows of the *Cordillera*, which was a sight able to freeze the boldest undertaker, considering the dangers and sufferings they were threatened with. *Herrera*, when he comes to this passage, says, speaking of the bravery of the *Spaniards*, and their patience in suffering a great deal, which I shall not relate, that I may not be thought to praise my own countrymen with affectation; but I cannot omit some part of it: He says then, That to overcome such difficulties, none could have attempted it, but such as were us'd to endure hunger and thirst, and to enter into a country without guides, through forests, and over great torrents, fighting at the same time with their enemies and the elements, and shewing invincible minds; marching both day and night, enduring cold and heat, loaded with their arms and provision; being all of them ready to put a hand to all things, even the most noble among them being the first, when a bridge or any thing was to be made, to turn pioneers and carpenters, and cut down trees, by which they were fit for the greatest enterprizes.

The hardships the Spaniards endured;

The *Adelantado* seeing the new, and, in all appearance, the insuperable difficulty that attended this journey, did not lose courage, but made a bold exhortation to his men, telling them, That these were accidents that us'd to befall soldiers, without which no great honour could be gain'd, nor any of those riches which they fought after; that they should put their trust in God, who would not fail to assist them, since the planting of his faith depended upon their preservation. They all answer'd cheerfully, that they were ready to follow him to death; and because example is the best rhetoric, he first began to enter into the *Cordillera*, or snowy mountains, with a detachment of horse going before, that if he found any provisions, he might send a share to the army, which began to faint for want of it. But the more he advanc'd, he met with nothing but vast deserts, with a wind so cold, that it struck them through; and the passage grew straiter and strait-

Particular by in passing the Cordillera.

er, till at last, it pleas'd God, that from a high hill, they discover'd the valley of *Copiapo*, where the kingdom of *Chile* begins, where they were receiv'd very kindly by the *Indians*, out of the respect they bore to the *Inga Paulo*, and afforded them provisions enough to send some to the army which follow'd. 'Tis not possible to imagine how much they were press'd both by cold and hunger, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; here one would fall into the snow, and be buried before he was dead; another would lean against a rock, and remain frozen, just as if he had been alive. If any did but stop to take breath, immediately a blast of cold air left him fix'd and immovable, as if he had been of iron; and a *Negro*, who had a led horse in his hand, did but turn his head, and stop to see who call'd him, as some body did, and both he and the horse remain'd like two statues; so that there was no remedy but to keep moving, for it was a certain death to stop a little; but it could not be, but people so weary and so weak, must stand still sometimes; and therefore they lost a great many men, strowed up and down the mountain.

A remarkable instance of excessive cold.

Garcilasso says, there died ten thousand *Indians* and *Negroes*; of the fifteen thousand which went with the *Inga Paulo*, only five thousand escap'd; for being all natives of *Peru*, and not having ever felt such cold, for which they were totally unprovided with cloaths, they died apace; the *Spaniards* being better provided, endur'd less; and yet *Garcilasso* says, they lost above a hundred and fifty men, and thirty horses, which was a great loss; others lost their fingers and toes, without feeling it. Their greatest sufferings were in the night-time; for they had no wood to make fire, and the *Indians* eat the very dead bodies out of hunger. The *Spaniards* with all their hearts would have eat the dead horses, but they could not stop to flea them. At last the provisions, sent them by the *Adelantado*, met them; so they pass'd the rest of the way pretty well. When they came to the valley, the *Indians* made much of them, where we will leave them, to see how others, that came after the *Adelantado*, pass the mountain.

C H A P. XVI.

Others pass the Cordillera. What happened to the Adelantado in Copiapo. His Return from Chile. His Misfortune and Death.

IDO not find clearly the time of the year in which this army pass'd the *Cordillera*: 'tis certain it could not be in the midst of summer, nor in the heart of winter, because

not one of them would have escap'd, since the first high wind would have overwhelm'd them in the snow; therefore they pass'd it, either in the beginning, or the end of the winter.

winter; and most probably it was at the entrance of the winter; for if it had been at the going out of the winter, those who followed would not have run so great a hazard.

The first of these was one *Rodrigo Orgonnes*, who was left by the *Adelantado* in *Cusco*, to raise men and follow him, as he did. He lost his nails, and would have lost his fingers, if he had not taken his hand off the pole that held his tent up: others lost their eyes, their ears, and many their lives; particularly all those who were in one tent, which a storm rising carried up, and in the morning they were found all dead in the snow: they lost also six and twenty horses.

The next who passed after *Rodrigo Orgonnes*, was one *Juan de Arrada*, who brought the *Adelantado* the king's dispatches, and his commission for his government, whom we left in *Copiapo*; and it will not be amiss to see what befel him there, before he receiv'd his commission, and saw his friends. The first thing he did in this valley, was a work of charity and justice, in favour of the true lord of that land, who was not in possession of the government, because he was left a minor, under the guardianship of his uncle, who not only did not think of putting him in possession, but contriv'd to take his life, which he would have effected, if he could have got him into his hands; but the subjects, more loyal than he, had hid him out of the way. The *Adelantado* being inform'd of the truth of this matter, and being entreated by the wrong'd prince, restor'd him to the possession of his government, putting the tyrant to death.

Before this happened, at their first arrival at *Copiapo*, the *Inga Paulo* took care to look out for some gold in that little province; and in one day having got together the value of above two hundred thousand ducats, he presented the *Adelantado* with it, in the name of his brother, the *Inga Mango*; which gave the *Spaniards* great cause of admiration, seeing that in one village, and in so little time, so much gold had been found, gathering from this, how prodigious rich the country must be; and therefore *Almagro* was content to think all his pains well taken, that he had been at to come into it.

The *Inga Paulo* finding his present so well received, being desirous to make his court, got from the neighbouring parts three hundred thousand ducats of gold more, which he presented to the *Adelantado*; which gave him such joy, to see that so rich a country was fallen to his lot, that he caus'd all his people to be assembled, and pulling out all the bonds and obligations made to him in *Cusco*, for the gold and silver which he had there lent them, he cancell'd them all,

one by one, declaring to his debtors, That he freely forgave them their debts, and was sorry they were not greater: and not only so, but opening his bags of gold, he began to use great liberalities; which so pleased them, that they forgot the dangers they had gone thorough, every one promising himself vast riches from such a conquest. *Francisco Lopes de Gomara*, who writes this history, says, That it was a liberality becoming a great prince, rather than a private soldier: but he adds, as a consideration of the little stability of human affairs, and the prosperity of this world, that when he died, he had no body to give a pall to cover his coffin.

But let us not afflict the reader so soon with the memory of that lamentable tragedy; let us rather follow this great captain in his good fortune. As he went further into the country, he was respected and treated as if he had been the *Inga* himself, in all the places he came to; but when he came to a nation called the *Promocoes*, which was the limits, beyond which the kings of *Peru* could never extend their empire, he found the same resistance as they had done. The *Adelantado* perceiving this, demanded succour from the *Inga Paulo*, who gave it him, by calling in the *Inga's* garrisons of the neighbouring frontier; and so the war began.

Here the *Spaniards* met with their match, and began to experience that the conquest of this part of *America* would not be compass'd by their bare appearing with their horses, dogs, and guns; or that a kingdom might be got by taking a king prisoner, and separating his army to their purposes, and so remain absolute masters of the field; for here they met with a nation, who though they admir'd their horses, and were surpriz'd to see them, yet the greatness of their courage overcame that surprize; so they met and engaged them with great valour, and many were kill'd on both sides. The *Spanish* blood, which used to be so little spilt, was here shed in abundance; and from that time to this, the slaughter of them has not ceased, so as to make either side safe.

However, the valour of the *Spaniards*, and the advantage they had over them by horses and guns, was such, as they might well depend upon, which made them conceive the conquest of *Chile* to be a work of about two years at most; as 'tis probable it would have been, if the divisions between *Almagro* and *Pizarro*, and his brothers, had not cut the thread of that enterprize, as it did that of their own lives; for they perished by one another's hands, upon points of contest about jurisdiction.

OVALLE. About this time the *Adelantado* being engaged with the *Indians* in a bloody war, *Rodrigo Orgonnes* arriv'd with his *Spaniards*, and so did *Juan de Arrado*, with the king's royal patents, and a commission for the government of a hundred leagues of the country; which was just as if a deluge of water had been poured upon the fire already lighted of the war with the *Promocaes*, *Cauquenes*, and *Pencos*, who were the nations that had withstood this invasion. As for the *Indians* they pretended to no more than to defend their country, and their liberty, from foreign invaders; and the *Spaniards* found themselves call'd away by more earnest motives of interest, and so turned another way. Not but that there were different opinions about what was to be done; some thought that it was better to settle where they were, the heavens and earth being both the best that they had yet discovered, and its riches such as they were witnesses of; others were of opinion to be content with what they had discovered, without exposing themselves to new dangers, and the accidents of war. But those who brought the king's commission, insisted extremely, that the *Adelantado* should go to enjoy the effect of the king's favour to him; and above all, that which mov'd *Almagro* most, was the jealousy of seeing the *Pisarro*s masters of *Peru*: to which might be added, that if he did not take possession of *Cusco*, by virtue of the king's patent, he might be in danger of remaining, at last, without any title to any thing he had. In this confusion of motives, the *Adelantado* stuck to the worst, as it happened, since he lost his life: he had it seems arriv'd to the top of fortune's wheel; and 'tis the same thing with her to stand still, and to begin to go down; which he did, till he tumbled

quite to the ground, and had his head separated from his shoulders.

The world seldom performs its promises; otherwise who could have told this great and generous man, that he should fall by those hands, to which he had lent his? The *Pisarro*s would not have been at that height, if the frankness and friendship of *Almagro* had not assisted them from the beginning with his fortune and good counsel; but nothing of all this was sufficient to save him from death by their procurement. The differences between them grew to that height, that they engaged in a battle against each other; in which the *Pisarro*s were conquerors, and *Hernando Pisarro*, the chief of them, order'd *Almagro* to be beheaded, Almagro is beheaded by order of the Pisarro being no ways touch'd with their antient friendship, nor the submissions and tears of *Almagro* himself, though a venerable old man, begging his compassion with a body full of honourable wounds; but as if he had been a statue of marble or brass, he shewed no signs of compassion. 'Tis granted that *Almagro* did ill, to leave the conquest of *Chile*, so well begun, and where he might have settled himself and his friends to such advantage, to go back to *Cusco*, to govern there by force, in case the *Pisarro*s should oppose him; but they also were much to be blam'd, in not coming to some agreement with their antient friend and companion; but they are inexcusable in shewing so much cruelty, as to put him to death: accordingly all their own prosperity seem'd to end with his, and to turn to a lamentable tragedy, in which they died by one another's hands, as may be seen more at large in the already-cited authors. For me, it is my business to pursue the conquest and settlement of *Chile*, which is my theme.

BOOK V.

Of the Conquest and Foundation of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

The Governor Pedro Valdivia enters Chile : He conquers and settles that Kingdom, and is the first that enters as far as Mapocho.

THE more I draw near to the relating the settlement made in *Chile* by its first founders and captains, who reduced that kingdom to the obedience of their catholic majesties, and to the knowledge of God, the more I miss those papers and records, which being so far off, I cannot have the help of in describing the particulars of the events which were very memorable at the first entrance of the *Spaniards*. I must therefore make use of such passages as I shall find up and down in the general histories of the *Indies*; and this will refresh in me the memory of what I have seen or learn'd by others; and yet I must own the knowledge and information the reader will have from hence, will be but scanty and short, such as I should have hardly attempted to publish without this apology; and desiring my readers to accept of this collection for the present, till the compleat history of *Chile* does come out, I having left men most eminent in their profession employ'd in it when I left those parts.

1537. The *Adelantado Almagro* being returned in the year 1537. to *Cusco*, colonel *Pedro Valdivia* desir'd from the *Adelantado Francisco Pizarro* leave to pursue the conquest of *Chile*, since he had power and commission from the king to grant it. He promised not to return till he should have compleated the subjection of it, and reduced it to the obedience of the crown and God Almighty. The *Adelantado*, who had it in his thoughts, because of the fame of its great riches, to follow the conquest of *Chile*, considering this gentleman to be one of the bravest captains that had come to the *Indies*, having born arms in *Italy* and *Peru*, and given a very good account of all that he had undertaken, chose him for this en-

Valdivia undertakes the further conquest of Chile, in the year 1539.

terprize in the year 1539. giving him a year's time to prepare all things, that he might set out, as he did in the year 1540. I do not say any thing of the particulars of his journey, nor of the people he carried with him, because I am not where I can have a distinct information; only that in which all agree, is, That he got together a good body of men, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; for these last relating what riches the *Ingas* used to draw from people who owned his empire in those parts, animated every body to this enterprize; and *Valdivia* seconding with address these impressions, made a good army, with which he set out from *Peru*.

They had almost perish'd with cold, hunger, and other inconveniencies; yet at last they arriv'd, and advanc'd at first with little difficulty; but as they went, engaging further in the country, still they found more opposition: they first came to the valley of *Copiapo*, which signifies the Seed of *Torquoises*; for there is a rock of so great a quantity, that they are grown less valuable upon it, as *Herrera* says: it is a blue stone, which makes a very good shew. And since now we enter this kingdom with more advantage, and upon a steady foot of settlement, it will not be amiss to describe the valleys and places where the cities were first founded, and the other settlements, that we may not be oblig'd to look back with an useless repetition.

The valley of *Copiapo* is the first of the inhabited valleys of *Chile*, though the best part of the people are *Indians*, with a few *Spaniards*, out of which one is the *Corregidor*, who is named by the governor of *Chile*. The land is of it self very fruitful, and is made more so by a pleasant river, which runs about twenty leagues in it before

OVALLE. 1646. 1549.

Atorquoise rock in the valley of Copiapo.

Description of the valley of Copiapo.

OVALLE 1646. fore it empties its self into the sea in a bay which makes its harbour. Here grow all forts of the natural fruits and grains of the country, and of *Europe*; the maiz yields above three hundred for one, and the ears of it are almost half a yard long, as *Herrera* and other authors relate. Though I am not inform'd as to the particular of *Valdivia's* reception here by the *Indians*, yet I suppose it was without much contradiction; because these people were already accustomed to the foreign yoke of the *Ingas*, and had already seen and received the *Spaniards* out of respect to the *Inga Paulo*, who accompanied *Almagro*, who gave them their lawful *Cacique*, or prince, as we have seen. They had the same facility in the valleys of *Guasco*, which is about five and

twenty or thirty leagues from *Copiapo*, and that of *Coquimbo* *Limari*, and as far as *Quillota*. Here the *Indians* took arms, and oppos'd the *Castilians* vigorously; engaging them almost daily, as people that came to conquer and subdue their country. The governor *Valdivia* penetrated as far as the valley of *Mapocho*, though with the loss of many of his men. He found this valley extremely well peopled, because of its breadth, fertility, and pleasantness, being thoroughly water'd by the river of that name, which, after having run some leagues, sinks under ground, does not lose itself entirely, but appears more nobly, and comes out with a more powerful stream two or three leagues further, being much bettered in its waters, which from muddy are turn'd clear as chrystal.

C H A P. II.

The Foundation of the City of St. Jago in Mapocho. The Description of its Situation.

TOwards the east, the great *Cordillera*, or snowy mountain, is a wall to this valley of *Mapocho*, and is in winter all over white, but, in summer by spots here and there: to the west it has the ragged rocks of *Pouangue*, *Caren*, and *Lampa*, whose foot we may say is shod with gold (for that which is found in its mines is so fine, that a great deal was got out of them.) Neither is this valley uncovered on the sides; for to the north and south it is environed by other mountains, which, though they do not approach the *Cordillera* in height, yet are high enough to make a circle about this valley, which in several of its rocks produces gold: it is, in its diameter from the *Cordillera* to the hills of *Pouangue* and *Caren*, five or six good leagues, and from north to south, which is from the river *Colima* to that of *Maypo*, seven or eight leagues more; so that its circumference is between 26 and 28 leagues or more, if we go down as far as *Francisco del monte*, which is a place of most pleasant shady woods, where all the timber is cut for the building of the houses.

In this valley, two leagues from the great *Cordillera*, by the side of the river *Mapocho*, God has planted a mountain of a beautiful aspect and proportion, which is like a watch-tower, upon which the whole plain is discovered at once with the variety of its culture in arable and meadow; and in other places woods of a sort of oak upon the hills, which afford all the fuel necessary for the uses of life. At the foot of this mountain, which may be two miles about, the *Castilians* found many habitations of the *Indians*, to the number of eighty thousand, as authors report; which *Pedro de Valdivia* ob-

erving, and guessing from thence, that it was the best part of the whole valley, he resolved to found here the city of *St. Jago*, which he began the 24th of *February* in the year 1641. It stands in 34 degrees of altitude, and longitude 77. distant from the *Meridian* of *Toledo* 1980 leagues. The form and ground-plot of this city yields to few others, and is superior to most of the old cities of *Europe*; for it is regular, like a chess-board, and in that shape, and that which we call the squares for the men, of black and white, are in the city called *Isles*, with this difference, that some of them are triangular, some oval, some round; but the square ones are all of the same make and bigness, and are perfectly square: from whence it follows, that whereforever a man stands at any corner he sees four streets, according to the four parts of the heavens. These squares at first were but of four large houses, which were distributed to the first founders; but now, by time and succession of inheritance, they have been divided into lesser, and are every day more and more divided; so that in every square there are many houses.

Towards the north, the city is watered by a pleasant river, till it swells sometimes in winter, when it rains eight, nay twelve and fourteen days together without ceasing; for then it overflows, and does great mischief in the city, carrying away whole houses, of which the ruins may be yet seen in some places; for this reason they have rais'd a strong wall on that side; against which the river losing its strength, is thrown on the other side, and the city thereby freed from this inundation.

From

The valley of Mapocho described.

Inhabited by 80000 Indians.

Description of the situation of the city of St. Jago, capital of Chile. 1641.

The conveniencies of the city.

From this river is drawn an aqueduct on the east-side, which being subdivided into as many streams as there are squares, enters into every one of them, and runs thorough all the transversal streets by a conduit, or canal; and bridges are every where, as necessity requires, for the passage of carts: so that all the houses have a stream of water, which cleanses and carries with it all the filth of the city: and from this disposition of water, 'tis easy to water or overflow all the streets in the heat of summer, without the trouble of carts or other conveniencies, and that without any charge. All these rivulets empty themselves to the west, and are let into the grounds without the city, to water the gardens and vineyards that are there: which being done, 'tis let into other fields, sowed with all sorts of grain, and then returns to the great river. The inhabitants do not drink of this water, though pretty good; but it serves to water horses and other animals; therefore they fetch water from the river for their own drinking, or draw it from wells, which yield very good, and very cool: those who are yet nicer send to the springs and fountains, of which there are many in the neighbourhood, which yield most excellent sweet water. The streets of this city are all of the same bigness and proportion, broad enough for three coaches to go abreast easily: they are paved on each side

near the houses, and the middle is unpav'd for the passage of carts. There is one street that is of an extraordinary breadth, and in it fifteen or sixteen coaches may go abreast; this is to the south, and runs east and west the whole length of the city: this is call'd *La Cannada*; and though at first it did not extend beyond the city, yet now it does, and has many buildings and gardens; and there is the church of *St. Lazarus*: but there are several squares built further which enclose in again, and so it is in a good situation.

OVALLE. 1646. A noble street.

This *Cannada* is the best situation of the whole place, where there is always an air stirring, so as the inhabitants in the greatest heats of summer can sit at their doors, and enjoy the cool; to which may be added the agreeable prospect it affords, as well because of the bustle of carts and coaches, as of a grove of willows which is watered by a little rivulet from one end of the street to the other: it is besides adorned with a famous convent of *St. Francis*, the church of which is all of a white free-stone, all square stone finely cut, and a steeple of the same at one end of it, so high, that it is seen a great way off by those who came from other parts. It is divided into three parts, and has its galleries; the uppermost is a pyramid: from it one may discover on all sides lovely prospects, which delight the eye extremely, and recreate the mind.

C H A P. III.

Of the other Edifices and Churches of the City of St. Jago.

The city of St. Jago further described.

THIS city has (beside this street, called the *Cannada*, which might afford many places, such as are in great cities) another very large one, named of *St. Saturnino*; it has likewise the place of *Santa Anna*, where has been lately built a church dedicated to that glorious saint. There is also a place called *La Placera de la Compania de Jesus*, where the front of their church makes a figure, and is a retreat or tabernacle upon the day of the procession of *Corpus Christi*. Most of the other religious houses have their places before the great porticos or entrance of their churches: but above all, is the place called the principal place, where all the business of law and commerce is driven. The two sides of the place that are east and south have buildings after the old way, though they have made very good new balconies to them, and large windows, to see the bull-feasts and other publick diversions which are made there. The north-side is all upon arches of brick;

underneath which are the scriveners and publick notaries, as also the secretariships of the royal *Audiencia*, and the town-house: and overhead are the royal lodgings, with balconies to the place, with the great halls for the meeting of the town-house officers; and in the middle are the audience-rooms of the royal chancery, with their galleries to the place: and, lastly, the royal apartments, where the royal officers are lodged; and the rooms necessary for the treasury and chamber of accounts, and lodgings for the officers.

Town-houses

The side that lies to the west has in it, first, the cathedral church, which is of three isles, besides its chapels, which it has on each side: it is all of a fine white stone; the chief isle, or that of the middle, being upon arches and pillars of an airy and gallant architecture. The remainder of this side to the corner is taken up with the episcopal palace, which has a very fine garden, and noble apartments both high and low, with

1646. *W* OVALLE. with a gallery supported by pillars, which answer the place; which, if it were equally built on the east and south sides, would be one of the most beautiful and agreeable places that can be; for it is perfectly square, and very large, with a due regard to the whole plot of the city. I doubt not but in time the two old-fashion'd sides will be pulled down, and others built on pillars and arches proportionably to the other sides.

The greatest part of the buildings, (except the publick ones, which are of a rough stone, but very hard, which the mountain of *Santa Lucia* affords, and is within the city, and some great gates and windows which are of mouldings of stone or brick,) that is to say, the ordinary buildings, are of earth and straw well beaten together, which is so strong, that I have seen great openings made in a wall, to make great gates after the modern way, and yet the wall, though a very high one, not feel it, though the house was none of the newest, but almost as ancient as the city; for the sun bakes and hardens the earth and straw so well together, that I have seen a piece of those walls fall from a high place, and not break in pieces, though so big that a man could not carry it. At present the houses that are built are of a better form, higher, and lighter than at first, because the first conquerors were more intent upon getting gold, and spending it in sumptuous treats, and high living, with splendor and liberality, than in building palaces, as they might have done, by reason they had many hands, and the stone hard by.

In matter of buildings, this city, as most others of the *Indies*, may brag, that it imitated *Solomon*, who began with building the temple and house of God before he built his own palace. So the *Spaniards* have done all over the *Indies*, in this new world, inheriting this custom from their ancestors of *Old Spain*; for I remember, that travelling in *Castella*, I made this observation, that let the place or village be never so small, yet it has a good church; and even where the houses were poor, and like dove-coats, the churches were of free-stone, with a steeple of the same; which gave me matter of edification, considering the piety of the faithful on this occasion.

Just so the *Spaniards* of the *Indies* began first to erect churches, with so much application, that they do not seem buildings made within these hundred years; but rather such as one would think they had inherited from their ancestors, or had been built by the gentiles; and yet there is not a church in all the *Indies*, which they have not raised from its foundation. We have already spoke of the cathedral of *St. Jago*;

and much more might have been said of its strength and beauty, and the ornament of its altars and sacristy. There are besides several other fine churches. That of *St. Domingo*, Description of the church of St. Domingo. though not of stone, is built upon arches of brick, with a great many fine chapels on each side, particularly that of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, which is all painted and gilt, and is frequented with much devotion. The covering of this church is of wood, and finely wrought, as well as the choir, which is also painted and gilded, with handsome knots and festoons. The sacristy is full of ornaments of brocade of gold and silver, and embroidered silks of the same; a great deal of plate for the altar, and mouldings of the altar-piece all gilded. But this is nothing to the cloyster, which by this time is made an end of, and is of a fine architecture, two stories high; and the lower, where the procession goes, is adorned with exquisite paintings in the four corners, where are four altars all gilded, and light as a bright flame: the apartment at the entrance is also finely set off with pictures of saints of the order, of excellent hands.

The convent of *St. Francis* may be called a town for its largeness: it has two cloysters for the processions; the first is upon arches of brick; and the second, which is the largest, very finely painted, with the story of the life of the saint compared with passages of our saviour Jesus Christ's life; and over, are all the saints of the order; and at each corner four great pictures, with four altars, which serve for the processions and ceremonies of holidays.

The church is of free-stone, and all its altars gilded on the inside; but above all, the seats of the choir are a piece of rare workmanship: it is all of cypress, by which means there is always an admirable smell. The first row of seats reaches, with its crowning or ornaments, to the very roof, all of excellent architecture, with its mouldings, bases, cornishes, and other proportions.

The church of our lady of the *Mercede*, is also built upon brick arches. The great chapel is admirable for the thickness of its wall, and the beauty of ceiling, which is all of cypress wood, in the form of a *duomo*, or *cupola*. The great cloyster is begun upon so fine a model, that to finish it so, will require the care and application of those who have the government of that convent. The situation of this convent is the finest and noblest of any, except that of *St. Francis*: it has the advantage of receiving the river first, whereby water is so plentiful in the convent, that they have been able to make two mills to grind corn enough for the convent, and to give away.

The convent of *St. Augustin* is but newly begun; but its church, all of free-stone, will out-do all the others for beauty: it is of three isles, and in the midst of all the hurry and business of the town.

'Tis not many years that the sacred order of the blessed *Juan de Dios* has been settled in this kingdom; and in a little time those fathers have done a great deal; for having taken upon them the care of the royal hospitals, they have reformed them, assisting the sick with all neatness, care, and diligence, and have added several large buildings. They are much helped in this by the devotion the people have for their founder, to whom they address their prayers and vows in their wants and necessities, and not in vain; for they feel great relief by his intercession.

The college of the company of *Jesus* has not been able to build the inside of the house, because from their first foundation the fathers have attended only the finishing of the church; which is now compassed, and is without dispute the finest next to the ca-

thedral. It is all of a white stone, the front of an excellent architecture, and over the cornish a figure in *relievo* of a *Jesus*. The great chapel has its cupola and lantern all adorn'd with festoons and knots of two sorts of wood, white and red, which makes a beautiful shew.

The covering or roof is all of cypress, inlaid with all sorts of flower-work, and divided into five parts; the middlemost is a composition of all sorts of figures, which seem a labyrinth to those who see it from the ground, and with a noble cornish that runs round, gives a delightful prospect.

The architecture of the altar, and the tabernacle for keeping the holy sacrament, are valued at a prodigious sum. The altar rises to the top of the church; and because, according to art, it ought to have reached from wall to wall, which it does not, the empty places are filled up with two reliquaries on each side, which join to the altar: this being all gilded, seems, when one first comes in, to be one plate of gold.

OVALLE.
1646.
Description
of the je-
suits
church.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Civil Government, both ecclesiastical and secular, of the City of St. Jago; and of the Nature and Properties of its Inhabitants.

Govern-
ment of
St. Jago.

GOVERNMENT is the soul of the body-politick; and therefore, at the same time that the city of *St. Jago* was founded, the corporation was settled to administer justice, without which no government can stand. The corporation consists of two ordinary alcaldes, an alferes royal, an alguazil mayor, a general depositarius, six councillors or aldermen, chosen every year, half out of the gentlemen called encomenderos, and half out of the inhabitants of the place, who have bought that privilege for themselves and their descendants. Of the two alcaldes, he that is of the encomenderos has the precedence and first vote, and the inhabitant the other: they divide the year between them by six months. There is a president to the assembly, who is always corregedor, and lieutenant to the captain-general; and it is a place of great honour: and though it be of more charge than profit, by reason of the expence belonging to it unavoidable, yet it never fails of pretenders, because of its authority, and the respect paid to the office. They are chosen yearly, with the two alcaldes, two others of the holy fraternity, or hermandad, whose jurisdiction is without the bounds of the city, as is practised in other parts. About thirty years ago there was founded a royal chancery in this city, which consists of a president, four

The court
of the royal
audiencia.

VOL. III.

oydores, or counsellors, and two fiscals; one who is the ordinary, and another, who has been added within these four years, and has the same honours, who has the protection of the *Indians*, and the matters belonging to the holy cruzada. After these is the alguazil mayor de corte, who has also the magistrate's habit, and a chair of state: then are the officers called the chancellor, secretaries, referendaries, and others, as in such courts. There is no appeal from the sentence of review given in this court, but to the royal council of the *Indies*; and then there is a certain sum, below which there is no appeal neither. It cannot be denied but the majesty of this tribunal has very much adorned the city; though there want not those who lament the hindrance it has given to its riches and increase, which would have been more considerable, if the inhabitants had continued in their first simplicity, cloathing themselves with the manufactures of the country, and avoiding all those pompous liveries which are now in use; for those who before might walk in the publick place in a plain dress of the country, and be honoured and respected, must now appear in silk, or *Spanish* cloth, which yet is dearer than silk, for a yard of it costs sometimes twenty pieces of eight. Any gentleman of estate cannot now appear decently in publick, without many servants

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in

OVALLE. in rich liveries; and within a few years they have brought up a vanity of rich parasols, or umbrellas, which at first were only used by the people of the greatest quality; and now no body is without them, but those who cannot compass them; and though it is a thing of great gravity, and very useful to preserve health, yet it increases those forced expences used in great cities: for this, and some other reasons, some were of opinion, that it would have been better for the city and kingdom, that they had continued to govern themselves without this court of a *royal audiencia*, as they did formerly: but, to say truth, they are in the wrong; for, first, there are many cities in the *Indies*, where, without a court of this nature, I have seen vanity thrive in liveries and superfluous expences as much as any where. Secondly, because, abstracting from passion and interest, which commonly do mislead men in the administration of justice, it cannot be denied but that the sovereign authority of this tribunal is of great weight to maintain the quiet of the kingdom, by keeping an even hand in the administration of justice, and not suffering that the tyranny some affect, either by reason of their preferments or riches, should stifle right reason, or oppress innocence, which has not learn'd to court and flatter.

The audiencia of great advantage to the city.

Thus a *royal audiencia* is a bridle to vice, a reward to virtue, a protection to the poor, and a maintenance of right and reason; and this was the intention of our catholic monarch: for this reason did he erect this court, which is the more necessary, because it is at that distance from the royal presence, and so hard that the cries of the poor should reach his ears; for if sometimes they do arrive to his court, 'tis so faintly, that they can scarce be heard: for this reason, those who have the chusing and sending the king's officers into such remote parts, ought to be the more careful to provide men of christian principles, and well intentioned, as indeed they have been, and are still in that kingdom; and it is no more than is necessary, for a good example to those new christians the *Indians*.

This *royal audiencia* is the cause likewise, that much gentry comes from *Europe* to the *Indies*, and so help to people them, and to continue the good intercourse between *Spain* and that country, which is good for both. It cannot likewise be denied, (though that be but as an accessory,) that the presence and assistance of this royal tribunal at all publick feasts and exercises, is of great countenance to them, and particularly to the literary acts and commencements, whereby learning is encouraged; and those who employ themselves in that honourable study

have a reward before their eyes, hoping to attain to be advocates, referendaries, fiscals, and counsellors: for in the *West Indies* those places are all very honourable, and particularly in *Chile*, where the salaries are larger than in other parts, and yet provisions are cheaper; so that 'tis easy to lay up a good part of one's revenue. Besides these tribunals, there are others, as that of the chamber of accounts, or treasury, for the management and administration of the king's revenue: these officers do likewise visit the ships that come in and out at the port of *Valpariso*: their offices are very honourable, and of great profit, and they are in the king's gift, as those of the *royal audiencia* are.

The affairs of justice, and things belonging to good government, are under the *audiencia*; but those of war and preferments belong to the governor, of whom we shall speak in a proper place.

The bishop is absolute lord of all the church government; and though the bishoprick of *St. Jago* is none of the richest of the *Indies*, because all the product of the earth is so cheap, and by consequence the tithes do not rise high, yet this very abundance is part of the riches of the bishoprick; for by this means the bishop's family and expences are the easier supplied, and he may keep more attendance, and yet lay up a good part of his revenue; whereas other bishopricks, though richer, have enough to do to keep up the decency of their dignity. There is a numerous clergy, who make a great cortege to the bishop upon certain publick days; and when he is received the first time, and takes possession, the ceremony is very great; for part of the *royal audiencia*, the chapters, all the militia, horse and foot, with the people, go out to meet him; so that 'tis a day of great pomp.

The chapter of the cathedral is a venerable body of men, in which the king alone provides the vacancies by virtue of his royal patronage, and the concession of the popes; so that there is not, as in *Spain*, the bishop or the pope's month; but in the *Indies* all dignities of cathedrals, even to the very parish priests, are all at the king's nomination, but with some differences; for the dignities are bestowed in *Spain* itself by the advice of the council of the *Indies*; but the cures or livings of parish priests, the king does bestow them by his governor or president, who exposes a publick edict, that all opposers for the vacancy of such a benefice may come and oppose the examination; and of these, the bishop presents three to the governor-general, to chuse in the king's name.

The holy tribunal of the inquisition, which is in *Lima*, serves for all the whole south

The bishop supreme in all ecclesiastical affairs.

Chapter chosen by the king.

South America; so that in *Chile* there is only a commissary, with his officers and familiars, who accompany him in all publick acts, and form a tribunal with great authority. There is likewise an officer of the *Cruzada*, called a commissary, which is likewise a post of great authority; and the day that the bull is published, all the orders of the religious are bound to be at the procession.

Character
of the na-
tives.

Let us conclude this chapter by saying something of the natives who are born and bred in this city: They are generally ingenious, and of good parts; and those whose inclination is to learning, succeed very well; but they naturally are more inclined to war, very few of them taking to other employments, either of trade or business; and they who, from their infancy, or by a strong inclination, do not take to learning, seldom succeed, and easily leave it, if put upon it, to follow the sound of a drum or a trumpet, and never are quiet till they get to be enrolled as soldiers being much better pleased with the liberty of a

foldier's life, than with the discipline of the schools. OVALLE.
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They are much addicted to horsemanship: and I have often seen, that to strengthen a child that can hardly go, the best way is to set him on horseback: this makes them prove dexterous horsemen, and bold. And 'tis a common opinion, and a known experience, that for horse, one of the country is better than four from abroad: this has been sufficiently proved in the course of so long a war as that which has busied that kingdom.

They are naturally liberal, good natured, and friendly, particularly if they are treated honourably, with due regard: they are pretty stubborn and wilful; to be led only by fair means, and then they are docile and tractable; but if force is used, they do worse and worse. This we the fathers of the society do often experience in our colleges: so we are obliged to lead them by sweetness and emulation, rather than by rigour and harshness.

C H A P. V.

Of the Riches, Militia, Studies, and Increase of the City of St. Jago.

THIS city, to which the king has given the title of most noble and loyal, is the capital city of *Chile*, and one of the best in the *Indies*, next to those two royal ones of *Lima* and *Mexico*, who do exceed it in sumptuous edifices, in people and trade, because they are more antient and nearer *Spain*, and of a greater passage for the people that come from *Europe*, and free from the tumults of war; which is a canker that eats deepest into great cities and kingdoms; and 'tis no small proof of their force, to be able to maintain so long a war.

Foundation
of the city.

This city was founded one hundred and four years ago; and it has all that while sustained the heavy load of a long and stubborn war, which the native *Indians* have made upon the *Spaniards* without any intermission; in which its inhabitants have either always been in arms, or sending many horses and provision to the camp; a calamity, which, far from letting it grow to what it is, ought to have kept it down from the beginning: nor is it of a small consideration, for the growth of other cities in the *Indies* to reflect, that they being in the way, and, as it were, upon the passage of other places, many newcomers have settled there, who perhaps at first were bound for other countries, or at least were indifferent where they stay'd, and took up with them. 'Tis otherwise with the city of *St. Jago*, because the kingdom of *Chile* being so remote, and the last of all the *Spanish* dominions, it is the *non-plus-ultra* of the

world; so that no body goes thither by chance, but on purpose, and upon some design or particular interest; for which reason the number of strangers is little.

But the city is so good and convenient to pass away life with ease, that notwithstanding these disadvantages, it is so increased, that it astonishes all who see it, few cities of the *Indies* outdoing it in finery, particularly as to the women, (it were to be wished it were not to that excess;) for all things coming from *Europe* are there prodigious dear; and this causes many families to run behind hand. Who should see the place of *St. Jago*, and that of *Madrid*, could see no difference as to this point, nay, as to the women, the finery exceeds that of *Madrid*; for the *Spanish* women, scornning to go to service, are all ladies, and love to appear as such, as much as they can; and the emulation between them about fine cloaths, jewels, and other ornaments, for themselves and their servants, is such, that let their husbands be never so rich they want all they have, particularly if they are of the nobility, to satisfy the pride of the women.

As to the militia of the city, the first part of it is the company of inhabitants, encomenderos, and reformed captains, who have no other commander but the governor himself, or his deputy; after that, there are two or three troops of horse, and three or four companies of foot, all *Spaniards*. These often muster on holidays, and are exercised in the use of their arms; and sometimes there

1646. OVALLE. there are general musters before the oydores and royal officers, where their arms are examin'd; who also note them down, to know what strength they can raise upon occasion, punishing such as do not keep their arms and horses fit for service. By this diligence they are very ready at their arms, and the exercising of them proves an entertainment for them and the whole city; for very often, in the publick processions, one or two of these companies use to come out, and make a salvo for them; and in the holy week there always attend a troop of horse, and a company of foot, who guard the street, where the processions of the whippers go to keep the peace, because of the *Indians*, who use to take that time to make some risings, the *Spaniards* being wholly taken up with their devotions.

The days in which this militia makes the best shew, are, when the bishops come to be receiv'd, because they make a lane from the entrance of the city to the great place of it; where they form their battalion; and the concourse of the people uses to be so great, that though the place is very large, there is scarce room for them.

The vast increase of the city.

And since we are upon that subject, we cannot omit to observe that which is worthy of admiration, and that is, to see how it is increas'd in the number of *Spaniards* within these forty years. 'Tis probable, the same has happened to the other cities of the *Indies*; but this has had a continual drain, by supplying soldiers for the war with the *Indians*, where many perish, and few return. I remember that I have heard say, that one of our fathers, newly come from *Europe*, and coming to our college, where he saw but few people in the street, cried out,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

By which he meant to signify, the disproportion of the inhabitants to the bigness of the city; but now that very street is so full of people, that all hours of the day, and some of the night, it is extremely frequented; for there have been built many houses for handicraftsmen and shopkeepers on both sides of it, because trade is considerably increas'd.

I can myself affirm, that I observ'd as great an alteration in a much less time, as well in people as in building; for having been absent but eight years, I confess, that at my return, I scarce knew the place again; for I found several ground spots where there was not a house built upon, with very good buildings; and those which I had left built were alter'd to the better, with more and higher apartments; and the courts which were very large, were considerably streigh-

tened by other buildings; and yet the plot of the city was larger too; so that being at first built at the foot of the mountain we have spoken of, to the west of it, I found it extended as much to the east, and the same proportionably to the south and north, and it increases daily towards the river, and the *Cannada*.

There was, when I left the place, about a dozen shops of good retailers, and at my return there were above fifty; and the same proportionably as to the shops of shoe-makers, taylor, carpenters, smiths, goldsmiths, and other handicraftsmen, whom I found also more curious and exact in their professions; and emulation has produced very good pieces of workmanship in gold and silver, and carvings in wood, gildings, paintings, which have adorn'd the churches, with those which have been brought from *Europe*, and the particular houses; so that in some houses alone, there are more things of that kind now, than there were in all the city formerly. Some complain, that there are not now such rich and powerful men as there were at first; and that is true: but it does not follow, that the generality is the worse for that, but rather otherwise; for the lands and houses which belong now to ten families, were antiently in one; it being certain, that several of the heirs of that man have attain'd to as great riches as he himself had; or at least 'tis apparent, that the stock of all those who have shar'd the inheritance, far exceeds what was left them; so that supposing, that some were formerly richer, yet the riches are more in the land; which is also clear to any that shall consider the houses, possessions, and other improvements made since that time; for now there is scarce room for the people, whereas before there was not half people for the room that was for them; which is also visible in the country round about, where farms that could hardly find purchasers, and were little worth, are now so risen in their value, that the smallest cost great sums; and this rage of purchasing is such, that most of the causes in the *royal audiencia* are about titles; for the antients, who took possession of the land, thought, that if they had a little footing in a valley, it was all theirs; but those who have come since, have purchased by virtue of new titles, and taken new possession; which makes so many law-suits.

There is not a form'd regular university in this city, because that of *Lima* serv'd for all the neighbouring kingdoms and provinces to take the degrees; but when in time the going to *Lima* was found so chargeable, and the journey, which is of three or four hundred leagues, so troublesome, there were bulls obtain'd of the pope, for the

The pope's bulls obtain'd for the dominicans and jesuits to confer degrees. the orders of *St. Dominick* and the *jesuits*, to have the privilege of conferring the degrees of batchelor, licentiate of arts, as also doctors in divinity, in the kingdoms of *Chile*, *Granada*, *Ruito*, *Chuquizaga*, *Tucuman*, and *Paraguay*.

The effect has shewed how necessary this favour, and how important this privilege has been; for this incitement to honour has caus'd a general application to learning; for the priests and curates are already great proficient in study, and so more capable of taking upon them the cure of souls; and those who betake themselves to a religious life, are better qualified to serve their orders, and be an honour to them, as many of them are; and it does not a little contribute to the value of them, to see the great solemnity us'd at the reception of the several graduates. And in this, as well as the rest, I think our city of *St. Jago* is not inferior to any: for, first, all the acts are held with great concourse of all the learned, and very often the bishop honours them with his presence, and so do the president of the *audiencia*, and the chief of the town-government, to whom are dedicated

the subjects of the extempory readings, according to the constitution of the university, which are given out with great fidelity, dividing the subject into three parts, for the graduate to dispute upon in presence of a great concourse of people; and the severity is indispensable in this and all other examinations, for the different degrees which are given by the bishop, by virtue of an approbation first given him by the father rector and the professors, as the bull directs; according to which there is no obligation of giving any treat; but yet that the doctors may assist with more pleasure and diligence, there has been introduced a custom of giving some moderate ones, besides gloves, which were allowed instead of it; but some out of ostentation, give both treat and gloves. Besides this, there has been introduc'd a custom of inviting the horse of the city to honour the procession, which makes the solemnity the more conspicuous; and they very willingly accept of the invitation, for they are very ready to mount on horseback to honour any, much more those who distinguish themselves by the exercises of virtue and learning.

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CH A P. VI.

Of the Worship of God, and the Church Ceremonies in the City of St. Jago.

Religious worship very stately and expensive.

IF we were to make a judgment of this city by the worship of God that is perform'd in it, and the appearance of the clergy, we should judge it to be much bigger than it is; for the state and expence with which the holidays are kept, in the charge of musick, perfumes, wax, and other ornaments, are very great: let us give some particular instances, and begin with the cathedral. I cannot but commend the piety of those eminent persons, the bishop, president, and counsellors of the *royal audiencia*, who taking each of them a day during the *octave* of the holy sacrament, are at the whole expence of that day, and that is very considerable; for all the wax and perfumes are very dear, as coming from *Europe*; and the holy emulation that is between them, increases the splendor of the day; so that during that *octave*, the church is so perfum'd, that its fragrancy is smelt some distance from it. The procession of the first and eighth day are upon the account of the chapter, as the hanging of the streets, and erecting of altars for repositories, are at the charge of the inhabitants where the procession passes: this procession is attended by all the convents, and all the companies of trades, with their banners and flags, so that it reaches a great way. After this of the cathedral come every day

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new ones of all the convents, so that they last a month, every one endeavouring to have theirs the best; by which means there are great variety of ornamental inventions and machines. The *Indians* of the neighbourhood, that live in the *Chagras*, that is, little cottages, within some miles of the city, attend likewise with their banners; and they chuse for this purpose a leader who makes the expence, and treats those of his company: their numbers are so great, and the noise they make so loud, with their flutes, and their hollowing and singing, that they are placed in the front, or else there would be no hearing the church musick, nor any means of understanding one another about the government of the procession. The other feasts and holidays in the year are proportionably solemniz'd with the same decency by all the orders of friers, who all of them have some devout persons who help to bear the charge. But the nuns exceed all the rest in ornaments; and these nunneries are so populous, that in that of *St. Austin* alone there are above five hundred persons, whereof three hundred are veiled nuns, the rest are lay-sisters; and because the nunnery being full, there can be no more receiv'd, but with great difficulty, the other nunnery of *Sancta Clara* receives so many every day, that in a little time it

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1646. OVALLE will equal the other in number, as it does already in the pomp and ornament of its church-service; that which these angels of heaven, (for so we may justly call those who with so much piety and anxiety do serve God continually, and are as a wall of defence to the city,) that which they do most shine in, can hardly be express'd as to the neatness, curiosity, and richness of their altars, and the church-ornaments. What shall I say of the smells, artificial flowers, fruits, chocolates, pastillos, and perfuming pots, which I have seen sometimes of so great a size, that they struck me with admiration, considering the matter they are made of, which is of a refin'd sugar, as white as snow, sometimes in form of a castle, sometimes of a candlestick, or a pyramid most exquisitely wrought.

They are not content with this; for I have sometimes seen the whole grate of the choir, and the joiners work, and beams of the church, all cover'd with preserv'd citron, in form of suns or angels of *mezzo rilievo*, and a thousand other inventions, which I should never have done, if I should report them all. I must only say, that the

generosity of those ladies is such, that though this costs very much, yet I have often seen them at the end of a mass distribute all these things to those who happen to be in the church, without keeping it for themselves: they do not only do this within the church, but the altars which are set up in their cloysters, and streets near them; for the processions are adorn'd, after the same manner, with fruits and flowers of the same materials, so well imitated, that they appear new-gather'd.

The monasteries of men are not so well fill'd as those of the nuns, though some have a hundred, others sixty or seventy friers. The secular clergy is also very numerous, very virtuous, and learned. Since I came away, there has been founded another nunnery of about thirty nuns, who will need no portion, being provided for by a gentleman who left all his estate to that foundation; it was captain *Alonso del Campo Lantadilla*, alguazil mayor of that city, which will be of great service to help the providing for poor maids, who, perhaps, else would not find it easy any other way.

CHAPTER VII.

In which is treated of the Processions of the Holy Week in the City of St. Jago.

LET us conclude this matter of religion and pious exercises with saying something of the most remarkable practice of it in the holy week, by the stateliness of the processions at that time; which is such, that all strangers confess, that if they had not seen it, they should hardly have believ'd it. These processions begin on the *tuesday* in the holy week, to which the company of the *Morenos*, which is founded in our college, give a beginning, (of which we shall speak more when we treat of its employments, as also of the brotherhood or confrary of *Indians*, on the morning of *Easter-day*.) The procession that follows next, is that which comes out of the convent of *St. Austin*, in which is founded the confrary of the *Mulattos*: they go all cover'd with black frocks, and have many passages of the passion sung very devoutly, with the best musick of the place, and many lighted torches. The *Wednesday* the famous procession of the confrary of the *Nazarenos* sets out, which is all of natural *Spaniards*, of several arts and professions, and is founded in the royal convent of *Nuestra Señora de la Mercede*; and it is one of the richest and most adorn'd processions. This procession is divided into three troops: the first of which carries *La Veronica* to the cathedral, where it stays to

The stateliness of the processions.

meet the second, in which comes the *Redeemer* with his cross, so heavy, that he is forced to kneel often.

When this second, which is the largest, comes to the great place, that which stays at the cathedral goes to meet them; and at a certain distance, in sight of a vast multitude of people, the *Veronica* comes, and kneeling down to the image of Christ, which is a very large one, seemingly wipes his face, and then shews the people the representation of it remaining in the handkerchief; and then as they begin to march, there appears the third procession, in which comes *St. John*, shewing the *Virgin Mary* that dolorous spectacle: so that by all these there is form'd a mighty procession, with many lighted torches, and all the brothers are cloath'd in their red frocks, marching with great silence and devotion. There is another representation of great piety, which is perform'd in the convent of *St. Francis*, and in this convent; which is the parting of Christ and his mother, which uses to cause great passion and many tears, because of the naturalness with which it is acted.

On the *Thursday* there are very curious sepulchres erected, and many alms given to the poor; and though in the foregoing processions, and on the *Fridays* in *Lent*, there are to be seen some people whipping themselves,

with

with divers sorts of penances, which every one performs according to his own devotion, yet the processions, which by excellency are called the bloody processions, are performed this night. One of them sets out from the chapel of the true cross, which is in the convent and chapel of *Nuestra Señora de la Mercede*, and is only of the inhabitants and gentlemen, who go all covered over with black frocks; and he who carries the cross is obliged (besides the collation which he provides for the preacher and the musick, and which uses to be very magnificent) to provide also men to attend the procession, and relieve the whippers, who often draw so much blood that they faint away; and others take care to cut off of the disciplines some of the spurs of them, for they use to have so many on, that they almost kill themselves, nay, I have seen some of so indiscreet a zeal, that they used certain buttons with points so sharp, that if they were let alone, 'tis a dispute whether they would not die before the end of the procession. Before this go also two others, both of them bloody processions; one of the *Indians*, and it is that has most whippers; the other comes from *St. Domingo*, and is of the *Morenos*: they both have musick; and the communities of all the convents go to meet them when they come near their churches with torches in their hands. They spend a great deal of time in their procession, and are accompanied by an infinite number of people.

On the holy *friday* there are two processions more that go out of *St. Domingo* and *St. Francisco*, both of natural *Spaniards*. That of *Sancto Domingo* is called the procession of pity, and has been begun but lately; but it has made such progress, that it equals the most ancient: they carry all the marks of the passion by so many dress'd up like angels very richly, and each of them is attended by two brothers of the procession with lights, and their coats of yellow. The other procession, which comes from *St. Francisco*, is the antientest, and has always been the best: it is mightily commended for the great silence and devotion with which it is performed; for there is not a word spoke in it from its going out to its returning. Before it goes there is performed the descent of the cross before a great concourse of people. This has always been an action of great piety, and very moving. The ensigns, or marks of the passion, go out in order; and when they come, there is another representation very tenderly made in the *Cannada*: there is a great cross set up; and when the image

of the virgin comes up to it, it lifts up its <sup>QVALLE-
1646.</sup> eyes, as one who misses the sovereign good that hung on it, and drawing out a white handkerchief applies it to the eyes, as crying, and then opening the arms, embraces the cross, and kneeling kisses the foot of it once or twice: all this it does so dexterously, and becomingly, that one would swear it were a living creature: and this action being accompanied with the musick of the day proportioned to the grief of the mystery, 'tis incredible what effects it has upon the people, who crowd one upon another to see it.

On the *Saturday*, and on *Easter-day* in the morning, there are other processions. The first comes out of *St. Domingo*, and is of the gentlemen and citizens, who in this are cloathed in white, of most rich cloth of silver or silk, finely garnished with jewels and chains of gold. The ceremony of the resurrection is celebrated by night in the cloyster; and for that end there is such an illumination, that it seems day. The procession goes out very noble and gay, and in it are many lights, musick, and dances, the streets being all adorned with triumphal arches, and hung with tapestries; and while this procession is in the cathedral, celebrating the mass, and communicating the host to the brothers, there comes another to the great place to meet it, another from the college of the jesuits, which is a confrary of *Indians*, the most ancient of the city, consisting of a company of *Indians* of both sexes, who, with torches in their hands, accompany the child *Jesus* dress'd up after the *indian* fashion, (which causes great concern and devotion:) they have also many colours, ensigns, and other ornaments, very rich and gay. At the same time two other processions of *Indians* likewise set out from the convents of *St. Francis*, and *Nuestra Señora de la Mercede*, and another of *Morenos* from *St. Domingo*, all with a great apparatus of drums, trumpets, colours, hautboys, dances, which make that morning appear very gay and merry; and that it may be so to our saviour resuscitated, they all communicate, and give a happy *Easter* to the divine majesty and all heaven, to which the earth can never pay a greater tribute than by the conversion of sinners, particularly of these new christians, whose ancestors adored but the other day their idols; and now they acknowledge, and kneel before the true God, and sit with him at his table, as grandees of his court; they, who not long before were slaves of the devil.

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C H A P. VIII.

Of some other Holidays of the City of St. Jago.

ONE of the things in which the greatness of a city shews itself most, is, in its feast, holidays, and publick entertainments: we will touch a little on those of *St. Jago*; and, besides the secular ones of bull-feasts, running at the ring, *Juego de Cannas*, tournaments, illuminations, and other diversions in which this city shines, it is wonderful how well there are celebrated the publick rejoicings for the birth or marriage of their prince, in universal canonizations of saints, and in all other solemnities, but particularly those ordered by his majesty, as that was about thirty years ago, when his majesty, out of his great piety, ordered, in honour of the queen of angels, that the mystery of her holy immaculate conception should be celebrated in all his kingdoms, as well by the seculars, as by the churchmen; and the first indeed need no incitement in this matter, every one being ready to shew their acknowledgements to this sovereign queen of heaven, who has favoured more particularly the kingdom of *Chile* with her protection from the beginning.

Let us now say what the city of *St. Jago* did upon this occasion, that the affection with which the inhabitants correspond to what they owe to this illustrious queen of heaven may be manifested, and some proof given of what they can do on such occasions; and letting alone what was done by all the convents and monasteries, I come to other particulars, to which three poetical contests gave rise: these were published solemnly on horseback through the town, with the company of the town magistrates, and all the gentry, without exception. The first of these troops were defrayed by the cathedral, the second by the celebrated monastery of the conception, the third by the congregation of students founded in our college; and in all these there were prizes propos'd of great value for the poets; and those who obtained them, had them given to them with great solemnity; and there were several representations, with other diversions, according to the custom of that country.

And since we are speaking of what happened in those holy feasts, let us not forget as remarkable a passage as any: the day, which it fell to the lot of our college to celebrate its feast, the father provincial, who was to preach before mass, felt himself so mov'd with love and devotion to the sovereign virgin, that in a fit of extraordinary

zeal he invited the people to come after dinner to the procession of our church, and to sing before the image of our lady that ballad which was in those days so famous, and begins:

*All the world in general
Says so, chosen queen of heaven,
That you are conceiv'd even
Without sin original.*

The auditory was much edified with the piety of the good father, but smiled at his proposal as impracticable; yet they all came at the hour, most out of curiosity to see the event of this novelty: they all took olive-branches in their hands, and began the procession while our fathers sung the stanzas. It was wonderful that the same spirit which moved the father to such an extraordinary invitation, moved also all the people to sing before the image of our lady, which they carried thus to the cathedral; out of which the clergy coming to meet, and singing the church-hymns, the noise of the others singing was so great, that the canons were forced to give over, and accompany the people in their stanzas, singing altogether like so many children. They looked one another in the face, admiring at what they were doing, being scarce able to believe; and if I my self had not seen it, knowing, as I do, the natural gravity of that people, I should not have believed it neither; but the inward force of devotion can do any thing, when the lord of hearts makes use of it to exalt the immaculate pureness of his mother.

The rejoicings and entertainments upon this occasion lasted many days; one of them fell to the lot of the congregation of natural *Spaniards* founded in our college, who made a very ingenious and costly masquerade, representing all the nations of the world, with their kings and princes all cloth'd after their own fashion, with their attendants, and last of all the pope, to whom each nation came, with its king, to desire his holiness to favour this mystery. The liveries were very costly; and there was a triumphal chariot, a great machine, in which was represented the church: but that which was most chargeable was the wax, which is very dear there; and this entertainment was given by night.

The other days were divided among the *Negroes* and *Indians* of all arts and professions, who having a pious emulation to each other, made many rare inventions; but the merchants carried the bell in a tournament

ment, which they perform'd in the great place, each adventurer coming either out of a sea, or a wood, or an enchanted castle, with his paper or challenge, acting their parts very well: they broke their lances, and receiv'd their prizes, which were things of great value. The gentlemen of the city crown'd the feast with their usual diversions of bull-feasts, running at the ring *Fuego de Cannas*, &c. There are generally about twenty or thirty horsemen to attack the bulls, and throw the *rejous* or lances at them, besides him who strikes the bull dead. The illuminations of torches, with which they use to run about all night, are also of great diversion; and upon this occasion they did it with rich liveries, and other chargeable expences, for the greater solemnity of the time.

The ordinary and annual rejoicings which are observ'd on *Midsummer*, on *St. John's-day*, *St. James's*, and the *Nativity of our Lady*, are also worth seeing, particularly on the day of *St. Jago*, who is the patron of the city; for then the royal ensign of the conquest, with the king's arms, and is accompanied by all the gentry, who are oblig'd to appear on that occasion, which they do very gloriously.

Marriages and christenings celebrated with great pomp and expence.

There happen likewise some marriages or christenings of the people of best fashion, in which they make as good a shew as their estates will let them, and often above their abilities. In the bull-feasts, those who undertake them use to treat the *royal audiencia*, and other bodies corporate; but in marriages they are profuse, for the presents to the bride have been brought in fashion to be very rich, such as slaves, carpets, scrutores fill'd with gold and jewels, and other curiosities of great value. There is not less spent in treats and banquets, particularly of late years, that they have taken to counterfeiting natural fruits, and other things, which serve for the sideboard; so that after a man has given a treat of all sorts of birds and fishes, his entertainment is not gallant enough, if he does not add a desert of preserv'd citrons in all figures of love-knots, &c. and the other fruits imitated after nature: these they mingle on the cloth, with the figures of ewers, saltcellars, jars, salvers, dishes, spoons, forks, knives, all made of citron, cover'd with leaves of gold and silver; and the first thing the guests do, when they sit down, is to plunder the table of these, for there are real

ones of gold and silver for the banquet. OVALLE.

All this costs extremely, because the sugar comes from *Peru*, and the manufacture of all these curiosities is very dear; many are the guests; and besides the wedding-dinner, the fathers give another the next day as sumptuous. This is what no body of fashion can help doing. I have heard formerly, that at first there were gentlemen, who, upon any of these publick rejoicings, would do it all at their own charges, giving them all liveries of velvet, at the running of the ring for example; and yet then velvet was twice as dear as it is now. But at present that is left off, though they make expences equivalent in collations, bonfires, and other contrivances of great shew; for upon these occasions they all think themselves rich enough, which is a great ruin to families, every one straining out of vanity to equal another, though the difference in riches be very great.

1646.

And now let us leave *St. Jago*, which has detain'd us more than ordinary, to satisfy the curiosity of those who are desirous to know the increase and progress of the cities and colonies of that new world, and how the christian customs and government have begun to flourish in it; and by this essay a judgment may be made of those settlements. I pass on to the particulars of the conquest of that kingdom, that I may afterwards give an account of the progress of the christian faith, and the great hopes there is of its greater propagation. And because some curious persons do desire to know some particulars of the colonies and settlements of that new world; and that it may be agreeable to the reader to know the form given by the first founders to their cities, I have thought convenient to give here the ground-plot of the city of *St. Jago*, with all its streets, houses, and publick place, with the names of the churches and convents, and the streets that answer them, they being the principal buildings of a christian commonwealth; by which it may be known how other towns and cities in those parts are contriv'd, for they most of them follow this plot or model. And because some judgment may be made of the buildings, I have likewise given the city in perspective, as it looks to those who come from the *Peru* side, and enter by the great street call'd the *Cannada*; though the cupola of the jesuits, and the tower of the convent of *St. Francis*, with other high buildings, are discern'd many leagues off.

OVALLE.

1646.



C H A P. IX.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia pursues his Conquest. The Gold Mines are begun to be wrought. He sends Proofs of their Richness to Peru; from whence the General Juan Baptiste Pastene brings him the first Succours.

THE governor *Pedro de Valdivia* having founded the city of *St. Jago*, began to think of fortifying himself in that post, to defend himself against the fury of the *Indians*, with whom he was every day engag'd; and many men were lost on both sides, so that his men began to be uneasy, and talk of going back to *Peru*, as *Almagro* had done: for though they saw the richness of the country, yet it appear'd to them dearly bought, since they could not get any of it without running great hazards by the many engagements that they had with the enemy; so that they gave their lives for gone. The governor *Pedro de Valdivia* was not ignorant of the difficulty of his enterprize; but yet encourag'd by the hopes of success at last, he resolv'd rather to die than give it over; and being an experienced soldier, bred in the wars of *Europe*, he resolv'd to raise a fort for the defence of his men, being convinc'd of the bravery of the enemy he had to do with; and though he was inform'd of a general rising, which the *Indians* design'd, he sent seventy men to make an incursion towards the river of *Cachapoal*. The *Indians* taking the opportunity of the absence of these men, attack'd the fort, and had gain'd it if the *Spaniards* had not shewed incredible valour in the defence of it till the other men return'd; and by their assistance they repulsed the *Indians*, and remain'd conquerors.

The governor made good use of this advantage, both with the *Indians* and his own men; so that having quieted them, he began to work upon the mines of *Quillota*, which were of great fame: they prov'd so rich, and yielded such a quantity of gold, that he thought it advisable to make a fort there for the security of his men; but finding want of hands, by the losses he had had, he resolv'd to send to *Peru* for relief. This he put in execution, giving at the same time an account of the richness and fruitfulness of the country, to incite people; and because ocular testimony persuades more than what we only hear of, he trusted six men, whom he sent along with thirty others, to have a great deal of gold with them, causing besides the stirrups of their horses, and all that is employed of iron work about the bridles and saddles, to be made of massy gold, making the stirrups very great and large on purpose. But all this design was disappointed; for these men, who were

A demonstrative proof of the riches of Chile intended.

The design miscarries.

thus gilded like suns, were, when they came to the valley of *Copiapo*, fallen upon by the *Indians*, and all perish'd but two, who were *Pedro de Miranda*, and *Monroy*, officers, who got away by the help of their horses; but being pursued by the *Indians* through mountainous ways, and their horses tiring, they were taken by an *Indian* captain, call'd *Cateo*, who had a company of archers: they tied their hands behind them, and carried them to their cacique, who design'd to put them to death.

This cacique was married to the heirs of all this valley, (for their inheritances follow the women, for greater security of the right line,) and when these two were expecting nothing but the blow of death, it pleas'd God to inspire the cacica, or cacique's lady, with compassion; and so she went herself, and with her own hands untied theirs, commanding their wounds to be dress'd, and treating them with some of their drinks, which she herself presented to them, having drunk first herself, according to their custom, and bid them take courage, for they should not die. They seeing themselves brought, as it were, from death to life, threw themselves at her feet, and dedicated themselves to her as voluntary slaves, since by her favour they enjoyed a life which they gave for lost.

A wonderful preservation.

The captain, who had taken them, seeing his princefs and sovereign shew them so much favour, came to them, and bid them be confident of their lives, for that their lady having commanded they should not be killed, there was not any one bold enough to look awry upon them: they were kept six months in this captivity; and though it was so gentle, by the kind usage they met with, yet the natural desire of liberty, and the hopes of returning to their friends, still worked with them.

Let no man think himself secure that has his enemy within his own doors, nor let him trust his prisoner, though yielded up to his discretion; for let him be us'd as well as can be, yet there is no happiness like being his own man, and enjoying his liberty. This thought continually took up the minds of these two captains, so they laid a plot how to make their escape. They had observ'd in the cacique a curiosity for horses, which were a creature so new in those *Indian* countries; they persuaded him to learn to ride, and manage a horse.

He

An ungrateful return.

He liked the proposal, and began to exercise himself in this genteel amusement, carrying with him nevertheless always his guard of archers, with an *Indian* before with a lance upon his shoulder, and another behind, with a naked sword in his hand, more out of grandeur than distrust; for he had no suspicion of their plot, which was, to take an opportunity when he rid out to fall upon him, and kill him, as they did; for captain *Monroy*, with an extraordinary intrepidity, without reflecting on the guard that attended him, attacked the *Cacique*, and captain *Miranda* the rest, with so much suddenness, that they made themselves masters of the lance and sword; and bestirring themselves courageously, they wounded and dismounted the *Cacique*; so that he died of his wounds in some months. Having gained their horses, they saved themselves upon them; and not being pursued in that disorder, they overcame all the difficulties of those solitudes, and arrived at *Peru* safe; where at that time they found the government in the hands of the *Licenciado Vaca de Castro*.

These two captains were gentlemen of great families; and to this day the *Mirandas* in *Chile* are of the flower of the nobility of that kingdom. As for the *Monroys*, they are so known in *Castile*, particularly about *Salamanca*, that it is needless to say more of them. They were very well received by his excellency, for the good news they brought of that discovery and conquest, of the pleasantness of the country, and richness of its mines; and upon this relation, as *Antonio de Herrera*, and other authors say, it was resolved to further this conquest, which seemed to be of such high importance, and to chuse out some fit person, and accompany him with soldiers, arms, ammunition, and cloathing for the soldiers, who were almost naked.

Pastene sent with the first

He chose for this employment captain *John Baptiste Pastene*, a gentleman of the most antient and illustrious house of *Pastenes* in *Genoa*; which family is at present extinct in that republick, and remains only in its records, where many of that name are in the books of the nobility, and among the greatest dignities of the state. This gentleman engaged in the conquest of the

new world by the same desire of glory which *Ovalle* moved others, and to mend his fortune. He happening then to be in *Peru*, the viceroy took hold of the occasion to employ him for the king's service; which this gentleman accepted, and performed, going for *Chile*, where he arrived with the succours which that kingdom stood in so great need of.

OVALLE. 1646.

This relief was received with great joy, as being in the beginning of the enterprize, and extremely wanted, the soldiers being much fatigued and weakened with the continual assaults of their enemies, without any other defence than their fort of *St. Jago*, where they had enough to do to shelter themselves from their valour and fierce attacks; but the arrival of these succours gave them new courage, and resolution to prosecute their enterprize. To undertake it with more regularity, and prevent what accidents might happen from the sea, the governor sent *Pastene* with the title of lieutenant-general in his own ship, to discover the coast as far as the *Streights of Magellan*, as he did; and it appears by the letters of their catholic majesties, *Philip II.* and his son *Philip III.* how agreeable this piece of service was to them. About this time the mines of *Quillota* being working with great profit, and *Don Gonçales de los Rios* being captain-governor of the work, the *Indians* brought him a full pot of great grains of gold, for a shew of a great deal which they said they had found in a certain place. There they had laid an ambuscade of several of their best men, to fall upon such as blinded with covetousness should go to seek this treasure. This happened accordingly, for they all run presently to the place; for there is no alarm never so warm, that rouzes better than this desire of growing rich at once did them: but they were much mistaken; for instead of gold, they met with the iron of their enemies lances, who killed them all but their captain and a *Negro*, who escaped by the swiftness of their horses: so the *Indians* remained victorious, and by the way of triumph, set fire to a frigate which the *Spaniards* had almost finished to keep up their correspondence with *Peru*.

The Spaniards drawn into an ambuscade thro' covetousness.

C H A P. X.

The City of the Serena is peopled. John Baptiste Pastene goes for more Succours to Peru, from whence he returns to Chile; and with Valdivia and other captains, goes to help the Royal Army against Pizarro.

Valdivia pursues his conquest.

HERRERA says, that with this relief which *Valdivia* received, he pursued his conquest on the people called the *Promocoes*; and that he was met by several

Indians in the valley *Quillocma*, whom he overcame courageously, though with the loss of some horses; and at that time horses were a thousand crowns a-piece. Having discovered

OVALLE. discovered large provinces, and being satisfied of the great number of inhabitants in them, he returned to *St. Jago*. 'Tis suppos'd the governor did all this in haste, since he return'd without making any fort or settlement: so it is probable he went this time only to discover, in order to form a force proportionable of an army: therefore the general *John Baptiste Pastene* being returned from discovering of the sea-coasts, he sent him back to *Peru* to endeavour to bring more succours, as he had done the first, and so form an army capable of enlarging his conquests upon such powerful enemies, as he found the natives of *Chile* to be. Judging therefore that it was not yet time to leave any thing behind him unfortified, he founded in the valley of *Coquimbo* the city generally call'd by that name, but by him call'd *La Serena*, to serve for a resting-place or scala for the people who came from *Peru* to *Chile*; for being in great want of such supplies, he did endeavour to facilitate by all means their passage, and draw as many people as possible to preserve his conquest; for acting otherwise would only be to have so much the more to lose; as indeed it happened, and shall be related in its due place.

The city of *La Serena* was the second that was founded in *Chile* in the year 1544. in a very pleasant and fruitful valley, watered by a very fine river, not of the biggest, but of clear and admirable water, with which the fields are all so plentifully refresh'd, that their product is so various, that the inhabitants want almost nothing from abroad that is necessary for human life; for they have corn, wine, flesh, all sorts of other grain, and pulse-fruits, even more than in *St. Jago*; for besides all those of *Europe*, and those of *Chile*, they have two sorts very extraordinary: The first is a sort of cucumbers, which are very sweet, and do not need paring, for the outside is a very thin skin, smooth, of a delicate colour between white and yellow, all streaked with a very fine purple; the other fruit is that which they call *Lucumas*, and is a fruit, as I remember, I have seen in *Peru*: it is a very wholesome well-tasted fruit, the stone is smooth, and of a purple colour. The oil of this place is absolutely the best in the whole kingdom, as clear and bright as one's eyes, and of a rare smell and taste: they make great quantities, so that they send a great deal abroad. They have great flocks of cattle, though not so many as about *St. Jago*, because it rains less, and so the pasturages are leaner.

But that which is most particular, and of greatest value in this country, is the great abundance of rich metals, as gold, copper, and lead; so that though they

have given over gathering of gold in all the other parts of *Chile*, because other products are of greater advantage, yet in this place they go on gathering it more or less, according as the winter is more or less rainy; for when it rains much, the mountains are dissolv'd, and the earth open'd, and so the gold is easier found. And the copper too that is melted down there, serves for all the kingdom, and *Peru* besides. The climate of this city is absolutely the most temperate of all the kingdom; because the winter, which in other parts is very sharp, particularly nearer the *pole*, is here so gentle, that it is hardly perceiv'd, it being within five or six degrees of the *tropick*, and being in the 29th degree of latitude, enjoys a moderate climate, the longest day being of fourteen hours, and is upon the 11th of *December*, as the shortest is on the 11th of *June*, and the night is of fourteen hours.

But the accidental situation of the city helps much towards the mildness of the climate: it is within two leagues of the sea, having a plain before it all covered with myrtles: it stands on a rising ground, having a prospect to the sea, which makes a beautiful bay, abounding in fish of all sorts; by which it is an excellent place to pass the lent in, fish being very cheap: but the good cheer is also as well out of *Lent*; for besides the mutton, which is excellent, and very nourishing, there is plenty of tame fowl, partridge, turkeys, and all sorts of wild fowl. This city begun to be inhabited by many noble families, the founders being men of the best quality that came to *Chile*; and their descendants have remain'd, and do maintain the lustre of their ancestors. The governor-general appoints the place of *Corregedor*, or mayor of the city; and it is one of the most profitable places that are, because of the mines which are wrought in its territory: but notwithstanding all these good qualities which we have mention'd, this city does not increase so fast as that of *St. Jago*; for this last may be compared to the clove-tree, which sucks to itself all the substance of the earth round about it, a thing which is proper enough to capital cities every where.

About this time the general *John Baptiste Pastene* arriv'd at *Peru* for a second supply of men, which *Pedro de Valdivia* desired of the viceroy, to carry on his conquest; but he found the whole country in confusion, caused by the stubborn disobedience of *Gonçalo Pizarro*, so that the government wanted relief itself, instead of being in a condition to relieve others. This was so true, that *Pastene* was forced to return to *Chile*, to bring a force from thence to join with the royal army. This resolution 'tis probable came to the knowledge of the tyrant

The city of *La Serena*, or *Coquimbo* founded in the year 1544.

Abounds in rich metals.

The advantageous situation of it.

disappointed of a second supply at *Peru*, returns to *Chile*.

Pizarro revolts.

rant *Pizarro*; for he found means to seize his ship and his person by cunning. *Pastene*, though much press'd by *Pizarro* both by promises and threats to join with him, as very well knowing how much he might assist him as his friend, or injure him as his enemy, yet persever'd in his loyalty to the king, and found means to make his escape out of the hands of the tyrant, and to recover his ship too; which having new fitted with necessaries, he returned to *Chile*, to bring from thence some of the best officers to encourage the royal army, which was preparing to engage *Pizarro*, who on his side had such a force, that he had put to death the viceroy *Blasco Nunnes Vela*. In *Chile* they were waiting for his return, and the succours he should bring with him; but when they saw him without any, they were much troubled; for they found themselves oblig'd at least to suspend all their projects upon *Chile*, to go and relieve those upon whom their own preservation depended.

Valdivia marches to Peru to assist the king's forces.

The governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, as soon as he heard what pass'd in *Peru*, resolv'd to go thither in person with some of his best officers and soldiers to join and help the king's forces. He left in *Chile* for his lieutenant captain *Francisco de Villagra*, a gentleman of great courage and good parts, that he might govern and preserve what we had already in that kingdom, it being impossible to do more, or make any further progress, till the times should alter, and he provide more forces. He got together what gold he could, and went aboard with his captains and soldiers in the same ship, un-

der the conduct of the same general *Pastene*. His arrival at *Peru* gave great courage to the king's forces, by reason of the gold and men which he brought, the valour and experience of which was so great, that in the battle they perform'd extraordinary things, being the chief cause of the victory obtain'd over *Pizarro* in the valley of *Quiraguana*. He himself was taken, and chastis'd with his guilty assistants as his folly deserved, and his disloyalty to his prince. The president of *Peru*, *Gasca*, always advis'd with the governor *Valdivia* in all his most important affairs, whom he made of his council, with six more, for the secretest affairs and of most importance, making great esteem of his prudence and experience, as well as of the valour of his companions.

OVALLE. 1646.

This victory being obtain'd, the governor return'd to *Chile*, with a good succour of men and arms, and the same officers and soldiers who accompanied him to *Peru*, with which, and other succours which came afterwards, he was in a condition to pursue his enterprize vigorously, as we shall see hereafter. But all was little enough against the resistance of the *Indians*, who not only kept them from advancing, but for six years together, that their stubborn opposition lasted, they reduc'd the *Spaniards* to great extremities of nakedness and hunger; so that they were forc'd to eat herbs and roots, and rats and mice, and such things; and if the heart and courage of the governor *Valdivia* had not been invincible, it would have been impossible to have made the conquest.

He is victorious, and returns to Chile with a supply.

CHAP. XI:

What happened in Chile during the Absence of the Governor Valdivia, and after his Return; and of the new Succours he receiv'd.

P*edro Sanchez de Hoz* was a soldier, to whom the king was pleas'd to grant a patent for the discovery and conquest of certain lands, to begin from the jurisdiction of the marquis *Francis Pizarro*; and he pretending that part of the kingdom of *Chile* was in his grant, oppos'd the governor *Valdivia*, to whom *Pizarro* by a royal commission had given the conquest and government of *Chile*; but the marquis persuaded him to desist, and go along with *Valdivia* to *Chile*, recommending his person to the governor, to use him with regard, and give him a share in the best part of his conquest. *Valdivia* did so, bestowing on him the richest lands of the *Indians*; but the ambition of commanding is always very contentious, and subject to complain till it gets the upper hand. This appear'd in *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, in the absence of the governor from *Chile*; for being vex'd that he was not left with the authority of lieutenant in his room,

he plotted to take away the life of him who had it, which was *Francisco de Villagra*, who having notice of his designs, seiz'd upon *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, and cut off his head, by which he assur'd his own; and *Valdivia* approv'd of the thing as well done, when he was inform'd of it; because he was a friend to justice, and because a competitor is never sorry to have his competitor remov'd.

About this time, the *Indians* of *Copiapo*, who had begun to imbrue their hands in the blood of the *Spaniards*, in pursuance of the revenge of their prince's death, whom the captains *Miranda* and *Monroy* had killed, as we have related in the ninth chapter, lay in wait, and surpriz'd *Juan Bon* with forty soldiers more of some companies which were coming from *Peru*, and marching through their country; these they put all to death. After their example the *Coquimbese* attack'd the soldiers and inhabitants of the city of *La Serena*, whom they kill'd without sparing

The Copiapo Indians revenge the death of their captain.

OVALLE. ring one, and set fire to the city, which they ruin'd utterly, not leaving one stone upon another.

1646.

Are over-
come by
captain
Francis
de Aguirre.

All this being understood by the governor at his return from *Peru*, he sent captain *Francis de Aguirre* with a good force, to follow them to their retiring-place, where in several rencounters, in the valley of *Copiapo*, he overcame the *Indians*: all which was as much owing to his great valour as conduct, without which the force he had would have prov'd insufficient, (as *Herrera* observes.) He did the same in the valley of *Coquimbo*, and rebuilt the city of *La Serena*, in the place and situation where it now stands. For which reason he was look'd upon as the true founder of it; and his descendants, who are of the best nobility of the kingdom, have preserv'd that prerogative, and are the chiefest in that government, or rather the masters of it; for they are so numerous and so powerful, that they yield to none in reputation, and are accordingly respected by all.

Let us now treat of that which 'tis not reasonable to forget; which is, of those captains, who in those early times entered *Chile* with succours of men to help to conquer it, since it is just their memory should live for ever in those who enjoy the fruits of their labours, and are now masters of what they gain'd with their blood and sweat, and the loss of many lives, and danger of their own, which they expos'd in so many battles and encounters they had with the enemy. I am only sorry, that I cannot speak of them all, and describe in particular their good qualities and great merits, because I am in a place where I want memoirs and informations for such a work; but I will say what I can of their noble actions, as I find them recorded in other histories; though to say truth, that which they say about *Chile* is so little, that it is almost next to nothing. I am not surpriz'd at it, for it is a place much out of the way, and its conquerors were busier with their swords than with their pens; for their enemies press'd them continually with so much vigour, that they had but little of that leisure which histories and relations require.

A recital
of those
captains
who were
instrumental
in the
conquest of
Chile.

We shall begin with the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was the first that entered the kingdom with a force, as has been related; then that which general *Pastene* brought afterwards with arms and cloaths. The succours brought by captain *Monroy* prov'd of great importance; as *Herrera* says, it was of threescore men, which in those days was as much as six hundred now: these he had hir'd in *Peru*, being much assisted by the viceroy, who, upon the relations of *Monroy* and *Miranda*, was resolv'd to encourage the enterprize.

I am not certain, whether it was before this, or after, that arriv'd the succours¹ opportunely brought by captain *Cbristoval de Escobar Villaroel*; for I do not find it mention'd in any of the historians, which I have read here; but in *Chile* the memory of it is very fresh, and will never be forgot; not only for his coming in a time when they extremely wanted supplies, but also for that circumstance of this noble captain's having brought these succours upon his own charges, (and I think they were seventy men,) and made his way by land to *Chile*, either by the wilderness of *Aracama*, or by the *Cordillera*, either of which must cost a great sum of money, for it is above five hundred leagues.

This action alone was sufficient to shew the nobleness of this gentleman, if that of his family had not been so well known as it is in *Spain*; but he continued to give proofs of his zeal for the king's service, by serving in person, and employing also his son captain *Alonso de Escobar Villaroel*, whom he had brought with him from *Spain*, that they might both give an example to their posterity, as they have; not yielding to any, but have produc'd many noble persons, both in arms and other civil employments of the government.

When I reflect upon those I have known of the descendants of this famous head and conqueror, I find, that between sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, they come up to eighty seven; and if they had not been so many, there was enough to honour this family in the seven or eight sons of the general *Luis de las Cucuas*, grandsons of this gentleman, with whom he presented himself to the royal army, all arm'd cap-a-pee, in which they serv'd many years at their own charges; for in those days the inhabitants that were gentlemen, had no other reward but their loyalty, and the glory of serving their prince. *Antonio de Herrera* makes mention of another supply, of one hundred and eighty men, conducted by captain *Francisco Villagra*, who was afterwards governor of *Chile*, and to whom that kingdom owes a great deal of its being, for the hazards he ran, and the noble actions he perform'd in its conquest, as we shall see hereafter, and may be read in the general history, to which I appeal. The nobility of his family was always notorious, and the gentlemen of his name have shewed themselves worthy of it, in the great services they have and do perform every day for the king, worthy of all sorts of acknowledgment and reward.

After this, in the time of the viceroy *Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza*, his excellency, as *Herrera* says, sent captain *Don Martin de Avendano* by land, with good suc-

cours

cours of men, and three hundred and fifty mares and horses, which were of as much importance for the war as so many men. The descendants of this gentleman are still carrying on the lustre of his family, so known in *Salamanca* and other parts. I was acquainted with two brothers of that name, who alone might preserve and increase the reputation of their family; the one was colonel *Don Antonio de Avendano*, who was colonel of the regiment of *Arauco*, who signaliz'd himself at the head of that regiment in many rencounters with the enemy, and particularly in one, where our camp was defeated, and where to preserve the reputation he had gain'd in so many noble actions and eminent dangers, he chose to die, being wounded in a great many places, and almost cut in pieces by the furious enemy. The other was *Don Francisco de Avendano*, likewise colonel, and who came to *Spain*; where his majesty, in consideration of his own and his ancestors merit, honour'd him with the habit of *St. Jago*, and the government of *Tucuman*, where he died.

I do not mention those companies out of which, as they pass'd by *Copiapo*, forty were killed, with their leader *Juan Bon*; because *Herrera*, who speaks of this, does not say who was the captain of them. Perhaps there were also other commanders, who in those six years time entered into *Chile* with men; and I should be glad to be where I might have particular information of them, to do them at least that small honour of

putting their names in print, and giving some glory to actions which, perhaps, deserv'd to be grav'd in brass. OVALLE.
1646.

I do not likewise set down here, that famous supply of men brought by the second governor of *Chile*, *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, marquis of *Cannete*, for this shall be spoke of in its proper place, after the death of the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*; and thus we shall conclude those who entered by the way of *Peru*. For though, since that time, there have been several supplies, and are every day still more, yet they have not been remarkable enough, as not having come at first, but after the settlements were made; and besides, it would carry me too far to report them all. But I shall add here those which have come from *Spain* by the way of *Buenos Ayres*, as well because they were the most numerous, some having been of five hundred or a thousand men, as having come in dangerous times, when the kingdom was ready to be lost, the enemy having, as it were, besieg'd it; and so 'tis just to preserve the memory of such famous benefactors, who have been, as it were, fathers of their country. This we shall perform at the end of this book, in a treatise by itself, where we will likewise put the pictures of all the governors of *Chile*, as well as may be, considering how long they have been dead, that their descendants may preserve the memory of men who seem to deserve eternity by their heroical actions.

C H A P. XII.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia pursues his Conquest, and peoples the City call'd the Conception, where he had like to have been destroyed in a Battle.

Valdivia pursues his conquest.

THE governor *Pedro de Valdivia* seeing himself with a good force, and the greatness of his mind persuading him that he had wherewithal to put an end to his enterprize, *Herrera* says he sent to the other side of the *Cordillera*, from *St. Jago*, captain *Francisco Aguirre* with a good number of men, with which he pass'd those terrible mountains, and founded among the *Diaguaitas* and *Juries*.

Herrera says no more; nor do I know any thing of those individual places and cities which he founded. The governor *Valdivia* on his side set out of *St. Jago* with a powerful army, and passing the furious rivers of *Maypo*, *Cachapoal*, *Tinguiritica*, *Peteroa*, *Teno*, and *Mataquito*, he conquer'd the *Promocoes*, a warlike people, who had resist'd *Almagro*, and before that had repuls'd an army of fifty thousand men, which the *Inga* sent against them when he endea-

our'd to conquer *Chile*; but the good fortune and great valour of *Valdivia* and his men overcame that which seem'd invincible, though I am persuaded that it was not without blood: but I refer myself to the general history of *Chile*, which has describ'd the particular encounters and battles on both sides.

The army pass'd the deep river of *Maule*, and the wide *Itata*, and coming to that of *Audalien*, quarter'd by the sea-side; and for the conveniency of situation, he founded there the city of the *Conception* in the year 1550. But the natives astonish'd and enrag'd at this boldness of strangers to enter thus into the heart of their country, as if it were their own, call'd a general assembly, and with a numerous and brave army presented them battle so furiously, that our people began to wish they had not engag'd themselves so far. Much blood was shed

on

OVALLE. on both sides; and our army was in great danger of being destroyed, till it pleas'd God, (who guides all things to his ends,) who was to reap the fruit of his victory over those gentiles, whom he had predestinated by the means of the gospel, which was to be preach'd to them in case the *Spaniards* were victorious, to make them so at last, and that very gloriously, the famous *Aynabillo*, chief head of the *Pencones*, remaining prisoner, after having behav'd himself with great bravery in the fight.

The situation of it.

The situation of the city of the *Concepcion* is on a plain where the sea makes a most beautiful bay, in form of a half-moon; and nature has provided a mole, by putting there a large *island*, behind which ships ride safe from the north wind. By land, towards the east, it is encompassed with some high hills, the sides of which are all planted with vines and other fruit-trees; so that which way soever one looks, the prospect terminates in beautiful plantations of trees, or rather a green semicircle, which rejoices the sight, and fortifies the city. From the north, there comes into it a small river, which comes down from the mountains, which we have already describ'd in the chapter of the rivers of *Cbile*. On the south side, another larger deeper river runs by it, and is call'd *Audalien*. Neither of these rivers do the kindness to the city which *Mapocho* does to *St. Jago*, that is, to come into the houses; but the want of this is supplied by excellent fountains of chrifalline and delicate water, which rise very near the city, and are brought into it very plentifully, and which was carried to the publick place by the general *Don Diego Gonçales Montero*, he being corrigedor of this city, and governing it with the same prudence and generosity, that he since govern'd that of *St. Jago*, in the same quality of corrigedor and lieutenant general.

Its latitude.

This city is in the latitude of thirty three degrees and five and forty minutes to the antartick pole; and for this reason, and because of the high land it stands upon, the air is so temperate, that the heats never are troublesome, nay, in the heat of summer 'tis necessary to have as many bed-cloaths as in winter, which is not at all severe, because it never snows there, though it rains extreamly. For the security of the city, there was erected a good fort for our people to retire to when press'd by the *Indians*, which often happened, and made them stand to their arms almost continually; for they, impatient of any yoke, were incessantly taken up with the thoughts and endeavours of driving them out of the country; and notwithstanding all the care that was taken, the city was lost at last, for the enemy over-powered us: but yet in length

of time it was built again, as we shall see; though still remaining a frontier to the enemy, it has not had such increase as *St. Jago*. But it gains ground, and has many rich inhabitants, who have enter'd upon a great vent of salt, flesh, and hides, which is one of the richest commodities of *Cbile*; and they have, besides, magazines of ~~flower~~, with which they furnish the army: the wines too of those parts, are generally better than those of *St. Jago*, though they are lower ceps or vines; nay, the grapes ripen as they lie along on the ground, as it is in many parts in *Europe*: they have not that abundance of almonds, oil, oranges and lemons, pulse, and dried fruit, as in other parts of *Cbile*, their summer being shorter, and the sun having less force.

The *Spanish* children born here are of a Character very sweet nature, and docile; of good wits, and take to learning very well. The men are loyal, faithful keepers of their word, friendly, and such as for their friends will venture any thing to defend them in their honour or fortunes, even with the hazard of their own, and their lives too: they are very well dispos'd to virtue, having good inclinations; and those among them, who have taken to arms, have extremely signaliz'd themselves. They are bred in great simplicity, as being far from the corruption of the court, which generally improves the malice, and raises the libertinism of young people. The bishoprick of this city is a poor one, not being worth above two or three thousand pieces of eight a year, because, though the land is rich of itself, and that in which there are most mines, yet the *Decimes* or tenths are very small, because of those continual wars which this city has maintain'd from its beginning; for we may say, it has been nurs'd with blood, and grown up in arms, not having laid them down in ninety five years, which is no small evidence of the good qualities of its inhabitants, and what it may be henceforward, when this dead weight is taken off. Another cause of the small revenue of this bishoprick, is the loss of seven cities, some of them the richest of the kingdom, which all belong'd to its diocese.

In the year 1567. there was settled a high court of chancery, which remain'd till the year 1574. and afterwards it was remov'd to *St. Jago*, where it now is: and though its jurisdiction reaches as far as this city, there is little for it to do; because the governors are generally present, to be nearer the garrisons, and countenance and assist the war, of which there is a continual necessity. The garrison is very numerous, and of choice soldiers, where every day they mount the guard, as it is practis'd in places of war. The general provides all the officers,

1567.
even

even to the colonels; but his majesty names the treasurer and muster-master-general, who is the second person after the governor: this is a post of great esteem, and no small value in this kingdom; and there

go through his hands three hundred thousand ducats of the king's money, which every year is to be distributed among the officers and soldiers, who are enroll'd in his books.

OVALLE.
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Here are three chapters, which follow, all of miracles, wrought by an image of our lady, which are omitted.

C H A P. XIII.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia prosecutes his Conquest, and founds the Cities of Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica, and raises three Forts in Arauco.

1550. THE governor Valdivia having spent the year 1550. in peopling the city of the Conception, and defending himself in his fort against the continual attacks of the enemy, and having at the same time inform'd himself more exactly of the country, and its fertility, by the means of captain Hyeronimo de Alderete, who had gone through it, and observ'd the number of its inhabitants, resolv'd to go out of the Conception, and pursue his conquest. In order to this, after having well provided his fort, and left a garrison in it, he set out in the beginning of the year 1551.

1551. He took his way with his army by the plains of Angol, crossing first the great river Biobio, and coming to that of Cauten, which for its gentleness is call'd the Ladies River, when join'd with another very pleasant one near the sea: here he found great settlements of Indians, and founded the city of Imperial. This is one of the most agreeable situations of the whole kingdom, being about three or four leagues from the sea, and thirty nine leagues from the Conception, and a hundred and nine from the city of St. Jago, in thirty nine degrees of south latitude. All the territory of this city is very fruitful, bearing corn, and all sorts of pulse and fruits, though the black grapes do not ripen so kindly as the white ones and the muscadines: the country is not all plains and valleys, nor all hills, but rather a composition of the whole; the hills are gentle and tractable, with good pasture and shelter for cattle; the ground does not want much watering, it having frequent and large dews that fertilize it. The city was situated upon a pretty stiff hill, and the confluence of two navigable rivers; but the port is not good, for the flats there are within three fathom and a half of depth. Here the governor met with fourscore thousand Indians settled, nay, some authors say, they were many more; and all agree that they were a quiet and good-natur'd people, not at all so warlike as the Araucanos.

The foundation of the city of Imperial, and its situation.

as we shall see hereafter that it was, it would by this time have been a great city; for it was already very well peopled, and must have increas'd, if the gold mines which are in its neighbourhood had been wrought.

This city, which was the fourth of this kingdom, being thus founded, the governor divided the territory, and gave the lordships to his conquerors, according to the royal privilege he had so to do, that he might engage the Spaniards to enter more heartily into his enterprize. He took for himself the lordships of Arauco and Tucapel, as far as Puren, except some manors that he gave to others, to content all. Having left a force, which seem'd sufficient in the city of Imperial, he marched as far as Valdivia. Being come to that famous river, and desiring to pass it, to conquer the land and people on the other side, the brave Indian lady, call'd Recloma, hinder'd him, offering to pass the river alone swimming, and to reduce the Indians to his obedience, as she did, and as we have already related in the ninth chapter of the first book; and there likewise is a full description of the situation of the city, and all its other qualities, which it was proper to make in that place, and so is not necessary to repeat here.

The governor having founded the city of Valdivia, erected a fort, and settled all things as he had done at the Imperial. While he stay'd there to pursue his settlement, he sent captain Hyeronimo de Alderete to discover the country as far as the Cordillera Nevada; and he having sent to the governor relations of his discoveries, as he went founded a town, which he call'd, by the excellency, Villa Rica, the appearances of the riches of that country being greater than any yet had been discover'd.

The city of Valdivia founded, and a fort erected.

The foundation and situation of Villa Rica.

Though the situation he chose seem'd at first to be the best, yet in time it was resolv'd to change it, and place it upon a great lake, at the bottom of the Cordillera, and about sixteen leagues from the Imperial, and forty from the Conception. It has not such a plenty of corn and wine as the others, but it has enough, and many other good qualities, which I omit, because it being since destroyed with other cities, already mention'd,

OVALLE. tion'd, I am likewise forced to be silent of their particular properties, and refer my self to the general history of *Chile*, which will embrace all those particulars.

These were the cities planted and peopled by the governor *Valdivia*; and though I have not, as to these last, made mention of the blood spilt in gaining them, 'tis not to be imagined but that they cost dear enough, since the contest was with such warlike nations, that it seem'd a great rashness (and would have been so without a particular protection of heaven) to undertake such enterprizes. There are not wanting those who blame the governor *Valdivia*, judging that he did not measure well his strength, but grasped more than he could hold, as he found by a sad experience at his own peril in a little time.

The authors who speak of these attempts are full of the commendation of the valour, patience, and sufferings of the *Castilians*; but all this would not have done, nor have subjected those people, nor twice that force could have prevail'd against them, if because they saw them on horseback, and killing people at a distance, they had not believed them to be *Epunamones*, by which name they called the gods they ador'd; so they imagined them to be immortal, and that they came from above with a power to send out thunderbolts like God: for having never seen either small arms, or great artillery, they thought the noise was thunder; and to this day that sort of arms is call'd *Talca*, which in their language signifies thunder; and out of the same imagination they call'd the *Spaniards Viracochas*, which is as much as to say, scum of the sea, or a people come by sea, giving to understand, that those men, if they were men, were sent from God to subject them. This made them ready at first to shew all respects to the *Spaniards*, and kept them from rebelling, and resisting so vigorously as they did afterwards, though they always made some opposition, particularly the *Araucanos*, who have ever been the eagles among the *Indians*. *Valdivia* having well observ'd this, was content at present with what he had conquered, and returning to *Arauco* by *Puren* and *Tucapel*, he caused three strong houses to be erected in the distance of eight leagues from one another, and in such places as might have an easy communication together. Having thus settled matters, he return'd to the *Conception*, and so to *St. Jago*; from whence he dispatched captain *Hieronimo de Aldarete* to *Castille*, to give the king information of the riches that were discover'd in that country, and its other good qualities; as also a relation of the settlements made there, in order to obtain a supply of people, which was

granted. The cities newly founded were in great danger of being lost; for indeed they were more than our forces could protect, and the *Indians* shewed great impatience, and fretted to see foreigners settle cities in their country, and erect forts and strong places for their security.

The governor being inform'd of this disposition of the *Indians*, set out from *St. Jago* with a supply of men which he had received from *Peru*, under the conduct of *Don Martin de Avendano*, and relieved all the garrisons: which having done, and presuming they were safe, without reflecting on the danger that threatened him, he applied all his intention to give a beginning to the working of the gold mines for a design he had.

This was to go to *Spain*, and carry with him all the gold he could get together, to shew the king the vast riches of the country, and to obtain from his majesty those titles of honour which were generally bestowed upon the conquerors and discoverers of those *Indian* kingdoms, and so bring back a good force to subdue them. For this end he did two things; the first, to send to the *Streights of Magellan*, in the year 1552. *Francisco de Ulloa*, that with two ships, which were equipp'd on purpose, he might discover all the *Streight*, and give an account of it, that so he might know how to undertake the voyage to *Spain* that way: the other thing he did, was to set people to work to find out new gold mines, which they easily did, there being so many in these parts; among which, the most famous were the mines of *Quilacoya*, four leagues from the city of the *Conception*; and others in *Angol*, to work which he employed twenty thousand *Indians*. 'Tis easy to imagine how much gold such numbers of men might get from those mines, which had never been touch'd till then: it was very great, and enough to enrich both governor and soldiers, which it did: and with the acquisition of so much treasure, they began likewise to despise their enemies; who, while they were busy in searching the bowels of the earth for gold, were employed in thinking how they should recover their lost liberty, and free themselves from the yoke of subjection, which they had never felt before.

The city of the *Conception* went on prospering, because of the great quantity of gold brought into it every day; by which means the minds of the inhabitants were elevated in proportion, and the soldiers grew wanton and insolent. The governor being tainted with the same disease of too much prosperity, neglected to take notice of these disorders; for the desire of riches increasing by riches, which they saw every day

day fill their coffers, they were less attentive to that which ought most to have drawn their attention, which was their own and the kingdom's preservation, and so made way for that blow of fortune that laid them all along.

The Araucanos resolve to revolt.

The *Araucanos* were as uneasy, and continually plotting how to compass their designs, and at last resolved to rise unanimously against the *Spaniards*, and take their revenge of them. To try how it would be taken they began to talk big, and carry themselves haughtily, more like masters of

the land than like servants; they quarrell'd with one and the other, and losing all respect drove the thing so far as to kill some *Spaniards* in these contests; and then perceiving that these things were dissembled, and that their boldness had its desired effect, they grew every day more insolent: and at last being thoroughly satisfy'd that the *Spaniards* were neither gods, nor immortal, nor of any other species than they, but subject to all human infirmities, they began to fear them no longer, but resolved to fall upon them.

OVALLE.
1646.

CHAP. XIV.

The City of Angol is peopled, and the Indians rise against the Spaniards.

The city of Angol founded.

UPON occasion of the mines that were begun to be wrought in the district of *Angol*, the governor *Pedro de Valdivia* settled a city of that name there, which was also call'd the city of the confines. Some attribute this foundation to the marquis of *Cannete*, *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, who governed after the death of *Pedro de Valdivia*: perhaps the reason of this is, that the situation of this city at first was three leagues from the place where it now stands; so it might be that *Valdivia* first settled it, and the marquis removed it to the place it is now in, and that was ground enough to make him the founder.

Its situation and description.

The present situation is in a plain, very large and disengaged, eight leagues from the *Cordillera*, and twenty from the *Concepcion*; some say sixteen, which perhaps is caus'd by the difference of its two situations. Their longest day and night are of fourteen hours and half. The land is very fertile; fruits ripen very well: there is good wine, and good store of raisins dried in the sun, figs, and other dried fruits; a vast quantity of tall cypresses, which yield a very sweet-scented wood, of which, *Herrera* says, there is made a gum-lac. The great river *Biobio* runs by it, and serves it for a wall and ditch on the south side; and on the north side another pleasant rivulet comes running from hills of a moderate height, and turns many mills for the use of the city. Those whom I have known that have been born in this city, have prov'd very gentle in their dispositions, of good wits, and noble inclinations, very friendly and real, and extremely loyal to the king, as indeed all the *Chilenians* are, looking on that as the highest *punto* of their gentility.

Character of the natives.

Now let us return to the *Araucanos*, who were busy in calling together their assemblies there, to treat how to cast off the yoke of servitude, and make themselves masters of that which was truly theirs. So it was, that the *Caciques* being possess'd with

an opinion that their forces were not inferior to the *Spaniards*, began to call them together: and they needed no incitements of pay or money; for the love of their liberty, and possessions, and posterity, was a sufficient spur to them, thinking every day a year that kept them from engaging with their enemies, and conquering them.

The *Caciques* that met were these: first, *Tucapel*, a great butcher of christians, with three thousand soldiers; *Angol*, who was very brave, with four thousand; *Cayocupil*, with three thousand men, whom he brought from the *Cordillera*, as hardy as the rocks, they came from, and made to endure any labour; *Millarpue*, an old man, of great wisdom, brought five thousand; *Paicavi* with three thousand; *Lemoleno* with six thousand; *Mareguano*, *Gualemo*, and *Leutropie*, each with three thousand; the robust *Elicuera*, held for one of the strongest men, with six thousand, and they ancient; and chief of all, *Colocolo*, with as many more. *Ongolmo* offer'd four thousand; and *Puren* six thousand; *Lincoyce*, who was of the stature of a giant, offered to bring more than any; *Peteguelen*, lord of the valley of *Arauco*, from whence the whole took their name, came with six thousand; and the famous *Caupolican*, and his two neighbours *Toome* and *Audalican*, and many others, kept themselves ready to come in with their subjects.

The caciques of Arauco revolt, and raise a numerous army.

They met, according to their custom, to eat and drink at the appointed *rendezvous*, for that never is omitted in these assemblies; and having been unanimous in the first and chief point, which was to rise, there was some difference about the choice of a general, every one desiring to have that command, as it generally happens in such elections: every one alledg'd their particular merits; the one his valour, another his experience, another his good fortune, and none seemed to want a pretence for obtaining their desire. They grew warm in this ambitious contest, and would have come to blows, if the old

OVALLE 1646. old and wise *Colocolo*, by his prudence and authority, had not quieted them, and reduc'd them to consent to choose *Caupolican*, not only as the bravest soldier, but the ablest chief. This done, they all swore obedience to him, and promis'd to obey his orders, for the better carrying on of their common design.

The *Spaniards* had, as we have already mentioned, three castles for their security, and one of them was near the post where this assembly was kept; and the *Indians*, proud and impatient, had a mind to attack it immediately; but *Caupolican*, their general, forbid it, in order to do it with more dexterity and safety. He commanded *Palta*, who perform'd the place of serjeant-general, to chuse him out fourscore soldiers of the bravest, and such as were least known to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* their friends: these he put under the conduct of two very brave men, *Cayaguano* and *Alcatipay*, and order'd them to enter the castle with their arms by this stratagem. The *Araucanos*, though in peace, were not permitted to enter the castle, except such as serv'd the *Spaniards*; and these enter'd often with their loads of grass, wood, and other necessaries for the garrison. *Caupolican* order'd these fourscore men to feign themselves to be servants of the *Spaniards*, and having hid their arms in the grass they carried, to answer nothing, but pretend they did not hear if they were ask'd any questions: they acted their parts to the life, some counterfeiting lameness, others weariness, so that they were all let in without suspicion: then they took their arms out of the grass, and fell unanimously upon the *Spaniards*, who were much astonish'd at so unforeseen a boldness: however, they gave the alarm,

An Indian stratagem.

and all coming out of their quarters, resisted them, so as to kill some of the *Indians*; the others, either out of fear of the *Spaniards*, or on purpose to draw them out of the castle in their pursuit, retir'd, on purpose to gain time till their general *Caupolican* could come up with his army; which he did with a very numerous one, and forced the *Spaniards* to retire to their fort. He besieg'd them in it, and after having kill'd many of them, those who remain'd alive were glad to leave the post, and get away, judging it better to retire to *Puren*, lest they should lose all; whereas being join'd with the garrison of *Puren*, they might better resist the enemy, though he was very powerful, and much elevated.

The news of this invasion soon reach'd the *Conception*, and the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was then there, began presently to consider how to remedy so great a mischief. Some blame him as tardy in doing of it; for to secure the treasure of the mines, where (as *Herrera* says) he had fifty thousand vassals at work to get gold for him. Before he went to succour those in *Puren*, he went out of his way, and stay'd the erecting of a fort at the mines, which took him so much time, that he came later than was requisite to their relief. But, indeed, if any thing was ill done by him, it was the making too much haste; for without staying for the relief and succours he might have receiv'd from the other cities, he set out with a force not strong enough to encounter that of *Caupolican*: his courage deceiv'd him; for being elevated with his successes, and trusting to his fortune, he run into the precipice, as we shall shew in the following chapter.

Valdivia marches against the Araucanos.

C H A P. XV.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia, and all his People, are kill'd by the Indians.

The famous Action of Lautaro is related, that being the chief Cause of this Event.

THE time of this great captain's death was now come; all things therefore seem'd to concur to that end. The present remedy that was to be applied to this mischief, to stop its progress, and the delay of those succours he expected from the other garrisons, were all combining causes; his heart misgave him at his setting out from *Tucapel*. He had sent out parties to bring him an account of the state of the enemy, but none came back: this gave him some apprehension, but being engag'd, it was necessary to go on. He had sent out scouts, as I said, and had scarce gone two leagues on his way after them, but he saw the heads of two of them hanging upon a tree: this increas'd his fear, and he consulted with

those with him, whether it would not be rash to proceed. The young men were of opinion, that it would be a lessening of their reputation to turn their backs to danger, though there came to them an *Indian* of their friends, and desir'd them not to proceed, because *Caupolican* was at *Tucapel* with twenty thousand *Indians*, and that the hazard they ran was manifest; but he followed on his way, and came within sight of the enemy: they soon engag'd, and the battle was cruel on both sides, so that for a great while no advantage could be perceiv'd, because the brave actions on both sides kept victory in suspense.

He engages them.

After a good while of this contention, the *Spaniards* began to prevail, and to cry

Viva

Viva España, or *Live Spain*; with which recovering new vigour; the *Indians* seem'd to give way, when (as *Arzilla*, in his *Araucana*, says) the famous *Lautaro*, an *Indian*, who had been bred page to the governor *Valdivia*, having more regard to the love of his native country and his liberty, than for the education he had receiv'd, and the fidelity he owed his master, went over to the *Indians*, and spoke to them in this manner: "What is this, brave *Araucanos*? do you turn your backs when your liberty is concern'd, your country, your children, your posterity? Either recover your liberty, or lose your lives; for 'tis a less misfortune to die, than to live slaves. Do you intend to stain the glory of your ancestors, acquir'd for so many ages past, in one hour? Remember you are descended from those who gain'd that renown by resisting their enemies, and not flying from them; and such as fear'd not to lose both lives and fortunes to preserve their fame: drive away all fear, generous soldiers, and either live free, or die." With these words he so inflam'd the minds of his friends, that despising death, they return'd with fury to invade those whom before they flew from. *Lautaro*, to encourage them the more, led them on, shaking his lance against the governor, his master; who, surpriz'd at his action, cried, *Traitor what dost thou do?* To which he answer'd only with a thrust or two, animating his people to do the same. This renewed the fight, and they all resolv'd, by the example and exhortations of *Lautaro*, to conquer, or die; which they perform'd with so much fury, that the concern of both sides was now at the highest, and the contention only who should venture farthest into danger. Many *Spaniards* and *Indians* fell on both sides, and *Lautaro* still encourag'd his countrymen without any relenting. *Valdivia* did the same by the *Spaniards*, and shewed himself every where, in the greatest danger, without the least apprehension, though he saw many of the bravest of his men fall by the sword. One would have thought the *Indians* had but just begun to engage, to see how like lions they fell on, and begun to find victory incline to their side, till at last there fell so many *Spaniards*, that *Valdivia* was almost left alone. In this extremity he went aside with his chaplain to confess his sins, that being the principal thing he had now to do. The *Indians* gave him but little time to make his peace with heaven; for a great troop of them fell upon him with darts and lances, killing the chaplain, and taking him prisoner, they brought him

The treachery of *Lautaro*.

His language to the *Araucanos*.

Valdivia taken prisoner.

alive to their general, for the last triumph of their victory. OVALLE. 1646.

This hitherto unconquer'd captain appear'd in the presence of the great *Caupolican*, his hands tied behind him as captive, his face all bloody, though venerable. He ask'd his life as a favour; he who a little before had it in his power to grant it his enemies. He turn'd his eyes towards his *Lautaro*, and with their language seem'd to desire him to intercede for him who had been his lord and master, and by whose means he was in this extremity. He promis'd *Caupolican*, if he might have his life, to withdraw all his forces, and leave the country free from their incumbrance. He made oath of this several times, and persuaded with so much eloquence his hearers, that *Caupolican*, who was as generous as brave, began to relent, and incline to compassion. But the greatest part said it was madness to trust to any words or promises of a captive, who is forced to humble himself; but that when he should be free, he would do that which should be most for his advantage. However, the dispute between them increas'd, and no doubt but *Lautaro* would have inclin'd to mercy; for if he fought against his master, it was not out of any hatred to his person, but out of the great kindness he had to his country, which, with the desire of liberty, prevail'd over the gratitude he owed for the good usage he had receiv'd at his hands; but nothing of this was able to appease the vulgar, though *Caupolican* inclin'd to clemency; so they forc'd him to pronounce his death, and to execute it immediately in hot blood, though they differ'd in the manner of it; for some say that they poured melted gold into his mouth, bidding him once for all content his thirst after that metal which he had so insatiably coveted: others say, that one of those *Caciques*, bearing impatiently that it should bear a question whether he should live or die, gave him a blow on the head with a club; which *Caupolican* resent'd highly, as a want of respect to him. That which I find most probable is, that according to the custom of the *Indians*, they made flutes and trumpets of the bones of his legs and thighs, and kept his head as a testimony of so remarkable a victory, and to animate their youth to undertake the like actions, as they might see by this their fathers had done. Thus I have heard it related. He is slain by the Indians. They make flutes and trumpets of his bones.

Of all the *Spanish* army, 'tis said there escaped only two *Indian* friends, who taking advantage of the obscurity of the night, hid themselves in a thicket, from whence creeping out as well as they could, they

L 1 came

1646. **OVALLE** came to the *Conception*, and brought the news of this fatal event. The city was immediately full of confusion and complaints, the women crying and bewailing the loss

of their husbands and sons, others that of their fathers and relations, and all together the common calamity of their city, in which they were all equally concern'd.

C H A P. XVI.

What happened after the Death of the Governor Pedro de Valdivia.

THE enemy having obtain'd so remarkable a victory, their general *Caupolican* commanded the retreat to be founded, and call'd a council, to consider whether, or no, it would be best to follow their blow warmly. Many were of opinion it would be most expedient to fall upon the cities immediately, before they could prepare for them; yet *Caupolican*, after having heard them all, resolv'd to do otherwise. 'Tis better, said he, to expect our enemies in our own homes, than to go to seek them at theirs, where all men fight with more valour; let them come to seek us in our mountains and bogs, where we are sure of a safe retreat: let us give our enemies a free access to us, who have our situation to befriend us; and in the mean time our horses and soldiers may refresh themselves: and if they out of fear (which I believe they will not) do forbear to seek us out, we may attack them when we will. Having spoke thus, he took *Lautaro* by the hand, and having publickly commended him, by attributing to him the victory and the liberty of his country, he, by consent of all, made him his lieutenant-general, and gave him leave to chuse out the men he would have to serve under him, to go and pitch upon a fit post to expect the *Spaniards* in. *Lautaro* was no very tall man, but well set, and strong, industrious, cautious, of good counsel, gentle, and well proportion'd, very brave, as we have seen, and shall see hereafter.

Caupolican makes Lautaro his lieutenant-general. His character.

To celebrate this victory, the *Indians* solemniz'd publick games of wrestling, running, leaping, and other proofs of their strength and dexterity: they made also great feasting with dancings, and for several days did nothing but rejoice and be merry; but still without forgetting to be upon their guard, as men that expected their enemies, whom they presum'd desirous of revenge.

Villagran marches to revenge Valdivia's death.

Francisco de Villagran was lieutenant-general to *Valdivia* when he was kill'd; who remaining chief in command, assembled all he could to go and take vengeance of the enemy for this defeat. Setting out, he came as far as *Arauco*; and being come to a high mountain in the way, he found *Lautaro* on the top of it, with ten thousand men, without having sent out any to disturb the *Spaniards* march; for he had left all the passes easy, to oblige them to come to that

place: it was not far from the sea, which wash'd the foot of the mountain on one side; the coming up on the other side was easy; all the rest was precipice; but the top was a plain fit to draw up in, and very proper for his design.

The *Spanish* general being in presence, the armies began to draw up on both sides; and not to make the *Indians* too presumptuous, he order'd three troops of horse to begin the charge, in hopes to draw the *Indians* from their post, but in vain; for though they made three attacks, yet *Lautaro* would not stir, but receiv'd them with showers of arrows, stones, and darts, which made them retire faster than they came on. Our people, who could not break this battalion, with the evident danger of falling into precipices, did what they could, but with little effect, only tiring their horses; for the enemy kept his post, not a man of them stirring out of his rank; only *Lautaro* would permit some of the bravest to go out, and defy the *Spaniards* body to body. There came forth, among the rest, a brave youth, call'd *Curio man*, who taking a long career, would throw his lance with that dexterity, that he wounded many of the *Spaniards*: he did this seven times, and at the eighth, *Villagran*, being vex'd at his importunate boldness, commanded a famous foldier, call'd *Diego Lano*, to chastise the *Indian's* insolence, which he did; and it was all this high courage and strength could perform. The *Spaniards* seeing themselves tir'd, and that all the movement of their horse signified little, and that the *Indians* were taking the passes behind them, began to use their small shot, which at first made a great slaughter among the *Indians*. *Lautaro*, to remedy this inconvenience, commanded *Leucaton*, one of his captains, to attack the *Spaniards* on the flank, and not to stop till he came up close with their musqueteers, that by this means mingling with them, they might avoid their small shot, which in that case could not be of any use to the *Spaniards*, without wounding their own men too. This he observ'd, and they ever since have practis'd the same with good success; and without this boldness, in which they always lose some men, they would be much inferior to the *Spaniards*, they having no fire-arms to use in the like manner: they shew

shew in this their invincible courage, and undisturb'd bravery, by which they make to themselves a defence of their own enemies; for being once mingled with them, they cannot offend them, without destroying at the same time their own people.

The fight on both sides was bravely maintain'd, *Lautaro* relieving and encouraging his men, as *Villagran* did his, both of them doing the parts both of general and soldier, and exposing themselves to the greatest danger. He that signaliz'd his valour most on our side, was the famous captain *Pedro Olmos de Aquillera*, killing with his own hand four of the chiefs of the *Indians*. Our army was encourag'd with his valour, which he inherited from that noble family so spread in *Andaluzia*: he was seconded by the *Bernales Pantoias*, *Alvarados*, and many others, who perform'd wonders in this battle, which was long contested, very bloody, and in suspense to the last. The enemy was much superior in strength to our forces, and therefore the victory began to incline to their side; for though *Villagran* the general, and some others, would rather have chose to die there with honour, than turn their backs, yet the greatest part judging that there was no honour lost in a vigorous retreat, and that it would be rashness to persist in so desperate a case, they began to retire, fighting and defending themselves; but the enemy, elevated with this success, followed close, and having knock'd *Villagran* off his horse, they had made an end

of him, if he had not valiantly defended himself till thirteen of his men came to his relief. OVALLE:
1646.

These famous commanders did not obtain less glory in this retreat, than if they had gain'd a victory; for the enemy following them for six leagues together, being a hundred to one, and having seiz'd upon most of the passes, and the numbers still increasing, yet the *Spaniards* made a noble defence, and kill'd many of them. Those who escap'd from this engagement, came with the sad news of the ill success to the city of the *Conception*, which set all the inhabitants in an uproar, mingled with lamentations and cries, every one being in some measure concern'd in this calamity; for between *Spaniards* and friendly *Indians*, there died in this engagement two thousand five hundred. One would have thought the day of judgment had been come, to see the confusion that was in the city upon this news; one laments the death of his father, another of her husband; some cry for their sons, some for their brothers; the women wring their hands, pull off their hair, fill the air with lamentable cries; the children cling to their parents, asking for their lost fathers, which is more grievous to them than daggers. In the midst of these horrors, night came on, in which no one could shut their eyes, for the memory of their misfortunes keep the soul attentive, without any consolation. *The Spaniards beaten a second time.*

C H A P. XVII.

Lautaro sacks the City of the Conception, and Caupolican besieges the City of the Imperial, which is defended by the Queen of Heaven.

Misfortunes seldom come alone; and so it happened to this afflicted city, which, instead of receiving comfort from the approaching day, no sooner did it appear, when the noise of drums and trumpets gave a warm alarm of the enemies being at hand. Here the confusion increas'd; for now the concern was not for the loss of others, but for every one's own safety, the danger threatening them so immediately: there was nothing but disorder, no counsel nor resolution being to be found in the wisest: they could not defend themselves, because they were so over-powered in numbers by the enemy; and the retreat, though necessary, was difficult, because of the approach of the *Indians*. In this hard conflict, at last the resolution that prevail'd, was to abandon the city, without pretending to save any thing but their lives. They

leave the city then, and all the gold they had got together in such quantities. They go out in long files, the mothers helping their little children along: the way that they undertook, was to the city of *St. Fago*, a long one, in which many rivers were to be cross'd, and hard passes to be gone thorough: this labour was accompanied with the perpetual fright of the enemies pursuing them. Who can relate the hardships of hunger and other sufferings, through so long a tract of mountains, desarts, and uninhabited countries? How the women, the children, the old men, could bear this fatigue, we must leave to imagination to represent the true idea of these misfortunes! Let us therefore return to the *Indians*. The *Spaniards* had hardly made an end of abandoning the city, when the *Indians* enter'd into it; and not being able *They fly from the Conception.*

Lautaro enters and sacks the city.

1646. OVALLE. to execute their rage upon the inhabitants, they did it upon the houses, to which they set fire, and consum'd them to the very foundation, killing even the very animals which the *Spaniards* left behind them. Thus was lost the city most abounding in gold, and situated in the most populous part of the *Indian* country; for 'tis said there were not less than a hundred thousand *Indians*, with their families, who were all employed in gathering gold for the *Spaniards*, whom they enriched to that degree, that *Pedro de Valdivia*, if he had liv'd, would have had fifty thousand Crowns of gold a-year, and others twenty and thirty thousand.

This burning of the city being over, news was brought, that *Caupolican* had called a great assembly in *Arauco*, which made *Lautaro* return with his people to be at it. When the two generals of the *Araucanos* met, they greeted one another for the victories obtained over the *Spaniards*; and in sign of triumph, one hundred and thirty caciques, all dressed themselves in the *spanish* dress with the cloaths they took from the *Spaniards* killed in the battle. The general had *Valdivia's* cloaths, which were, as 'tis reported of green velvet, laced with gold lace, a back and breast of well tempered steel, and a helmet with a great emerald for crest. All having feated themselves in order by the general's command, he proposed to them the design of conquering back all that was gained from them by the *Spaniards*, who now were so dejected with their loss. They all agreed to his desire, every one delivering his opinion with great pride and arrogance. 'Tis said, that the old and prudent *Colocolo*, hearing them deliver their opinions with so much insolence and presumption, that it looked as if all the world was too weak to resist their valour, humbled them a little, by putting them in mind, That if they had obtained two victories, the *Spaniards* had gained many more over them, and had made them serve as slaves; therefore that they ought to behave themselves with moderation and temper, that they might expect success from their arms; and added, that it was his opinion, that they should divide their forces into three parts, and at the same time assault the city of the *Imperial*.

Pucbecalco, a famous conjuring *Cacique*,

following the same thought of humbling the intolerable haughtiness of the assembly, told them, That they might give over their presumption; for he was to acquaint them, that having consulted his oracles, they had answered him, *That though at present they were so victorious, yet at last they were to live under the Spanish yoke in perpetual slavery.* The *Cacique Tucapel* could not bear to hear this; and rising from his place, with his mace of arms gave him such a blow as took away his life. The general was highly offended at this insolence, and being resolved to chastize the author of it, the whole assembly was disturbed; and though they all endeavoured to lay hold on the murderer, yet he defended himself so well with his mace of arms, that it was not easy to seize him: but *Lautaro*, who had great power with the general, made up the whole business; and the result of the council being to besiege the city of the *Imperial*, they immediately put it in execution.

Their army took its posts three leagues *Caupolican* from the *Imperial*; which city, though it ^{designs to} had a good garrison of brave men, was not ^{besiege the} nevertheless prepared nor provided for ^{Imperial,} a ^{but is mi-} siege with ammunition and victuals, because ^{prevented.} *raculously* the enemies would have taken it, if any had been sent to it; but the queen of heaven delivered them from this great danger. The enemies drawing near the city, there arose on a sudden a mighty storm of hail and rain, with black clouds; and their *Epunamon* appeared to them in form of a terrible dragon, casting out fire at his mouth, and his tail curled up, bidding them make haste, for the city was theirs, being unprovided; and that they should enter it, and put to the sword all the christians; and so disappeared. But as they were pursuing their design, animated by this oracle, on a sudden the heavens cleared up, and a very beautiful woman appeared upon a bright cloud, and shewing them a charming, but majestic and severe countenance, took from them the pride and haughtiness inspired into them by their first vision, commanding them to return to their own homes, for god was resolved to favour the christians; and they obey'd immediately. To which the author who reports this story adds, That the whole camp saw the apparition, which was on the 23d of *April*, and that all agree in this.

C H A P. XVIII.

The City of the Conception is rebuilt ; and Lautaro having taken it a second Time, marches to take the City of St. Jago, where he dies.

The Conception rebuilt.

THE Spaniards being in safety, began to think of returning to the *Conception*, and rebuilding of it. To this end they raised men at *St. Jago*, and with great difficulty compassed their intention, making a good fortress within the city for their better security. The *Indians* of the neighbourhood, though they were in their hearts as averse as any others to be commanded by strangers, and to let them build cities in their territories, disssembled nevertheless at present, but in due time gave advice to *Arauco*, desiring help to drive out these newcomers, or make an end of them at once.

Lautaro takes it a second time.

Lautaro came to them presently with a good army ; and some companies of *Spaniards*, which went out to encounter him, were forced to retire to the fort they made, in which they defended themselves as long as they were able to withstand the force of *Lautaro* ; but at last being overpowered, they were forced to retire a second time to the city of *St. Jago*. Many *Spaniards* were lost, and *Lautaro* followed the pursuit, in which many brave actions were performed on both sides : among the rest, a famous *Indian* captain, called *Rengo*, following three *Spanish* captains, who were retiring, called them cowards, and said a hundred insolent things to them, which moved one of them to attack him at the passage of a river ; but he secured himself by choosing a strong post ; so the *Spaniards* went on to *St. Jago*, and *Lautaro* retreated to *Arauco*, where great rejoicings were made for this new victory.

Lautaro marches to besiege St. Jago.

The *Indians* renewed their meetings ; and being much elevated with their success, they came to a resolution of not troubling themselves with the lesser cities, which they reckoned as their own ; but to attack the capital of *St. Jago*. *Lautaro* offered to undertake this enterprize ; and choosing the most warlike among them, he marched with a powerful army. He passed the rivers *Biabio*, *Itata*, *Maule*, and *Mataquito* ; near this last he raised a fort to secure his retreat, if need were, he being engaged far from his own territories.

When the news of this resolution came to *St. Jago*, many looked upon it as a fable, not being capable of imagining, that the *Indians* had boldness enough to march so far to attack them ; but those who were

come back from the city of the *Conception* undeceived them, as knowing by experience *Lautaro's* courage ; they therefore fortified the place, and provided it : they also sent out parties to engage the enemies, if the occasion offered ; but *Lautaro* forced them to return in haste to carry the news, and yet some remained behind too.

The Spaniards march to meet him.

Francisco de Villagran, the lieutenant-general was sick at this time ; and so sent his cousin *Pedro de Villagran*, with all the force he could make, to meet *Lautaro* ; they lodged within half an hour from the fort which the *Indians* had raised upon the *Rio Claro* ; the next day they entered the fort without any resistance ; for *Lautaro* had cunningly ordered his men to seem to fly, that he might catch the *Spaniards* in the fort ; and so, when he saw his time, he gave the signal, and his men fell on the *Spaniards* like lions, who had enough to do to make their retreat, and escape from their hands. The *Indians* followed them for a league, doing them much mischief, though they defended themselves with great valour. *Lautaro* feigned a second time to fly ; and our people being reinforced, engaged him afresh. They attacked his fort, and gave three assaults to it ; where they were received with showers of arrows, darts, and stones, and at last forced to retire to a valley ; whence they design'd to return, and try their fortune again : but *Lautaro* saved them the trouble ; for resolving to make an end of them all at once, and in order to it feigning that he wanted provisions, he sent to our camp to demand some. His project was to let in a river upon the *Spaniard's* camp, which he could do conveniently, because it was already in dams and canals ; and so having made a marsh of the ground where they lodged, so as they should not be able to stir, seize all the passes behind them. But *Villagran* having discovered this stratagem, raised his camp, and retired to *St. Jago*, to the great disappointment of the enemy.

Yet this did not make *Lautaro* give over his design ; for considering that he could not attack *St. Jago*, which was well provided with men and ammunition, except he had a greater strength, he raised a fort in a valley to cover himself, while his succours should arrive, and enable him to attack *St. Jago*. Those of the city were making,

OVALLE with great care, preparations for their defence; and had sent for succours to all the other cities. Their general *Villagran* had sent out upon this design; and making as if he was going to *Arauco*, had on a sudden marched to the *Imperial*, from whence he brought many good men away with him; and while *Lautaro* was raising his fort, *Villagran*, guided by an *Indian*, came swiftly and silently upon *Lautaro*, and attacked his fort. In the first assault that was given, *Lautaro* himself fell, wounded by an arrow, which struck him in the heart: thus ended that valiant captain of the *Araucanos*. His soldiers were not at all discouraged with

Lautaro
killed by an
arrow.

this misfortune of their general; but rather enraged with such a loss, and a desire to revenge his death, they fell like lions upon the *Spaniards*, taking no quarter at their hands. There were on both sides great actions performed; but the resolution of the *Indians* was the noblest in the world, preferring their glory to their lives, which they husbanded so little, that though they were broke, and but few left in a fighting condition, yet they ran upon the *Spaniards* lances, and with their hands pulled them into their bodies, to come close to their enemy, and revenge their death with his, or at least die in the attempt.

C H A P. XIX.

Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza comes to the Government of Chile; what happened at his Arrival, and in the Engagement he had with the Araucanos.

AFTER the death of *Pedro de Valdivia*, there was application made from *Chile* to the viceroy of *Peru*, who is to provide a governor till the king can send one, that is, both president and governor independent of *Peru*. The viceroy at this time was *Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza*, marquis of *Canete*, who governed with great zeal, and a prudent severity, making exemplary punishments where they were necessary, by which he secured the country. He had then with him his son *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, who afterwards succeeded him in his viceroyship, with as much applause and esteem of the world. The ambassadors from *Chile* desired him of his excellency the father for their governor, which he granted. King *Philip* the second had appointed the *Adelantado Hyeronimo de Alderete*, to succeed the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, whose death was known at court; but the news came likewise that *Alderete* was dead in the island of *Taboga* near *Panama*. The viceroy's son having raised a good body of horse, sent some of them by land with the horses, and he embarked with the rest; and after a hard storm, in which they had like to have been all lost, he arrived in the bay of the city of the *Conception*, and landed upon the island of *Quiriquina*, to inform himself from thence of the state of the country. The people of the island, who were fierce and warlike, took arms when they saw the ships draw near the harbour, and pretended to hinder the *Spaniards* from landing; but having no fire-arms, as soon as the cannon of the ships began to fire, they gave way. As soon as the governor landed he published the design of his coming, that the *Indians* might know it; which was, to

Don Garcia, the new
governor of
Chile, lands
at *Quiri-*
quina.

save their souls by the predication of the gospel, and reconcile them to god by the means of baptism; and to confer that sacrament, he had with him religious men of the famous orders of *St. Francis* and the *Mercede*: that if they would submit to that, he would treat with them in the name of the emperor *Charles V*. This declaration reached the ears of the *Araucanos*; and there assembled at *Arauco* sixteen caciques, and many other captains, to treat about what was best for them to do in this case; and though many youthful and arrogant speeches were made, according to their usual haughtiness, which made them despise all good counsel and peace, yet the old and prudent *Colocolo* restrained their pride with prudent reasons, and persuaded them to treat with the *Spaniards*, since they were by them invited to do it. *It cannot hurt us*, said he, *to hear them: we shall have our forces as strong still to maintain our right, if they demand unjust things.* This opinion was followed by the most prudent among them; and they sent for their ambassador the *Cacique Milalan*, a man of great rhetoric and eloquence among them, giving him order to treat with the *Spaniards*, and observe well their strength; and that he should shew inclinations to peace, to draw them to land on the continent, and forsake the island, hoping that the desire of gold would tempt them to go further into the country. *Milalan* came to the governor's tent; and making a small but civil bow, saluted him, and the other *Spaniards* that were with him; then with chearful countenance he delivered his message. He said, *That his countrymen admitted the terms of peace that were proposed, and should observe those of friendship; not out*

The *Indians*
send an am-
bassador to
treat with
him.

of

of any terror or apprehension caused in them by the arrival of these new forces; for no power was great enough to terrify them, having sufficiently experienced their strength in the success they had hitherto had; but that which mov'd them was the compassion they had for so many innocent people, so many women and children, who, upon occasion of this war, remain'd widows and orphans: that upon fair terms they would own the king of Spain, upon condition that he did not concern himself any ways with their liberty or rights; that if they had any thought of acting by violence, and making them slaves, they would sooner eat their own children, and kill themselves, than suffer it.

The governor answered him with all assurance of a good treatment as they expected; and having made him some presents, dispatch'd him back to give an account of his embassy: but this was not sufficient security for either side; so they remain'd upon their guard. The Indians observing the caution of the Spaniards, to give them more security, feign'd to dismiss their forces, but secretly gave them orders to stand upon their guard, and not lay down their arms, but be ready upon any occasion that might happen: yet the Spaniards for all this did not think fit to land upon the continent, but stay'd two months upon the island where they first landed, till the winter was entirely over. About the spring, they set on shore about one hundred and thirty men of the bravest among them, to raise a fort, as they did, upon the top of a hill which overlooks the city of *Penco*, (otherwise call'd the city of the *Conception*.) Under the protection of this fortress, the rest of the Spaniards went out of the island, hoping, that in a little time, their horses, which were coming by land, would arrive, having some news of them: in the mean time, they cut wood and fascines to fortify their camp, the governor and the commanders shewing an example to the rest in the labour of retrenching themselves, and cutting of wood, as if they had never done any thing else all their life-time. They brought it to perfection in a little time, and planted upon it eight field-pieces, with all other necessary provisions for their defence.

He lands on the continent, and raises a fort.

The Indians attack it.

The *Araucanos*, who were watching all their motions, no sooner saw them busy in their fort, but, without expecting any further proof of their intentions, which they took to be for war, call'd immediately an assembly, and with all their strength came like lions, with a resolution to demolish the new fort. They took up their post at *Talcaguano*, about two miles from the Spaniards fort, and about break of day they gave an

alarm, and having first challeng'd out many Spaniards to single combat, they at last fell on in a body, with no more fear of the cannon-bullets than if they had been of cotton or wooll, knowing, that though they receiv'd at first some damage, it could last no longer than till the battalions were engag'd. With this resolution they fell on like lions, and some of them got over the fortifications; amongst whom was *Tucapel*, who did wonderful actions. Neither were the Spaniards unprepar'd for them, doing extraordinary things, which it were too long to describe in particular, though the actions were such as very well deserve it.

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The Spaniards who were in the island and aboard the ships, hearing of the danger of their companions, came to their assistance, and by the help of God, who aided them, join'd their friends; and then thus united they began to prevail over the *Araucanos*; who, finding themselves inferior, and having lost many of their bravest men, began to retreat all but *Tucapel*, who having stay'd last, and being sorely wounded, yet made his escape from the Spaniards, whom he left full of admiration of his valour and resolution.

And are beaten off.

About this time the horses which came from *St. Jago* arriv'd, and with them a troop of good horsemen from the *Imperial*. The enemies muster'd all their forces, and the Spaniards went to seek them out in the valley of *Arauco*, where they had another very bloody engagement: the *Araucanos* fled, or rather retir'd; and the Spaniards having taken one prisoner call'd *Gualbarino*, they, in order to terrify the rest, cut off both his hands; but the *Araucanos* were so far from being terrified by it, that this enraged them the more; for *Gualbarino* himself being return'd to his countrymen, went up and down, begging them to revenge the injury done to him, which they all looked upon as their own. *Caupolican* their general sent to challenge the governor *Don Garcia* with all his strength, telling him, that he would stay for him in his camp, which he moved near the Spanish camp, which was at *Millarapue*. He came over night; and the next day presented him battle; which was as well disputed as the rest, both sides fighting with extreme valour. The Indians pressed the Spaniards so hard, that victory had declared for them, had not a Spanish battalion, in which alone remain'd all the Spaniards hopes, charg'd so desperately among the Indians, that they were forced to retire, and leave the field to the Spaniards; but their retreat was with great honour and reputation. 'Tis related, that in this engagement some of the neighbouring

The new governor reinforced.

He gives Caupolican battle, and beats him.

1646. *OVALLE*. *bouring Indians* were made prisoners; and that though they were put to a most exquisite torture; to force them to reveal something that the *Spaniards* wanted to know, yet they remain'd constant and true to their country, as if they had been insensible of pain. The *Spaniards* had here a considerable advantage; for, besides many dead enemies whom they left upon the spot, they took twelve prisoners of the chief among the *Indians*, whom they hang'd upon so many trees for an example to the rest; and among them that same *Gualbarino*; who not only shewed in dying an intrepid mind, but encouraged the others: and amongst the rest, a *Cacique*, who began to fear and beg his life; to whom *Gualbarino* spoke before all with so much haughtiness, taxing his base cowardice as if he had been the conqueror, and not the conquered, which struck the *Spaniards* with such admiration; that they were beside themselves.

He raises another fort.

From this place our camp marched to the valley where *Valdivia* was lost. Here the *Spaniards* raised a good fort; from whence they made their excursions upon the enemy, endeavouring to advance their conquests, but not without danger of being

often cut off; particularly the hazard they ran at a narrow pass, caus'd by the mountains on the way to *Puren*, where they were attack'd by the *Indians*, and very hard set by them, whom they might have destroy'd if they had not fallen to plunder the baggage: for a company of *Spaniards* observing this miscarriage, seiz'd on a spot on the top of an hill, from whence with their small shot they so gall'd the *Indians* below, that they fled in confusion to avoid such a tempest, leaving the *Spaniards* masters of the field, but much weakened: having been sorely handled in this rencounter, they retir'd to their camp, where they were receiv'd with great demonstration of joy. After this, leaving a good garrison in the fort, well provided for two months, the governor went to visit the other cities, to strengthen them, and provide them with necessaries against all attacks, which they had reason to fear; for *Caupolican*, enraged that in three months he had lost three victories, had call'd a general assembly; where it was resolv'd never to give over, but either die or conquer, that they might drive out the *Spaniards*, and restore their country to its liberty.

And again beats the Indians.

CHAP. XX.

More Events of War: The Death and Conversion of Caupolican.

CAUPLICAN followed his designs; but fortune seem'd to be weary of assisting him; for in most rencounters he came off either worsted, or entirely defeated, and the victory snatch'd out of his hands when he thought himself sure of it: this made his people begin to grow weary of his command; and the vulgar began to censure his conduct as too remiss, and that the desire of preserving his power, and being general, made him neglect opportunities of putting an end to the war.

Caupolican being inform'd of these suspicions of his own people, call'd a new assembly, in which he propos'd methods of carrying on the war, so as they might obtain an entire liberty. This was unanimously agreed to, with a firm resolution of not giving it over till they either conquer'd or died. This resolution coming to the knowledge of the governor *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, who was gone, as we have seen, to the city of the *Imperial*, to fortify it, he dispatch'd to the fort advice of what pass'd, and sent them a competent relief.

Amongst other designs pitch'd upon by *Caupolican*, the first was to surprize the *Spaniards* in their fortrefs by a stratagem

before they were aware of him, and so master the place. The other captains of repute, *Rengo*, *Orompello*, and *Tucapel*, who were used to lead always the vanguard, did not approve of his project; and so let him go by himself with his own forces, they scorning, as they said, to obtain a victory by fraud or surprize. *Caupolican* set out then by himself; and being come within three leagues of the *spanish* fortrefs, he sent out his spies to observe their disposition, and how they might be easiest circumvented. He chose out for this purpose one of his best captains, whose name was *Pran*, a cunning sagacious man, and prudent, with a great deal of ready wit. This captain disguis'd himself; and putting on the habit of an ordinary *Indian*, he went alone, and without arms, as a private person, to the fortrefs of the *Spaniards*. He entered the fort without suspicion, or being known by the other friendly *Indians*, with whom he soon grew acquainted; and walking up and down, he observed our camp and forces, and took particular notice of the time of day that our men us'd to be least upon their guard, which was generally at noon, when they went to sleep, to repair their strength

strength, which was wasted by their night-watches.

Pran, an Indian spy, forms a design against the Spaniards.

There was in the *Spanish* fort, a young *Indian*, (not like *Lautaro*, in whom the love of his country prevail'd over his duty to his master,) but of another temper; his name was *Andres*, servant to a *Spanish* gentleman, and very much inclin'd to all the *Spanish* nation. *Pran* had made a great friendship with this young man; and one day, as they were going together in the fields to seek out some provision, as they us'd to do, talking from one thing to another, *Pran* discover'd himself entirely to his friend *Andres*; persuading him to help on the design he came about, since upon its success the liberty of the whole nation depended. *Andres*, who was not less sagacious and prudent than *Pran*, promis'd him all he could desire; but dissembled all the while. This being settled, they agreed, that each of them should return home to his camp, and that the next day *Andres* should come to a certain post they agreed on, and there *Pran* should meet him, and carry him to *Caupolican's* quarters, where he might settle all matters with him. *Pran* went back to the *Indians* camp, overjoyed that he had succeeded so well, as he thought: he gave a particular account of all the business to *Caupolican*, while *Andres* did the same to captain *Reynoso*, who commanded in the *Spanish* fort. If God Almighty had not by this way deliver'd the *Spaniards* out of this eminent danger, they must have perish'd; for naturally *Andres* ought to have been of the side of his own countrymen.

But it turns to the ruin of the Indians.

According to what had been agreed between them, *Andres* came the next day to the assignation, where he met his friend *Pran*; and they went together to *Caupolican*, who receiv'd him with all demonstrations of joy and confidence, shewing him his camp, and all his army; the result was, that he should assault the *Spaniards* the next day about noon. *Andres* went back to the *Spaniards*, to inform them of all that pass'd, and by that captain *Reynoso* knew how to dispose every thing to receive the attack. *Caupolican* came at the time appointed with all his *Indians*, the greatest part of which were suffer'd to enter, the *Spaniards* making as if they were asleep; but on a sudden, upon a sign given, they rose up like lions, and making a furious discharge on those enter'd, the horse fallied to engage those who had remain'd without, of whom they made a great slaughter. The surprize of the *Indians* was so great, that few of them could make their escape; but *Caupolican*, with ten more, sav'd himself by by-paths, though he was hotly pursued; the *Indians* that were

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overtaken, still denying they knew any thing of him, and neither threats nor gifts could oblige them to reveal what they might know more.

OVALLE. 1646.

But it being very hard there should not be one traytor among many loyal men, the *Spaniards* lite at last upon one of his soldiers, who was discontented that he had not been advanc'd according to his pretensions, who betrayed to them where he was: this man guided them by a secret path to a place where they could not be discover'd, and from thence shewed them a very thick wood, about nine miles from *Ongolmo*, where in a thicket by a river side, over a precipice, this brave man had hid himself till he could get a new army, and rally his men.

Caupolican can be trayed by one of his own men.

The *Spaniards* came upon him on a sudden, and surpriz'd him with the few that were with him; and though he did all that was in his power to defend himself, yet they master'd him. His wife seeing him a prisoner, and his hands tied behind him, call'd him coward, and us'd all the opprobrious language to him that was possible.

He is taken by the Spaniards.

Caupolican was deservedly among the *Indians* the most valued of their generals; and accordingly, in an assembly of sixteen *Caciques*, all sovereign lords, who met to raise an army against the *Spaniards*, he had the chief command given him. This was the man who, with fourscore bold fellows, surpriz'd the castle of *Arauco*, and overcame the *Spaniards* in a bloody encounter without the city walls: this was he who durst expect the general *Valdivia* in open field, and routed him and his whole army, so as there was not one *Spaniard* left alive: this was he who destroyed *Puren*, and sack'd *Penco*, not leaving one stone upon another in it, the *Spaniards* having been all frighted away by the terror of his name: this, in fine, was the man who manag'd all the war with such success, by his military skill and valour, that his authority was every where respected. This great man was now, by the means of a traitor, deliver'd up to his most cruel enemies. In this calamity he shewed no baseness; for though he begged his life, it was in a grave way, promising in return to cause all the country to submit to the king of *Spain*, and to give way to introduce the christian religion.

His character.

“ Consider, said he, to captain *Reynoso*,
 “ that what I promise, I am able to perform, by the great veneration that all my people have for me; and if thou dost not accept of this proffer, thou wilt do nothing; since for one head taken away, there will rise up a hundred *Caupolicans* to revenge my death, that the true one

His speech.

N n

“ will

OVALLE. " will not be miss'd. I desire not to be
 1646. " fet at liberty, but to remain thy priso-
 " ner till I perform my promise."

All these reasons were of no use to *Cau-*
polican, for he was publickly sentenced to
 be empaled alive, and shot to death with
 arrows, for a terror to the rest of the *In-*
dians; though as time has since shewed,
 this had no other effect, than to light the
 fire of war more and more, and make the

He is sen-
 tenced,

wound almost incurable. He heard this
 hard sentence without any alteration in his
 countenance; but he desir'd with great con-
 cern to be baptiz'd. The priests are sent *Baptiz'd,*
 for, and after a short instruction he receives
 the holy ablution, and the character of a
 christian. After this the sentence was exe-
 cuted upon him, which he endur'd with *And exe-*
 great constancy. *cuted.*

The Conclusion:

THOUGH father *Ovalle* has conti-
 nued in the remainder of his treatise
 to give an account of the various events of
 the war with the *Araucanos*, in which nar-
 rative he runs through the commands and
 actions of all the governors of *Chile*, to the
 peace made with that nation; yet it being
 by him more a piece of courtship to his
 nation, and to those families, than an in-
 formation instructive to a foreign reader, it
 has been thought proper to take the death

of that great general *Caupolican* for the first
 natural period of that war. In the course
 of the remaining narrative, there are so ma-
 ny superstitious notions inculcated, so ma-
 ny improbable miracles given for the founda-
 tion of great enterprizes, and such a
 monkish spirit runs through the work, that
 here in *England* it would rather prejudice
 than recommend the impression, and is
 therefore omitted.

Sir William Monson's

Naval T R A C T S.

In Six BOOKS.

CONTAINING,

- I. *A Yearly Account of the English and Spanish Fleets during the War in Queen Elizabeth's Time ; with Remarks on the Actions on both Sides.*
 - II. *Actions of the English under King James I. and Discourses upon that Subject.*
 - III. *The Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and of all the Ministers and Officers under him ; with other Particulars to that Purpose.*
 - IV. *Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portuguese ; and several other remarkable Passages and Observations.*
 - V. *Divers Projects and Stratagems tender'd for the Good of the Kingdom.*
 - VI. *Treats of Fishing to be set up on the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all his Majesty's three Kingdoms ; with many other Things concerning Fish, Fishing, and Matters of that Nature.*
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The Whole from the Original Manuscript.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

HAVING had the perusal of these naval traëts of Sir William Monson, as well to compare two copies together, and supply the defects of the one out of the other, as to correct what might be found in them amiss, either through the negligence of transcribers, or the author's want of time to revise his work, yet without presuming to alter Sir William's sense or design in the least, but only to make the whole fit for the press, I thought it necessary to give the reader some little information concerning the work before he enters upon it, but with that brevity which I have always affected, when any thing has appear'd abroad under my own name, and which I am much more inclin'd to, being to speak of what must give praise or dispraise to another, and not to me, who am no way concern'd in it.

Some nice persons will, perhaps, at the first reading of this work, find fault with the language, and wonder that Sir William, who was a gentleman by birth, and so great a man as an admiral, should answer their expectation so little in that particular. I cannot, I must confess, vindicate the language; but it was not my province to alter it: and as for the author, it must be consider'd, that though born a gentleman, he spent most of his time at sea, a very unfit school for a man to improve his language. For the same reason we may suppose he was not much a scholar, but of excellent natural parts, and a great master of the art he profess'd, as will sufficiently appear by this work, and is enough to recommend it. Besides, we must not expect that the days of queen Elizabeth could form a man to the language of our time; and though Sir William liv'd till the civil war in the reign of king Charles I. it is to be observ'd, that he was then in his declining age, when for the most part men rather mind what they say, than how they say it.

The work therefore, though perhaps not so pleasing in stile as some might desire, is correct, and clear from abundance of oversights, which, as I said before, had either crept in through the fault of transcribers, or for want of the author's due revising it. Nor was it proper to alter the stile, but to allow the author to deliver himself in his own way; for should discerning persons find Sir William Monson speak the language of this time precisely, having never before appear'd in print, they might be rather apt to believe these traëts supposititious, than his own lawful offspring.

There is another thing, which perhaps will seem unpardonable, and not without just cause, if judges be rigorous; and is, that there are some mistakes, or to speak plainly, falsehoods to be found in these traëts. What I can say to this, is, that they are most, if not all, in things then not better known; as for instance, the affairs of the East and West-Indies; concerning which, many extravagant stories were formerly told, which time and experience have disprov'd. Besides, we must not be too rash in supposing every thing false, which does not seem probable to us; for there might be many accidents or occurrences in those days, which might be really true and undoubted, though to us they seem preposterous and strange. And it is farther to be observ'd, that these errors are not in things, whereon the credit of the subject-matter depends, but only in such as fall in by-the-by, and wherein Sir William was either impos'd upon by authors then in credit, or by living persons, whose reputation might be untainted.

I will not pretend to give a character of the author, or more of his work, which every reader has as much right to judge of as myself, and perhaps is better able. What little I have said, as to those two points above, is not to apologize for the work, or to prepossess the reader, but only to prevent his being too hasty in condemning, because some men are naturally so precipitate, that they are apt to take a prejudice to a book upon the first dislike; which they may afterwards, upon second thoughts, and more mature deliberation, find both useful and delightful. Nor is there any need to give an account what the work is, as I thought once to have done, because it would be a needless repetition of the contents, in which every man may at one view see the heads of all these traëts; besides that every book has a short argument, yet sufficient to shew what it treats of.

Sir

Sir WILLIAM MONSON

T O

His ELDEST SON.

Dear Son,

THE custom of dedicating books is antient; and they have been usually dedicated either to great persons, for protection or reward; or to acquaintance, out of friendship and affection; or to children, out of natural love, and for their instruction. And to this end it is I commend the reading of the following discourse to you, that so beholding the eighteen years war by sea, which for want of years you could not then remember, and comparing them with the eighteen years of peace, in which you have lived, you may consider three things: First, That after so many pains and perils, God has lent life to your father to further your education. Secondly, What proportion his recompence and rewards have had to his services. Lastly, What just cause you have to abandon the thoughts of such dangerous and uncertain courses; and that you may follow the ensuing precepts, which I recommend to your frequent perusal.

In the first place, I will put you in mind of the small fortune I shall leave, that you may rate your expences accordingly; and yet as little as it is, 'tis great to me, in respect I attained to it by my own endeavours and dangers; and therefore no body can challenge interest in it but myself, though your carriage may claim the best title to it.

Beware you presume not so much upon it, as to grow disobedient to your parents; for what you can pretend to, is but the privilege of two years of age above your younger brother; and in such cases fathers are like judges, that can and will distinguish of offences and deserts according to truth, and will reward and punish as they shall see cause.

And because you shall know it is no rare or new thing for a man to dispose of his own, I will lay before you a precedent of your own house, that so often as you think of it, you may remember it with fear, and prevent it with care.

Your grandfather's great grandfather was a knight by title, and *John* by name, which name we desire to retain to our eldest sons: God blessed him with many earthly benefits, as wealth, children, and reputation: his eldest son was called *John*, after his father, and his second *William*, like to yourself and brother; but upon what displeasure I know

not, (though we must judge the son gave the occasion,) his father left him the least part of his fortune, yet sufficient to equal the best gentleman of his shire, and particularly the ancient house call'd after his name. His other son *William* he invested with what your uncle now enjoys. Both the sons whilst they lived carried the port and estimation of their father's children, though afterwards it fell out that the son of *John*, and nephew to *William*, became disobedient, negligent, and prodigal, and spent all his patrimony; so that in conclusion he and his son extinguished their house, and there now remains no memory of them. As for the second line and race, of whom your uncle and I descended, we live as you see, though our estates be not great, and of the two mine much the least; which notwithstanding is the greater to me, in respect I achieved it with the peril and danger of my life; and you will make my satisfaction in the enjoyment of it the greater, if it be attended with that comfort I hope to receive from you.

The next thing I will handle shall be arms. Know that wars by land or sea are always accompanied with infinite dangers and disasters, and seldom rewarded according to merit: for one soldier that lives to enjoy that preferment which becomes his right by antiquity of service, ten thousand fall by the sword and other casualties: and if you compare that of a soldier with any other calling or profession, you will find much difference both in the reward and danger.

Though arms have been esteemed in all ages, and the more as there was greater occasion to use them, yet you shall find they have been always subject to jealousies and envy; jealousies from the state, if the general or other officer grow great and popular; subject to envy from inferiors, who through their perverse and ill dispositions, malign other mens merits.

The advancement of soldiers is commonly made by counsellors at home, whose eyes cannot witness the services perform'd abroad; but a man is advanced as he is befriended, which makes the soldier's preferment as uncertain as his life is casual.

Compare the condition and advancement of soldiers of our time but with the mean and mercenary lawyer, and you shall find so great a difference, that I had rather you should

should become apprentice to the one, than make profession of the other.

A captain that will seek to get the love of his soldiers, as his greatest praise and felicity, of all other vices must detest and abandon covetousness. He must live by spending, as the miser does by sparing; inasmuch as few of them can obtain by war, wherewith to maintain themselves in peace; and where wealth is wanting preferment fails.

Soldiers that live in peaceable islands, as in *England*, are undervalued, because we see not those dangers which make them necessary, as others do where wars are practised. And the good success in our wars has been such as makes us attribute our victories, not so much to valour as to chance.

I confess the base and ill behaviour of some soldiers has made them and their profession the less esteemed; for the name of a captain, which was ever wont to be honourable, is now become a word of reproach and disdain.

Soldiers may have reputation, but little credit; reputation enough to defend their honours, but little trust in commerce of the world: and not without cause; for their security is the worse, by how much the danger of death is the greater.

Learning is as much to be preferred before war, as the trade of a merchant before that of the factor. By learning you are made sensible of the difference betwixt men and other creatures, and will be able to judge between the good and the bad, and how to walk accordingly. By learning you attain to the knowledge of heavenly mysteries, and you may frame your life accordingly, as God shall give you grace. By learning you are made capable of preferment, if it concur with virtue and discretion; and the rather, because you are a gentleman by birth, and well ally'd; which I observe, next to money in this golden age, is the second step to preferment.

For one that is preferred by arms, there are twenty by learning; and indeed the soldier is but a servant to the learned; for after his many fought battles, and as many dangers of his life, he must yield account of his actions, and be judged, corrected, and advanced, as it shall please the other.

You may wonder to hear me extol learning so high above my own profession, considering the poor fortune I shall leave was achieved by arms: it is enough therefore to persuade you what I say is not conjectural, but approved: for if I did not find this difference, the natural affection of a father to a son would make me discover it to you, that you may follow that which is most probable and profitable.

Good son, love soldiers for your coun-

try's sake, who are the defenders of it; for my sake, who have made profession of it; but shun the practice of it as you will do brawls, quarrels, and suits, which bring with them perplexities and dangers.

There are many things to be shunned, as being perillous both to body and soul; as quarrels, and the occasions of them, which happen through the enormities and abuses of our age. Esteem valour as a special virtue; but shun quarrelling as a most detestable vice. Of two evils it were better to keep company with a coward than a quarreller; the one is commonly sociable and friendly; the other dangerous in his acquaintance, and offensive to standers-by. He is never free from peril, that is conversant with a quarrelsome person, either for offence given to himself, or to others, wherein he may be engaged.

A true valiant man will have enough to do to defend his own reputation, without engaging for others; nor are all valiant that will fight; therefore discretion makes a difference betwixt valour and desperation. Nothing can happen more unfortunate to a gentleman than to have a quarrel, and yet nothing so ordinary as to give offence: it draws with it many mischiefs both to body and soul: being slain he is in danger of damnation; and no less if he kill the other, without great repentance. He shall perpetually live in danger of revenge from the friends of the party killed, and fall into the mercy of the prince and law where he lives; but if for fear and baseness he he avoid and shun a quarrel, he is more odious living than he would be unhappy in dying.

Drinking is the foundation of other vices; it is the cause of quarrels, and then murders follow. It occasions swearing, whoredom, and many other vices depend upon it.

When you behold a drunkard, imagine you see a beast in the shape of a man. It is a humour that for the time pleases the party drunk, and so bereaves him of sense, that he thinks all he does delights the beholders; but the next day he buys his shame with repentance, and perhaps gives that offence in his drunkenness, that makes him hazard both life and reputation in a quarrel. No man will brag or boast so much of the word reputation as a drunkard, when indeed there is nothing more to a man's imputation than to be drunk.

A drunkard is in the condition of an excommunicated person, whose testimony betwixt party and party is of no validity. Avoid, good son, the company of a drunkard, and occasions of drinking, then shall you live free without fear, and enjoy your own without hazard.

Whoredom is an incident to drunkenness; though, on the contrary, all whoremasters are not drunkards. It is a sin not washed away without the vengeance of God to the third and fourth generation.

Besides the offence to God, it gives a disreputation to the party and his offspring: it occasions a breach betwixt man and wife; encourages the wife very often to follow the ill example of her husband, and then ensues dislike, divorce, disinheriting of children, suits in law, and consuming of estates.

The next and worst sin I would have you shun is swearing. I do not advise you like a puritan, that ties a man more to the observing of sundays, and from taking the name of God in vain, than to all the rest of the commandments; but I wish you to avoid it for the greatness of the sin itself; for the plague of God hangs over the house of the blasphemer. Swearing is odious to the hearers: it gives little credit to the words of him that uses it: it affords no pleasure as other sins do, nor yields any profit to the party: custom begets it, and custom must make one leave it.

For your exercises, let them be of two kinds; the one of mind, the other of body: that of the mind must consist of prayer, meditation, and your book. Let your prayers be twice a day, howsoever you dispose of yourself the rest of the time: prayers work a great effect in a contrite and penitent heart.

By this I do not seek to persuade you from such exercises and delights of body as are lawful and allowable in a gentleman; for such increase health and agility of body, make a man sociable in company, and draw good acquaintance: many times they bring a man into favour with a prince, and prove an occasion of preferment in his marriage: they are often a safeguard to a man's life, as is vaulting suddenly upon a horse to escape an enemy.

I will especially commend to you such pleasures as bring delight and content without charge; for others are fitter for greater men than one of your fortune to follow.

Hawking and hunting, if they be moderately used, are, like tobacco in some cases, wholesome for the body; but in the common use both laborious and loathsome: they alike bring one inconveniency, (as commonly vices do,) that they are not so easily left as entertained.

Tobacco is hot and hurtful to young bodies and stomachs, and augments the heat of the liver, which naturally you are subject to. It is offensive to company; especially the breath of him that takes it: it dries the brain, and many become fools with the continual use of it.

Let your apparel be handsome and decent, not curious nor costly. A wife man is more esteemed in his plain cloath, than gay cloathing. It is more commendable to be able to buy a rich suit than to wear one.

A wiseman esteems more of a man's virtues and valour than of his apparel; but seeing this age is fantastical and changeable, you must fashion yourself to it, but in so mean and moderate a manner, as to be rather praised for frugality, than derided for prodigality.

He that delights in curious cloaths is an imitator of a player, who measures his apparel by the part he acts. And as players appear upon the stage to be seen of the spectators, so do the gallants expose their bravery in open assemblies.

Whilst I live, and you do not marry, I shall temper this expence; but when I die, remember what I say: seek advancement rather by your carriage than gait; the reputation you gain by that will be lasting, when this will appear but like a flower fading.

Frame your course of life to the country and not to the court; and yet make not yourself such a stranger to great persons, as in assemblies they should ask others who you are. I confess the greatest and suddenest rising is by the court; yet the court is like a hopeful and forward spring that is taken with a sharp and cold frost, which nips and blasts a whole orchard, except two or three trees; for after that proportion commonly courtiers are prefer'd: and he that will thrive at court must make his dependency upon some great person, in whose ship he must imbarck all his hopes; and how unfortunate such great persons are oftentimes themselves, and how unthankful to their followers, we want not precedents.

He that settles his service upon one of them, shall fall into the disfavour of another; for a court is like an army, ever in war, striving by stratagems to circumvent and kick up one another's heels. You are not ignorant of the aptness of this comparison by what you know of me, whose case will serve you for a prospective-glass, wherein to behold your danger afar off, the better to prevent it: yet reverence lords, because they are noble, and one more than another, as he is more notable in virtue.

Be choice of your company; for as a man makes election of them he is censured. Man lives by reputation, and that failing he becomes a monster. Let your company consist of your own rank, rather better than worse; for hold it for a maxim, *The better gentleman, the more gentle in his behaviour.*

Beware they be not accused of crimes; for that may touch you in credit; and if you lose your reputation in the bud of your youth

youth, you shall scarce recover it in the whole course of your life: let them be civil in carriage; for commonly such men are sensible above all: let them be learned; for learning is a fountain, from whence springs another life: let them be temperate in diet and expence, so shall you learn to live in health, and increase in wealth.

Beware they be not cholerick in disposition, or arrogant in opinion: for if so, you will become a slave to their humours, and base by suffering. A cholerick man, of all others, is the worst companion; for he cannot temper his rage; but on any slight occasion, of a friend becomes an enemy. Value true friendship next to marriage, which nothing but death can dissolve; for the fickleness of friendship is often the ruin of one's fortune.

Beware of gaming, for it causes great vexation of mind: if you lose, it begets in you that humour, that out of hope of regaining your losses, you will endanger the loss of all. Do not presume too much of your skill in play, or making wagers, as if you were excellent above others, or have fortune at command; for she is like a whore, variable and inconstant; and when she disfavors you, it is with more loss at once than she recompences at twice.

Love your brother and sisters for their own sakes, as you are bound by nature, but especially for mine, whose they are. Remember you are all indifferent to me, but that God chose you from the rest to be a strength and stay to them: think you cannot honour your father more being dead, than in shewing affection to them he dearly loved; and nothing will more approve you to be mine, than love and kindness amongst yourselves. You owe somewhat more to me than that I am your father, in that I seek your advancement above theirs; of which obligation I will acquit you, conditionally you perform what you ought to them: for because man cannot himself live ever, he desires to live in his posterity; and if I had an hundred sons, my greatest hope must depend upon you, as you are my eldest; and seeing my care is of you above the rest, do not make my memory so unhappy, as to give the world occasion to say, I left an unnatural son. The only request I make, is, be kind and loving to them, who, I know, by their disposition, will give you no cause of offence. A discourtesy from you will be as sharp to them as a razor from another.

Be courteous and friendly to all; for men are esteem'd according to their carriage. There is an old proverb, *The courtesy of the mouth is of great value, and costs little.* A proud man is envy'd of his equals, hated by his inferiors, and scorn'd by his super-

riors; so that betwixt envy, hate, and scorn, he is friendless.

Many times a man is condemned to death out of presumption, especially when it concurs with an opinion of his former ill carriage: how much therefore does it concern a man in the times of his prosperity to lay up a stock of love and reputation?

There cannot be a greater honour than to gain a man's enemy by a courtesy: it far exceeds the kindness that is done to another, and doubly obliges him that receives it. Love is a thing desir'd by a king from his subjects, by a general from his soldiers, and by a master from his servants; he that has it is rich by it; it maintains peace in time of peace, and is a safe bulwark in time of war.

Do not buy this love with the ruin of your estate, as many do with prodigal expences, and then are requited with pity and derision. Let your expence be agreeable to the wearing of your cloaths, better or worse, according to company; or the journeying your horse; the less way you go to day, you may travel the farther to-morrow; but if you go every day a long and wearisome journey, your horse will fail, and you be forc'd to go a-foot. And so will it be in your expences: if you do not moderate them according to days and companies, your horse and you may travel faintly together.

If you are prodigal in any thing, let it be in hospitality, as most agreeable to the will of God; you shall feed the hungry, relieve the poor, and get the love of the rich. What you spend among your neighbours is not lost, but procures their love, and helps when you have need, and thereby you shall find friendship in the country as available as favour at court.

If you are called to any place of magistracy, do justice with pity, revenge not your self of your enemy under colour of authority; for that shews baseness, and will procure you hatred. In money matters favour your country, if it be not against the present profit of the king; for many times his name is used for the gain of other men.

Study the laws, not to make a mercenary practice of them, but only for your own use, the good of your neighbours, and the government of your country. Hold the laws in reverence next to the king: for that kingdom is well govern'd where the king is ruled by the laws, not the laws by the king.

Be not presumptuous in your command; yet seek to be obey'd as you desire to obey; for as you are above others, others are above you. Give your mind to accommodate controversies among your neighbours, and you shall gain their love, which will more avail you than the hate of the lawyers can hurt you.

Punish idleness and other vices, as well for that they are such as for example's sake. Gain love by doing justice, and hate doing wrong, though it were to your immediate profit.

If you marry after my death, choose a wife, as near as you can, suitable to your calling, years, and condition: for such marriages are made in heaven, though celebrated on earth.

If your estate were great, your choice might be the freer: but where the preferment of your sisters must depend upon your wife's portion, let not your fancy over-rule your necessity. It is an old saying, *He that marries for love, has evil days and good nights*: consider if you marry for affection, how long you will be raising portions for your sisters, and the misery you shall live in all the days of your life; for the greatest fortune that a man can expect is in his marriage. A wife man is known by his actions; but where passion and affection sway, that man is deprived of sense and understanding.

It is not the poverty or meanness of her that is married, that makes her the better wife; for commonly such women grow elevated, and are no more mindful of what they have been, than a mariner is of his escape from a danger at sea when it is past. You must set your wife a good example by your own carriage; for a wise and discreet husband usually makes an obedient and dutiful wife. Beware of jealousy; for it causes great vexation of mind, and scorn and laughter from your enemies.

Many times it is occasion'd by the behaviour of the husband towards other women: in that case do like the physician, take away the cause of the infirmity, if not you are worthy to feel the smart of it. Jealousy is grounded upon conceit and imagination, proceeds from a weak, idle, and distempered brain; and the unworthy carriage of him that is jealous many times makes a woman do what otherwise she would not.

If God be pleased to give you children, love them with that discretion that they discern it not, least they too much presume upon it. Encourage them in things that are good, and correct them if they offend. The love of God to man cannot be better expressed, than by that of a father to his children. Comforts or crosses they prove to their parents; and herein education is a great help to nature.

Let your children make you to disrelish and abandon all other delights and pleasures of the world, in respect of the comfort and joy you receive by them: make account

then that summer is past, and the melancholy winter approaches; for a careful and provident father cannot take delight in the world, and provide for his children.

For a conclusion I will recommend two principal virtues to you; the one is secrecy, the other patience. Secrecy is necessary, requir'd in all, especially publick persons; for many times they are trusted with things, the revealing whereof may cost them their lives, and hinder the designs of their masters. It is a folly to trust any man with a secret that can give no assistance in the business he is trusted with. Counsellors of state, and generals of armies, of all others ought to be most secret; for their designs being once discovered, their enterprizes fail. *Silence* was so much esteemed among the *Persians*, that she was ador'd for a goddess. The *Romans* kept their expeditions so secret, as that alone was a principal cause of their victories: but of all others trust not women with a secret; for the weakness of their sex makes them unsecret. Be patient, after the example of *Job*, and you shall become a true servant of God. Patience deserves to be painted with a sword in her hand; for she conquers and subdues all difficulties. If you will take advantage of your enemy, make him choleric, and by patience you shall overcome him.

Marcus Aurelius being both emperor and philosopher, confessed he attained not the empire by philosophy, but by patience. What man in the world was so patient as our saviour himself? By following whose example his ministers have converted more by their words, than all the persecuting emperors could deter by rigour or cruelty of laws. The impatient man contests with God himself, who gives and takes away at his good will and pleasure.

Let me (good son) be your pattern of patience; for you can witness with me, that the disgraces I have unjustly suffered, (my estate being through my misfortunes ruined, my health by imprisonments decay'd, and my services undervalued and un-recompenced,) have not bred the least distaste or discontent in me, or alter'd my resolution from my infancy, that is, I was never so base as to insinuate into any man's favour, who was favoured by the times; I was never so ambitious as to seek or crave employment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and only comfort is, that I served my princes both faithfully and fortunately; but seeing my services have been no better accepted, I can as well content my self in being a spectator, as if I were an actor in the world.

T H E
Epistle Dedicatory of the First Book,

T O S U C H

Gentlemen as are the Author's intimate Friends,
that shall read these small Treatises.

IT is proper to all discourses not to comprehend more in one book than the subject whereof they are to treat, because variety of matter may breed confusion and forgetfulness in the reader; and though the ensuing work treats of several nations, several matters and accidents, and of several times and ages, yet all tends to sea-actions, and men of that profession, as namely, the first discovery of countries, the settling of commerce and trade betwixt remote nations, the success of many warlike expeditions by sea, and several admonitions, and other particulars therein mention'd.

I have divided them into six books: in the first and second I place the acts and enterprizes of *Englishmen*, in respect of the deserved honour the world attributes to them for their marine affair; secondly, in duty being bound to prefer my own country before all others, wherein I cannot be tax'd with partiality or flattery; and, thirdly, because the actions and journeys of the *English* will give light to ensuing ages, by comparing them with times past for advantage of time to come, if there be occasion.

In the third book I set down the office of the lord high-admiral of *England*, and all other inferior offices belonging to him, and his majesty's ships, from the highest commander to the meanest sailor.

In the fourth book I touch upon divers discoveries and conquests of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* nation; but I will forbear to say any thing of them in particular, till I come to the place where I am to treat more at large of their acts and enterprizes.

In the fifth I treat of projects, which I dedicate to the projectors of this time, not to honour, but to display them and the infamous courses they take against the commonwealth.

In the sixth I discover the benefit of fishing upon his majesty's coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and with what ease it may be undertaken by his majesty's subjects.

Many things contain'd in these six books are no other than collections of other authors; and my labour is more therein, than theirs who gather variety of flowers out of several gardens to compose one fightly garland.

It is not my intention that many shall read them; and such as do shall be only my dearest friends, because they will put a favourable construction upon any oversights I shall make, and will conceal and hide what weakness they discover in me.

All my aim is my own pleasure, and my friends satisfaction, if this yields them any; if not, my good will ought to be never the less valued, considering my intention in offering it. What is wanting in perfection, shall be supplied by my affection and service ever devoted to you. And so, farewell.

B O O K

B O O K I.

A Yearly Account of the *English* and *Spanish* Fleets, set out from the Year 1585. when the War with *Spain* first began, till the Year 1602. when King *James* made his happy Entrance into this Kingdom, shewing the Designs, Oversights, and Errors, on both *English* and *Spanish* Sides, with the Names of the Queen's Ships and Commanders in every Expedition.

Sir Francis Drake's Voyage to the West Indies, Anno Dom. 1585.

1585.

Ships.

The *Elizabeth Bonaventure*.
The *Aid*.

Commanders.

Sir *Francis Drake*.
Captain *Forbisber*.
Captain *Carlee*, lieutenant-general
by land.

UPON knowledge of the imbar-go laid by the king of *Spain* in the year 1585. upon the *English* ships, men, and goods found in his country, her majesty having no means to help or relieve her subjects by friendly treaty, authoriz'd such as sustain'd loss, by the said order, to repair themselves upon the subjects of the king of *Spain*; and to that end gave them letters of reprisal, to take and arrest all ships and merchandizes they should find at sea, or elsewhere, belonging to the subjects of the said king.

Her majesty at the same time, to revenge the wrongs offer'd her, and to resist the king of *Spain's* preparations made against her, equipp'd a fleet of twenty five sail of ships, and employ'd them under the command of Sir *Francis Drake*, as the fittest man, by reason of his experience and success in fundry actions.

It is not my intent to set down all the particulars of the voyages treated of, but the services done, and the mistakes and oversights committed, as a warning to those that shall read them, and to prevent the like errors hereafter.

This voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* being the first undertaking on either side, (for it ensued immediately after the arrest of our

ships and goods in *Spain*.) I will deliver my opinion of it before I proceed any farther.

One impediment to the voyage was, that to which the ill success of divers others that after follow'd is to be imputed, *viz.* the want of victuals and other necessaries fit for so great an expedition; for had not the fleet by chance met with a ship of *Biscay* in her return from *Newfoundland*, laden with fish, which reliev'd their necessities, they had been reduc'd to great extremity.

The service perform'd in this action, was the taking and sacking *Sancto Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, *Cartagena* on the continent, and *Santa Justina* in *Florida*, three towns of great importance in the *West Indies*. This fleet was the greatest of any nation but the *Spaniards*, that had been ever seen in those seas since the first discovery of them; and if it had been as well consider'd of before their going from home, as it was happily perform'd by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoy'd the king of *Spain*, than all other actions that ensued during the time of the war.

But it seems our long peace made us incapable of advice in war; for had we kept and defended those places when in our possession, and provided to have been reliev'd and succour'd out of *England*, we had diverted

1585. verted the war from this part of *Europe*; for at that time there was no comparison betwixt the strength of *Spain* and *England* by sea, by means whereof we might have better defended them, and with more ease inroach'd upon the rest of the *Indies*, than the king of *Spain* could have aided or succour'd them.

But now we see and find by experience that those places which were then weak and

unfortified, are since so fortified, that it is to no purpose to us to annoy the king of *Spain* in his *West Indies*.

And though this voyage prov'd both fortunate and victorious, yet considering it was rather an awakening than a weakening of him, it had been far better to have wholly declin'd, than to have undertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so inconsiderable forces.

1587. *Sir Francis Drake's second Voyage to the Road of Cadiz, and towards the Tercera Islands, Anno 1587.*

Ships.

The *Elizabeth Bonaventure*.
The *Lyon*.
The *Rainbow*.
The *Dreadnought*.

Commanders.

Sir *Francis Drake* general.
Sir *William Borroughs* vice-admiral.
Captain *Bellingam*.
Captain *Thomas Fenner*.

HER majesty having receiv'd several advertisements, that while the king of *Spain* was silent, not seeking revenge for the injuries the ships of reprisal did him daily upon his coasts, he was preparing an invincible navy to invade her at home. She thereupon sought to frustrate his designs, by intercepting his provisions before they should come to *Lisbon*, which was their place of rendezvous; and sent away Sir *Francis Drake* with a fleet of thirty sail, great and small, four whereof were her own ships.

The chief adventure in this voyage (besides those four ships of her majesty's) was made by the merchants of *London*, who sought their private gain more than the advancement of the service; neither were they deceiv'd of their expectation.

Sir *Francis Drake* being inform'd by two ships of *Middleborough*, that came from *Cadiz*, that a fleet with provisions and ammunition riding there, was ready to take the first opportunity of a wind to go to *Lisbon*, and join with other forces of the king of *Spain*, he directed his course for *Cadiz* road, where he found the advertisement he receiv'd from the ships of *Middleborough* in every point true; and upon his arrival attempted the ships with great courage, and perform'd the service he went for, by destroying all such ships he found in harbour, as well of the *Spaniards* as other nations that were hir'd by them; and by these means he utterly defeated their mighty preparations, which were intended against *England* that year 1587.

The second service perform'd by him, was the assaulting the castle of cape *St. Vincent*,

upon the utmost promontory of *Portugal*, and three other strong holds; all which he took, some by force, and some by composition. Thence he went to the mouth of the river of *Lisbon*, where he anchor'd near *Cascais*, which the marquis of *St. Cruz* beholding, durst not with his galleys approach so near as once to charge him.

Sir *Francis Drake* perceiving, that though he had done important service for the state by this fortunate attempt of his, yet the same was not very acceptable to the merchants, who adventur'd only in hope of profit, and prefer'd their private gain before the security of the kingdom, or any other respect; therefore from *Cascais* he stood to the *Tercera* islands, to expect the coming home of a *carrack*, which he had intelligence winter'd at *Mosambique*, and consequently she was to be home in that month. And though his victuals grew scarce, and his company importun'd his return home, yet with fair speeches he persuaded, and so much prevail'd with them, that they were willing to expect the issue some few days at the islands; and by this time drawing near the island of *St. Michael*, it was his good fortune to meet and take the *carrack* he look'd for; which added more honour to his former service, and gave great content to the merchants, to have a profitable return of their adventure, which was the thing they principally desir'd. This voyage proceeded prosperously, and without exception; for there was both honour and wealth gain'd, and the enemy greatly endamag'd.

The first Action undertaken by the Spaniards in 1588. the Duke of Medina Sidonia General, encounter'd by our Fleet, the Lord Admiral being at Sea himself in Person.

The ENGLISH FLEET.

| Ships. | Commanders. |
|-------------------------------|--|
| The <i>Ark-Royal</i> , | The lord admiral. |
| The <i>Revenge</i> , | Sir <i>Francis Drake</i> vice-admiral. |
| The <i>Victory</i> , | Sir <i>John Hawkins</i> rear-admiral. |
| The <i>Lyon</i> , | The lord <i>Thomas Howard</i> . |
| The <i>Bear</i> , | The lord <i>Sheffield</i> . |
| The <i>Elizabeth-Jonas</i> , | Sir <i>Robert Southwell</i> . |
| The <i>Triumph</i> , | Sir <i>Martin Forbisher</i> . |
| The <i>Hope</i> , | Captain <i>Crofs</i> . |
| The <i>Bonaventure</i> , | Captain <i>Reyman</i> . |
| The <i>Dreadnought</i> , | Captain <i>George Beeson</i> . |
| The <i>Nonpareille</i> , | Captain <i>Thomas Fenner</i> . |
| The <i>Swiftsure</i> , | Captain <i>William Fenner</i> . |
| The <i>Rainbow</i> , | The lord <i>Henry Seymour</i> . |
| The <i>Vauntguard</i> , | Sir <i>William Wentworth</i> . |
| The <i>Mary-Rose</i> , | Captain <i>Fenton</i> . |
| The <i>Antilope</i> , | Sir <i>Henry Palmer</i> . |
| The <i>Forefigbt</i> , | Captain <i>Baker</i> . |
| The <i>Aid</i> , | Captain <i>John Wentworth</i> . |
| The <i>Swallow</i> , | Captain <i>Richard Hawkins</i> . |
| The <i>Tyger</i> , | Captain <i>William Wentworth</i> . |
| The <i>Scout</i> , | Captain <i>Ashley</i> . |
| The <i>Bull</i> , | |
| The <i>Tremontany</i> , | |
| The <i>Acatice</i> , | |
| The <i>Charles-Pinnacle</i> , | Captain <i>Roberts</i> . |
| The <i>Moon</i> , | Captain <i>Clifford</i> . |
| The <i>Spy</i> , | Captain <i>Bradbury</i> . |
| The <i>Noy</i> , | |

1588. **N**otwithstanding the great spoil and hurt Sir *Francis Drake* did the year past in *Cadiz* road, by intercepting some part of the provisions intended for this great navy, the king of *Spain* us'd his utmost endeavours to revenge himself this year, left in taking longer time his designs might be prevented as before, and arrested all ships, men, and necessaries wanting for his fleet, and compell'd them by force to serve in this action.

He appointed for general the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a man employed rather for his birth than experience; for so many dukes, marquisses, and earls, voluntarily going, would have repin'd to have been commanded by a man of less quality than themselves: they departed from *Lisbon* the 19th day of *May*, 1588. with the greatest pride and glory, and least doubt of victory, that ever any nation did; but God being angry with their insolence, dispos'd of them contrary to their expectation.

The directions from the king of *Spain* to

his general were to repair, as wind and weather would giveleave, to the road of *Callice* in *Piccardy*, there to abide the coming of the prince of *Parma* and his army; and upon their meeting, to have open'd a letter directed to them both, with further instructions.

He was especially commanded to sail along the coasts of *Brittany* and *Normandy*, to avoid being discover'd by us here; and if he met with the *English* fleet, not to offer to fight, but only seek to defend themselves. But when he came athwart the north cape, he was taken with a contrary wind and foul weather, and forc'd into the harbour of the *Groyne*, where part of his fleet lay attending his coming. As he was ready to depart from thence, they had intelligence, by an *English* fisherman whom they took, of our fleets late being at sea, and putting back again, not expecting their coming that year, infomuch that most part of the men belonging to our ships were discharg'd.

1588. This intelligence made the duke alter his resolution, and to break the directions given him by the king: yet this was not done without some difficulty, for the council was divided in their opinions; some held it best to observe the king's command, others not to lose the opportunity offer'd to surprize our fleet unawares, and burn and destroy them.

Diego Flores de Valdes, who had the command of the *Andalusian* squadron, and on whom the duke most relied, because of his experience and judgment, was the main man that persuaded the attempt of our ships in harbour, and with that resolution they directed their course for *England*.

The first land they fell in with, was the *Lizard*, the southermost part of *Cornwall*, which they took to be the *Ram's-Head* athwart *Plimouth*; and the night being at hand they tacked off to sea, making account in the morning to attempt our ships in *Plimouth*.

But whilst they were thus deceiv'd in the land, they were in the mean time discover'd by captain *Flemming*, a pirate, who had been at sea pilfering; and upon view of them, knowing them to be the *Spanish* fleet, repair'd with all speed to *Plimouth*, and gave notice to our fleet, then riding at anchor: whereupon my lord admiral hastened with all possible expedition to get out the ships; and before the *Spaniards* could draw near *Plimouth*, they were welcom'd at sea by my lord and his navy, who continued fight with them, till he brought them to an anchor at *Calais*. The particulars of the fight, and the success thereof, being things so well known, I purposely omit.

While this armada was preparing, her majesty had from time to time perfect intelligence of the *Spaniards* designs; and because she knew his intent was to invade her at sea with a mighty fleet from his own coast, she furnish'd out her royal navy, under the conduct of the lord high admiral of *England*, and sent him to *Plimouth*, as the likeliest place to attend their coming, as you have heard.

Then knowing that it was not the fleet alone that could endanger her safety, for that they were too weak for any enterprize on land, without the assistance of the prince of *Parma*, and his army in *Flanders*, therefore she appointed thirty sail of *Holland* ships to lie at an anchor before the town of *Dunkirk*, where the prince was to embark in flat-bottom'd boats, made purposely for the expedition of *England*.

Thus had the prince by the queen's providence been prevented, if he had attempted to put out of harbour with his boats; but in truth, neither his vessels nor his army were in readiness, which caus'd the king

ever after to be jealous of him, and, as 'tis suppos'd, to hasten his end.

Her majesty, notwithstanding this her vigilant care to foresee and prevent all danger that might happen at sea, would not hold herself too secure of her enemy, and therefore prepar'd a royal army to welcome him upon his landing; but it was not the will of God that he should set foot on *English* ground, the queen becoming victorious over him at sea, with little hazard or bloodshed of her subjects.

Having shewed the design of the *Spaniards*, and the course taken by her majesty to prevent them, I will now collect the errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promis'd in the beginning of my discourse.

As nothing could appear more rational and likely to take effect, after the duke had got intelligence of the state of our navy, than his design to surprize them unawares in harbour, he well knowing, that if he had taken away our strength by sea, he might have landed both when and where he listed, which is a great advantage to an invader; yet admitting it had taken that effect he design'd, I see not how he was to be commended in breaking the instructions given him by the king; what blame then did he deserve, when so ill an event follow'd by his rashness and disobedience?

It was not the want of experience in the duke, or his laying the fault upon *Valdes* that excus'd him at his return; but he had smarted bitterly for it, had it not been for his wife, who obtain'd the king's favour for him.

Before the arrival of the ships that escaped in this voyage, it was known in *Spain*, that *Diego Flores del Valdes* was he who persuaded the duke to break the king's instructions; whereupon the king gave commandment in all his ports, where the said *Diego Flores del Valdes* might arrive, to apprehend him; which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the castle of *Santander*, where he was not permitted to plead his excuse, but remain'd there, without being ever seen or heard of after, by report of his page, with whom I spoke afterwards, we being both prisoners together in the castle of *Lisbon*.

If the king's directions had been punctually follow'd, then had his fleet kept the coast of *France*, and arriv'd in the road of *Calais*, before they had been discover'd by us, which might have endanger'd her majesty and the realm, our ships being so far off as *Plimouth*, where then they lay; and though the prince of *Parma* had not been presently ready, yet he had gain'd time sufficient, by the absence of our fleet, to make himself ready.

And

1588. And whereas the prince was kept in by the thirty sail of *Hollanders*, so many of the duke's fleet might have been able to have put the *Hollanders* from the road of *Dunkirk*, and possess it themselves; and so have secured the army and fleet's meeting together; and then how easy had it been after their joining, to have transported themselves for *England*? And what would have ensued upon their landing here, may be well imagined.

But it was the will of him that directs all men and their actions, that the fleets should meet, and the enemy be beaten, as they were, put from their anchorage in *Calais-Road*, the prince of *Parma* beleaguere'd at sea, and their navy driven about *Scotland* and *Ireland* with great hazard and loss; which shews how god did marvellously defend us against their dangerous designs.

And here was opportunity offered us to have followed the victory upon them; for after they were beaten from the road at *Calais*, and all their hopes and designs frustrated, if we had once more offered them fight, the general, it was thought, by persuasion of his confessor, was determined to yield; whose example, 'tis very likely, would have made the rest to have done the like. But this opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of

the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want whereof they were forced to return home: besides that, the dreadful storms which destroy'd the *Spanish* fleet, made it impossible to pursue the remains of them. Another opportunity was lost, not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our fleet to the west of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* of necessity were to pass, after so many dangers and disasters as they had endured.

If we had been so happy as to have followed this course, as it was both thought and discoursed of, we had been absolutely victorious over this great and formidable navy; for they were brought to that necessity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confessed that were shipwrecked in *Ireland*.

By this we may see how weak and feeble the designs of men are, in respect of the creator of man, and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the two nations, sometimes giving one, sometimes the other, the advantage; and yet so that he only ordered the battle.

The Expedition to Portugal, Anno 1589.

| Ships. | Commanders by Sea. | Commanders by land. |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>The Revenge.</i> | Sir Francis Drake, | Sir John Norris. |
| <i>The Dreadnought,</i> | Capt. Thomas Fenner, | Sir Edward Norris. |
| <i>The Aid,</i> | Capt. William Fenner, | Sir Henry Norris. |
| <i>The Nonperelle,</i> | Capt. Sackville, | Sir Roger Williams. |
| <i>The Foresight,</i> | Capt. William Winter, | Capt. Wilson, Serj. Major. |
| <i>The Swiftsure,</i> | Capt. Goring. | Earl of Essex, Voluntier. |

1589. THE last overthrow of 1588. given to the invincible *Armada*, or navy, as they termed it, did so encourage every man to the war, that happy was he who could put himself into the service against the *Spaniards*, as it appeared by the voluntiers that went in this voyage; which the queen, (considering the great loss the king of *Spain* received the year past, whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was provided at home,) was willing to countenance, though she undertook it not wholly herself, which was the main cause of its ill success and overthrow.

For whosoever he be of a subject, that thinks to undertake so great an enterprise without a prince's purse, shall be deceived; and therefore these two generals, in my opinion, never overshot themselves more, than in undertaking so great a charge with so little means; for where victuals and arms

are wanting, what hope is there of prevailing?

The project of this voyage was to restore a distressed king to his kingdom, usurped as he pretended; and though the preparations for this expedition were not so great as was expedient, yet in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their course whither they intended it, without landing at the *Groyne*, they had performed the service they went for, restored *Don Antonio* to the crown of *Portugal*, dismembered it from *Spain*, and united it in league with *England*, which would have answer'd the present charge, and have settled a continual trade for us to the *West Indies*, and the rest of the dominions of *Portugal*; for so we might easily have conditioned.

But the landing at the *Groyne* was an unnecessary lingering and hinderance of the other great and main design, a consuming

1589. of victuals, a weakening of the army by the immoderate drinking of the soldiers, which brought a lamentable sickness amongst them, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and (what is more than all this) a discouragement to proceed further, being repulsed in the first attempt.

But notwithstanding the ill success at the Groyne, they departed from thence towards Portugal, and arrived at Peniche, a maritime town twelve leagues from Lisbon, where with small resistance they took the castle, after the captain understood Don Antonio was in the army.

Thence general Norris marched with his land forces to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake with his fleet failed to Cascais, promising from thence to pass with his ships up the river to Lisbon, to meet with Sir John Norris, which yet he did not perform, and therefore was much blamed by the general consent of all men, the overthrow of the action being imputed to him.

It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake, for making such a promise to Sir John Norris; though on the other hand, I would have accused him of great want of discretion, if he had put the fleet to so great an adventure to so little purpose: for his being in the harbour of Lisbon, signified nothing to the taking of the castle, which was two miles from thence; and had the castle been taken, the town would have been taken of course.

Besides, the ships could not furnish the army with more men or victuals: wherefore I understand not in what respect his going up was necessary; and yet the fleet must have run many hazards to so little purpose.

For betwixt Cascais and Lisbon there are three castles, St. Julian, St. Francis, and Bellem. The first of the three I hold one of the most impregnable forts to seaward in Europe; and the fleet was to pass within calliver-shot of this fort, though, I confess, the passing it was not the greatest danger; for with a reasonable gale of wind, any fort is to be passed with small hazard.

But at this time there was a general want of victuals; and being once entered the harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the place being subject to contrary winds. In the mean while the better part of the victuals would have been consumed, and they would have remained there in so desperate a condition, that they would have been forced to have fired one half of the fleet, to bring home the rest; for as it was, when the army embarked for England, many died for hunger in their way home, and more would have done, if the wind had taken them short; or if by the death of some of them, the rest who surviv'd had not been the better reliev'd.

Besides all these casualties and dangers, 1589. the *Adelantado* was then in Lisbon with the galleys of Spain; and how easily he might have annoy'd our fleet by towing fire-ships amongst us, we may suppose by the hurt we did the Spaniards the year before in Cadiz-Road; and greater we might have done had we been assisted with galleys.

It was a wonder to observe every man's opinion of this voyage, as well those that were actors in it, as others that staid at home; some imputing the overthrow of it to the landing at the Groyne; others to the Portuguese failing us of those helps and assistances promised by Don Antonio; and others, to Sir Francis Drake's not coming up the river with his fleet.

Though any of these three reasons may seem probable enough, and the landing at the Groyne the chiefest of the three, yet, if we weigh truly the defect, and where it was, it will appear that the action was overthrown before their setting out from home, they being too weakly provided of all things necessary for so great an expedition.

For when this voyage was first treated of, the number of ships was nothing equal to the proportion of men: wherefore they were forced to detain divers *Easterlings* they met with in our channel, and compelled them to serve in this expedition for the transportation of our soldiers; and though these ships were an ease to our men, who would have been otherwise much pestered for want of room, yet their victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put aboard the ships, like banished men, to seek their fortunes at sea, it being confessed, that divers of the ships had not four days victuals when they departed from *Plimouth*.

Another impediment to the good success of this voyage, was the want of field-pieces; and this was the main cause why we failed of taking Lisbon: For the enemies strength consisting chiefly in the castle, and we having only an army to countenance us, but no means for battery, we were the loss of the victory ourselves; for it was apparent, by intelligence we received, that if we had presented them with battery, they were resolved to parley, and by consequence to yield; and this too was made use of by the Portuguese, as a main reason why they joined not with us.

And there is as much to be said in behalf of the Portuguese, as an evidence of their good-will and favour to us, that though they shewed themselves not forward upon this occasion to aid us, yet they opposed us not as enemies: whereas if they had pursued us in our retreat from Lisbon to Cascais, our men being weak, sickly, and wanting powder, and shot, and other arms, they had in all probability put us to a great loss and

1588. and disgrace. And if ever *England* have the like occasion to aid a competitor in *Portugal*, we shall questionless find that our fair demeanor and carriage in this expedition towards the people of that country, have gained us much reputation among them, and would be of singular advantage to us; for the general strictly forbid the rifling of

their houses in the country, and the suburbs of *Lisbon*, which he possessed, and commanded just payment to be made by the soldiers for every thing they took, without compulsion or rigorous usage: and this has made those that stood but indifferently affected before, now ready upon the like occasion to assist us.

1588.

A Voyage undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, with one Ship Royal of her Majesty's, and six of his own, and other Adventurers, Anno Dom. 1589.

Ships.

The Victory, the queen's ship,
The Margaret,
And five others.

Commanders.

The Earl of Cumberland,
Capt. *Christopher Lister*,
Capt. *Monson*, afterwards Sir *William Monson* vice-admiral.

1589. AS the fleets of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* returned from the voyage of *Portugal*, the Earl of *Cumberland* proceeded upon his towards that coast; and meeting with divers of that fleet, relieved them with victuals, who otherwise had perished.

This voyage was undertaken at his and his friend's charge, excepting the *Victory*, a ship royal of the queen's, which she adventured.

This voyage is writ at large by the famous mathematician Mr. *Wright*, who was an actor in it himself; what is here set down is but a brief collection out of his account.

The service performed at sea was the taking of three *French* ships of the league in our channel, and his encountering upon the coast of *Spain* with thirteen hulks, who made some resistance. Out of these he took to the value of 7000 *l.* in spices belonging to *Portugal*.

From thence he cross'd over to the *Tercera* islands, about three hundred leagues from the rock of *Lisbon*; and coming to *St. Michael's*, the first and greatest of the islands, with his boats, he fetched out from under the castle, which fired upon him, two ships that arrived there the night before from *Spain*.

In his course from thence to the island of *Flores*, the westernmost of the *Terceras*, he took a *Spanish* ship laden with sugars and sweatmeats that came from the island of *Madera*.

At *Flores* he received intelligence, by an *English* man of war, of divers *Spanish* ships which were in the road of *Fayal*; whereupon he suddenly made from that island, where captain *Lister* and captain *Monson* gave a desperate attempt in their boats upon the said ships; and after a long fight possessed themselves of one of them of three hundred tuns burden, carrying six pieces of ordnance, and sixty men. This ship, with one other, came from the *Indies*; two of the rest out

of *Guinea*, and another was laden with wood, which that island affords in great plenty. The captains returning after the carrying off that great ship, took the rest, being seven in all. This done, we all put to sea again, and making the island *Graciosa*, made several attempts there for two days to land, in order to get some provision, but were still repulsed with great loss; yet at last the island came to composition, and sent such refreshments as it afforded. In the mean while we discovered and took a *French* ship of two hundred tuns, homeward bound from *Canada*.

Afterwards, sailing to the eastward of the road of *Terceras*, in the evening we beheld eighteen tall ships of the *Indies* entering into the said road, one whereof we after took in her course to the coast of *Spain*: she was laden with hides, silver, and cochineal; but coming for *England*, she was cast away upon *Mount's Bay* in *Cornwall*, being valued at 100000 *l.*

Two other prizes of sugar we took in our said course to the coast of *Spain*, esteemed each ship at 7000 *l.* and one from under the castle of *St. Mary's* to the same value.

There was no road about those islands that could defend their ships from our attempts; yet in the last assault we gave, which was upon a ship of sugars, we found ill success, being sharply resisted, and two parts of our men slain and hurt; which loss was occasioned by captain *Lister*, who would not be persuaded from landing in the view of their forts.

The service performed by land, was the taking of the island of *Fayal* some months after the surprizing of those ships formerly mentioned. The castle yielded us forty-five pieces of ordnance, great and small: we sacked and spoiled the town, and after ransomed it, and so departed.

These summer services, and ships of sugar, proved not so sweet and pleasant, as the winter was afterwards sharp and painful; for

1589.

1589. in our return for *England*, we found the calamity of famine, the hazard of shipwreck, and the death of our men so great, that the like befel not any other fleet during the time of the war. All which disasters must be imputed to captain *Lister's* rashness, upon whom my lord of *Cumberland* chiefly rely'd, wanting experience himself.

He was the man that advis'd the sending the ships of wine for *England*, otherwise we had not known the want of drink: he was as earnest in persuading our landing in the face of the fortifications of *St. Mary's*, against all reason and sense. As he was

1589. rash, so was he valiant; but paid dearly for his unadvised counsel: for he was the first man hurt, and that cruelly, in the attempt of *St. Mary's*, and afterwards drowned in the rich ship cast away at *Mount's Bay*.

After our quitting *St. Mary's*, as you have heard, we repair'd to the island of *St. George*, as you may read in the sixth book, where there happened a strange accident to me, and indeed, I may say, the strangest escape that ever befel me in my life. I refer you to that book, thinking it fitter to be inserted there than in this.

Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Forbusher, their Voyage to the Coast of Spain and Islands, Anno 1590.

Ships.

The Revenge,
The Mary-Rose,
The Lion,
The Bonaventure,
The Rainbow,
The Hope,
The Crane,
The Quittance,
The Foresight,
The Swiftsure,

Commanders.

Sir Martin Forbusher.
Sir John Hawkins.
Sir Edward Yorke.
Captain Fenner.
Sir George Beeston.
Captain Bostock.
Captain Hawkins.
Captain Burnell.

1590. FROM the year 1585 until this present year 1590. there was the greatest possibility imaginable of enriching our nation by actions at sea, had they been well followed: the king of *Spain* was grown so weak in shipping by the overthrow he had in 1588. that he could no longer secure the trade of his subjects.

Her majesty now finding how necessary it was for her to maintain a fleet upon the *Spanish* coast, as well to hinder the preparations he might make against her to repair the disgrace he receiv'd in 1588. as also to intercept his fleets from the *Indies*, by which he grew great and mighty, she sent this year 1590 ten ships of her own in two squadrons; the one to be commanded by *Sir John Hawkins*, the other by *Sir Martin Forbusher*, two gentlemen of tried experience.

The king of *Spain* hearing of this preparation of hers, sent forth twenty sail of ships under the command of *Don Alonso de Bassan*, brother to the late famous marquis of *St. Cruz*, who had not long before subdued the *Tercera* islands, and overthrown the navy of *France*. *Don Alonso* was charged to convoy home the fleet from the *Indies*, and the carracks expected home about that time.

But after *Don Alonso* had put off to sea, the king of *Spain* becoming better advised,

1590. than to adventure twenty of his ships to ten of ours, sent for *Don Alonso* back, and so frustrated the expectation of our fleet.

He likewise made a dispatch to the *Indies*, commanding the fleets to winter there, rather than to run the hazard of coming home that summer. But this proved so great an hindrance and loss to the merchants of *Spain*, to be so long without return of their goods, that many broke in *Seville*, and other places; besides, it was so great a weakening to their ships, to winter in the *Indies*, that many years hardly sufficed to repair the damage they received.

Our fleet being thus prevented, spent seven months in vain upon the coasts of *Spain*, and the islands; but in that space could not possess themselves of one ship of the *Spaniards*; and the carracks, upon which part of their hopes depended, came home without sight of the islands, and arriv'd safe at *Lisbon*.

This voyage was a bare action at sea, though they attempted landing at *Fayal*, which the earl of *Cumberland* the year before had taken and quitted; but the castle being refortified, they prevail'd not in their enterprize: and thenceforwards the king of *Spain* endeavoured to strengthen his coasts, and to increase in shipping, as may appear by the next ensuing year.

Two Fleets at Sea ; the English under the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Spanish commanded by Don Alonso Bassan, Anno 1591.

| Ships. | Commanders. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>The Defiance,</i> | The Lord Thomas Howard. |
| <i>The Revenge,</i> | Sir Richard Greenville vice-admiral. |
| <i>The Nonpareille,</i> | Sir Edward Denny. |
| <i>The Bonaventure,</i> | Captain Crofs. |
| <i>The Lion,</i> | Captain Fenner. |
| <i>The Foresight,</i> | Captain Vavasor. |
| <i>The Crane,</i> | Captain Duffield. |

1591. **H**ER majesty being inform'd of the Indian fleet's wintering in the *Havana*, and that necessity would compel them home this year 1591. she sent a fleet to the islands under the command of the lord *Thomas Howard*.

The king of *Spain* perceiving her drift, and being sensible how much the safety of that fleet concerned him, caus'd them to set out thence so late in the year, that it endangered the shipwreck of them all; choosing rather to hazard the perishing of ships, men, and goods, than their falling into our hands.

He had two designs in bringing home this fleet so late; one was, he thought the lord *Thomas* would have consum'd his victuals, and have been forc'd home: the other, that he might in the mean time furnish out the great fleet he was preparing, little inferior to that of 1588. In the first he found himself deceived; for my lord was supply'd both with ships and victuals out of *England*: and in the second he was as much disappointed; for the earl of *Cumberland*, who then lay upon the coast of *Spain*, had intelligence of the *Spaniards* putting out to sea, and gave notice thereof to the lord *Thomas* the very night before they arrived at *Flores*, where my lord lay.

The day after this intelligence, the *Spanish* fleet was discovered by my lord *Thomas*, whom he knew by their number and greatness to be the ships of which he had warning; and by that means escaped the danger that Sir *Richard Greenville*, his vice-admiral, rashly ran into. Upon view of the *Spaniards*, which were fifty five sail, the lord *Thomas* warily, and like a discreet general, weigh'd anchor, and made signs to the rest of his fleet to do the like, with a purpose to get the wind of them; but Sir *Richard Greenville* being a stubborn man, and imagining this fleet to come from the *Indies*, and not to be the *Armada* of which they were informed, would by no means be persuaded by his master or company to cut his cable to follow his admiral, nay so headstrong and rash he was, that he offered

violence to those that advis'd him so to do. 1591.

But the old saying, *That a wilful man is the cause of his own woe*, could not be more truly verified than in him: for when the *Armada* approached, and he beheld the greatness of the ships, he began to see and repent of his folly, and when it was too late, would have freed himself of them, but in vain: for he was left a prey to the enemy, every ship striving to be the first should board him.

This wilful rashness of Sir *Richard* made the *Spaniards* triumph as much as if they had obtain'd a signal victory, it being the first ship that ever they took of her majesty's, and commended to them by some *English* fugitives to be the very best she had: but their joy continued not long; for they enjoy'd her but five days before she was cast away, with many *Spaniards* in her, upon the *Tercera* islands.

Commonly one misfortune is accompanied with another: for the *Indian* fleet, which my lord had waited for the whole summer, the day after this mishap, fell into the company of this *Spanish Armada*, who, if they had stay'd but one day longer, or the *Indian* fleet had come home but one day sooner, we had possess'd both them and many millions of treasure, which the sea afterwards devour'd: for from the time they met with the *Armada*, and before they could recover home, nigh an hundred of them suffered shipwreck, besides the *Ascension* of *Seville*, and the double fly-boat, that were sunk by the side of the *Revenge*.

All which was occasioned by their wintering in the *Indies*, and their late difemboguing from thence: for the worm, which that country is subject to, weakens and consumes their ships.

Notwithstanding this cross and perverse fortune, which happened by means of Sir *Richard Greenville*, the lord *Thomas* would not be dismay'd or discouraged; but kept the sea as long as he had victuals; and by such ships as himself and the rest of the fleet took, defray'd the better part of the charge of the whole action.

The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, 1591.

| Ships. | Commanders. |
|--|--|
| The <i>Garland</i> , of her majesty's. | The earl of <i>Cumberland</i> . Captain under him, |
| Seven other ships of his, and his friends. | Captain <i>Monson</i> , afterwards Sir <i>William Monson</i> . |

1591. THE earl of *Cumberland* keeping the coast of *Spain*, as you have heard, while the lord *Thomas* remain'd at the islands, and both to one end, viz. to annoy and damnify the *Spaniards*, though in two several fleets, the earl found fortune in a sort as much to frown upon him, as it had done upon the lord *Thomas Howard*.

He departed *England* in *May*, and in his course to the *Spanish* coast, met with several *Dutch* ships, which came from *Lisbon*, wherein he found a great quantity of spices belonging to the *Portuguese*. So greatly were we abus'd by that nation of *Holland*, who, though they were the first that engag'd us in the war with *Spain*, yet still maintain'd their own trade into those parts, and supplied the *Spaniards* with ammunition, victuals, shipping, and intelligence against us.

Upon my lord's arrival on the coast of *Spain*, it was his hap to take three ships at several times, one with wine, which he unladed into his own; and two with sugars, which he enjoy'd not long; no more did he the spices, which he took out of the *Hollanders*.

For one of the ships of sugar, by means of a leak that sprung upon her, was forced to be cast off, and the men, with much difficulty, recover'd the shore, and sav'd their lives.

The other being sent for *England*, and tossed with contrary winds, was for want of victuals forc'd into the *Groyne*, where they render'd themselves to the enemies mercy.

The spices were determin'd to be sent for *England*, and a ship appointed for that purpose, with other ships to guard her to the

islands of the *Burlings*; in which ship captain *Monson* was sent with orders to see her safe dispatch for *England*.

But the other ships, not observing the directions given them, and the night falling calm, early in the morning, this forsaken ship was set upon by six gallies, the rest of the ships not being able to come up by reason of the calm; and after a long and bloody fight, the captain and principal men being slain, both ship and spices were taken; but whether it was the respect they had to the queen's ship, which was admiral of that fleet, or honour to my lord that commanded it, or hope, by good usage of our men, to receive the like again, I know not; but true it is, that the ordinary men were treated with more courtesy than they had been from the beginning of the war; I mean, that of such men as were taken, only captain *Monson* was detain'd as hostage for performance of covenants agreed upon for release of the rest, in which imprisonment he remain'd almost two years.

My lord of *Cumberland* considering the disasters that thus befel him, and knowing the *Spanish* fleet's readiness to put out of harbour; but especially finding his ship but ill of fail, it being the first voyage she ever went to sea, he durst not abide the coast of *Spain*, but thought it more discretion to return for *England*, having (as you have heard) sent a pinnace to my lord *Thomas*, with the intelligence afore said, which prov'd a service of great moment to the queen and state, in preventing the danger that might have otherwise ensued, if that notice had not been sent.

A Voyage undertaken by Sir Walter Raleigh; but he returning, left the Charge of it to Sir Martin Forbusher, Anno 1592.

| Ships. | Commanders by sea. | Commander by land. |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| The <i>Garland</i> . | Sir <i>Walter Raleigh</i> . | Sir <i>John Boroughs</i> . |
| The <i>Forefight</i> , with divers merchant ships. | Captain <i>Cross</i> , and others. Sir <i>Walter</i> went not, but Sir <i>Martin Forbusher</i> . | |

1592. SIR *Walter Raleigh*, who had tasted abundantly of the queen's favour, and found it now began to decline, put himself

upon a voyage at sea, and drew to him divers friends of great quality, and others, thinking to have attempted some place in the

1592. the *West Indies*; and with this resolution he put out of harbour; but spending two or three days in foul weather, her majesty was pleased to order his return, and to commit the charge of the ships to Sir *Martin Forbusher*, who was sent down for that purpose; but with an express command, not to follow the design of the *West Indies*.

This sudden alteration being known to the rest of the captains, for the present made some confusion, as commonly it happens in all voluntary actions. Their general leaving them, they thought themselves free in point of reputation, and at liberty to take what course they pleas'd; few of them therefore submitted themselves to the command of Sir *Martin Forbusher*, but chose rather each to take his particular fortune and adventure at sea.

Sir *Martin*, with his own ship the *Garland*, and two others, repair'd to the coast of *Spain*, where he took a *Biscainer*, laden with iron; and a *Portuguese*, with sugar: he remain'd there not without some danger, his ship being ill of fail, and the enemy having a fleet at sea to guard the coast.

Sir *John Boroughs*, captain *Cross*, and another, stood to the islands, where they met with as many ships of my lord of *Cumberland's*, with whom they comforted. After some time spent thereabouts, they had sight of a carrack, which they chas'd; but she recover'd the island of *Flores* before they could approach her; but the carrack, seeing the island could not defend her from the strength and force of the *English*, chose rather, after the men were got on shore, to fire herself, than we the enemy should reap benefit by her.

The purser of her was taken, and by threats compelled to tell of four more of their company behind, that had orders to fall in with that island; and gave us such particular advertisement, that one of them was afterwards taken.

In the mean time don *Alonso de Bassan* 1592. was at *Lisbon*, setting out twenty three galleons, which the year before he had when he took the *Revenge*: he was directed with those ships to go immediately to *Flores*, to expect the coming of the carracks, who had order to fall with that island, there to put on shore divers ordnance for strengthening the town and castle. Sir *William Monson*, being then released out of prison, sail'd in a *Hamborough* ship with this fleet.

Don *Alonso* breaking his instructions, unadvisedly repair'd first to *St. Michael's*, and there deliver'd his ordnance before he arriv'd at *Flores*; and in the mean time one of the carracks was burnt, and another taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be such a disreputation to him, and especially for that it happen'd through his own error and default, that he was much perplex'd, and pursued the *English* an hundred leagues; but in vain, they being so far a-head.

The king of *Spain* being advertis'd of his two carracks mishap, and the error of don *Alonso*, though he had much favour'd him before, on account of divers actions he had been in with his brother the marquis of *St. Cruz*, and for what he had lately perform'd, by taking the *Revenge*; yet the king was so offended not to have his instructions obey'd and observ'd, that he did not only take from don *Alonso* his command, but he lived and died in disgrace; which, in my opinion, he worthily deserv'd.

The queen's adventure in this voyage was only two ships; one of which, and the least of them too, was at the taking of the carrack; which title, joined with her regal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were fain to submit themselves to her pleasure; with whom she dealt but indifferently.

The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, Anno Dom. 1593.

Ships.

Commanders.

The Lyon,

The earl of *Cumberland*. Captain under him, captain *Monson*.

The Bonaventure, and seven other ships.

Sir *Edward Yorke* vice-admiral.

1593. THE earl of *Cumberland* finding that many of his voyages had miscarried through the negligence or unfaithfulness of those who were intrusted to lay in necessary provisions; and yet, being encourag'd by the good success he had the last year, obtain'd two of her majesty's ships, and victualled them himself, together with seven others that accompanied them; and arriving upon the coast of *Spain*, he took two

French ships of the *League*, which did more than treble the expence of his voyage. My lord being sever'd one day from his fleet, it was his hap to meet with twelve hulks, at the same place where captain *Monson* was taken the same day two years before: he requir'd that respect from them that was due to her majesty's ship, which they peremptorily refus'd, presuming upon the strength of their twelve ships against one

1593. only; but they found themselves deceiv'd; for after two hours fight, he brought them to his mercy, and made them acknowledge their error; and not only so, but they willingly discover'd, and deliver'd up to him a great quantity of powder and ammunition, which they carried for the king of *Spain's* service. Here I must not let pass, as I promis'd in the beginning of my discourse, to lay down all errors and miscarriages committed; and this that follows is one, for which my lord and his master deserve blame. My lord, upon taking the hulks aforesaid, stood to sea with part of them, leaving the rest with captain *Monson* to be examin'd and rummag'd. His lordship towards the evening mis'd those ships under his custody; and it seems he had forgot that his long boat and fifty of his men were left with captain *Monson*, under the guard of one small ship for their defence: these hulks being thus dismiss'd, and coming towards Sir *William Monson* and their consorts, Sir *William* mistrusted, as indeed it fell out, that they would take advantage of my lord's keeping his loose, to board and surprize them, as they had done, if Sir *William* had not prevented it by leaping into his boat on one side, as they boarded him on the other. In which leap he receiv'd a hurt in his leg, which to this time, being the year 1640. he has found a prejudice to his whole body.

My lord of *Cumberland* having spent some time thereabouts, and understanding that *Fernantelles de Menezes*, a *Portuguese*, and the king's general of a fleet of twenty

four sail, was gone to the islands, he pursued them, thinking to meet the carracks before they should join together. At his coming to *Flores*, he met and took one of the fleet, with the death of the captain, who yet liv'd so long as to inform him both where the fleet was, and of their strength. The day after he met the fleet; but being far too weak for them, was forced to leave them, and spent his time thereabouts, till he understood the carracks were pass'd by, without seeing either fleet or island.

About this time the earl being taken so ill, that his recovery was despair'd of, unless he could return to the *English* shore, or get a cow to supply him with milk, captain *Monson* ventur'd ashore on the island of *Corvo*, where, what with threats, and what with promise of reward, he got a cow, which he carried aboard, and in all likelihood was the means of saving the earl's life.

However, captain *Monson* valuing the earl's safety above all the profit of the voyage, hasted towards home, and lost company of the rest of the ships by so strange an accident, that it will scarce be believ'd, though it is a most undoubted truth; for the whole fleet being one day becalm'd, the said calm lasted for several days, and in it the ships were so parted, that they lost sight of one another, and never saw one another more, till they met in *England*, about four or five weeks after: those ships so parted from the earl, took a prize laden with sugar, which was a good addition to what was taken before.

Sir Martin Forbusher with a Fleet to Brest in Britany, Anno 1594.

Ships.

The Vanguard,
The Rainbow,
The Dreadnought,
The Quittance,

Commanders.

Sir Martin Forbusher.
Captain Fenner.
Captain Clifford.
Captain Savil.

1594. ABOUT three years before, and in 1591. the queen sent Sir *John Norris* with 3000 soldiers, to join with the *French* king's party in those parts of *Britany* about *Brest*. The king of *Spain*, who upheld the faction of the league, sent don *John de Aguila* with the like forces, to join with the duke de *Merceur*, who was of that side. The *Spaniards* arriving first, had fortified themselves very strongly near the town of *Brest*, expecting new succours from *Spain* by sea; which the *French* king fearing, craved assistance from the queen; which her majesty was the more willing to grant, because the

Spaniards had gotten the haven of *Brest* to entertain their shipping in, and were like to prove there very dangerous neighbours: wherefore she sent Sir *Martin Forbusher* thither in this year 1594. with four of her ships; and upon his arrival there, Sir *John Norris* with his forces, and Sir *Martin* with his seamen, assail'd the fort; and though it was as bravely defended as men could do, yet in the end it was taken with the loss of divers captains, Sir *Martin Forbusher* being himself fore wounded, of which hurt he died at *Plimouth* after his return.

A Fleet to the Indies, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins Generals, wherein they ventured deeply, and died in the Voyage, Anno 1594.

| Ships. | Commanders by sea. | Commander by land. |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>The Defiance,</i> | <i>Sir Francis Drake,</i> | <i>Sir Thomas Baskerville.</i> |
| <i>The Garland,</i> | <i>Sir John Hawkins,</i> | |
| <i>The Hope,</i> | <i>Captain Gilbert Yorke.</i> | |
| <i>The Bonaventure,</i> | <i>Captain Troughton.</i> | |
| <i>The Foresight,</i> | <i>Captain Winter.</i> | |
| <i>The Adventure,</i> | <i>Captain Thomas Drake.</i> | |

1594. THESE two generals presuming much upon their own experience and knowledge, used many persuasions to the queen to undertake a voyage to the *West Indies*, giving much assurance to perform great services, and promising to engage themselves very deeply therein with the adventure of both substance and life. And as all actions of this nature promise fair till they come to be performed, so did this the more in the opinion of all men, in respect of the two generals experience.

There were many impediments and lets to this voyage, before they could clear themselves of the coast, which put them to greater charge than they expected. The chiefest cause of their lingering, was a mistrust our state had of an invasion, and the danger to spare so many good ships and men out of *England* as they carried with them.

The *Spaniards* with their usual subtilty, let slip no opportunity to put us into a fear, thereby to disappoint the expedition, and sent four gallies to *Bluet* in *Britany*, from thence to fall into some part of our coast; that so we might apprehend a greater force was to follow. These gallies landed at *Pensants* in *Cornwall*; where, finding the town abandoned, they sacked and burnt it: but this design of theirs took little effect; for the voyage proceeded nevertheless.

The intent of the voyage was to land at *Nombre de Dios*, and from thence to march to *Panama*, to possess the treasure that comes from *Peru*; and if they saw reason for it, to inhabit and keep it. A few days before their going from *Plimouth*, they received letters from her majesty, communicating the intelligence she had out of *Spain*, that the *Indian* fleet was arrived; and that one of them, with loss of her mast, was put back to the island of *Porto Rico*. She therefore commanded them, seeing there was so good an opportunity offered, as the readiness of this her fleet, and the weakness of *Porto Rico*, to possess themselves of that treasure; and the rather, for that it was not much out of their way to *Nombre de Dios*. Neither years nor experience that can foresee

and prevent all mishaps; which is a manifest proof, that God is the guider and disposer of mens actions: for nothing could seem more probable to be effected than this latter design, especially considering the ability and wisdom of the two generals; and yet was unhappily prevented, and failed in the execution: for there being five frigats sent out of *Spain* to fetch this treasure from *Porto Rico*, in their way it was their fortune to take a pinnace of the *English* fleet, by whom they understood the secrets of the voyage; and to prevent the attempt of *Porto Rico*, they hastened thither with all speed, (whilst our generals lingered at *Guadalupe* to set up their boats,) and at their arrival, so strengthened the town with the soldiers brought in the frigats, that when our fleet came thither, not expecting resistance, they found themselves frustrated of their hopes, and were forced to retire with dishonour, and loss of many gentlemen there slain; which indeed they themselves were the occasion of, in managing their design with no more secrecy. This repulse was so grievously resented by *Sir John Hawkins*, who was then sickly, that it is thought to have hastened his death; and being great and unexpected, did not a little discourage *Sir Francis Drake's* great mind, who yet proceeded upon his first resolved design for *Nombre de Dios*, though with no better success: for the enemy having knowledge of their coming, fortified the passage to *Panama*, and forced them to return with shame and loss. *Sir Francis Drake*, who was wont to rule fortune, now finding his error, and the difference between the present strength of the *Indies*, and what it was when he first knew it, grew melancholy upon this disappointment, and suddenly, and I hope naturally, died at *Porto Bello*, not far from the place where he got his first reputation. The two generals dying, and all other hopes being taken away by their deaths, *Sir Thomas Baskerville* succeeded them in their command, and began now to think upon his return for *England*; but coming near *Cuba*, he met and fought with a fleet of *Spain*, though not long, by reason of the sickness and weakness of his

vantage

1595. men. This fleet was sent to take the advantage of ours in its return, thinking, as indeed it happen'd, that they should find them both weak and in want; but the swiftnes of our ships, in which we had the advantage of the *Spaniards*, preserved us. You may observe, that from the year the *Revenge* was taken, until this present year 1595. there was no summer but the king of *Spain* furnished a fleet for the guarding of his coasts, and securing of his trade; and though there was little fear of any fleet from *England* to impeach him besides this in the *Indies*, yet because he would shew his greatness, and satisfy *Portugal* of the care

he had in preserving their carracks, he sent 1595. the count of *Feria*, a young nobleman of *Portugal*, who desired to gain experience, with twenty ships to the islands; but the carracks did, as they used to do in many other years, miss both islands and fleets, and arrive safe at *Lisbon*. The other fleets of the king of *Spain* in the *Indies*, consisted of twenty four ships, their general *Don Bernardino de Villa Nova*, an approved coward, as it appeared when he came to encounter the *English* fleet; but his defects were supplied by the valour of his vice-admiral, who behaved himself much to his honour: his name was *John de Garay*.

The Earl of Essex, and the Lord Admiral of England, Generals equally both by Sea and Land, Anno 1596.

Ships.

The Repulse,
The Ark-Royal,
The Mere-Honour,
The Warspite,
The Lion,
The Rainbow.
The Nonperelle,
The Vanguard,
The Mary Rose,
The Dreadnought,
The Swiftsure,
The Quittance,
The Tremontain,
The Crane, and others.

Commanders.

The Earl of *Essex*. Captain under him
 Captain *Monfon*.
 The Lord Admiral. Captain under him,
 Sir *Ames Preston*.
 The Lord *Thomas Howard*.
 Sir *Walter Raleigh*,
 Sir *Robert Southwell*,
 Sir *Francis Vere*,
 Sir *Robert Dudley*,
 Sir *John Wingfield*,
 Sir *George Carew*,
 Sir *Alexander Clifford*.
 Sir *Robert Cross*,
 Sir *George Gifford*,
 Captain *King*.

1596.

THE first of *June*, 1596. we departed from *Plimouth*; and our departure was the more speedy, by reason of the great pains, care, and industry of the sixteen captains, who, in their own persons, laboured the night before to get out some of their ships riding at *Cartwater*, which otherwise had not been easily effected. The third we set sail from *Cansom Bay*, the wind, which, when we weighed was at west and by south, instantly cast up to the north-east, and so continued till it brought us up as high as the *North Cape of Spain*; and this fortunate beginning put us in great hopes of a lucky success to ensue.

We being now come upon our enemy's coast, it behoved the generals to be vigilant in keeping them from intelligence of us, who therefore appointed the *Litnes*, the *Truelove*, and the *Lion's Whelp*, (the three best sailors of our fleet,) to run a-head, suspecting the *Spaniards* had some carvels of advice out, which they did usually send to discover at sea, upon any rumour of a less fleet than this made ready in *England*.

No ship or carvel escaped us; which I

hold a second happiness to our voyage: for 1596. you shall understand hereafter the inconvenience that might have happened upon our discovery.

The 10th of *June* the said three ships took three fly-boats that came from *Cadiz* fourteen days before, by whom we understood the state of the town, and that they had no suspicion of us; which we looked on as a third omen of our good fortune to come.

The 12th of *June* the *Swan*, a ship of *London*, being commanded, as the other three, to keep a good way off the fleet, to prevent discovery, she met with a fly-boat which made resistance, and escaped her. This fly-boat came from the *Streights*, bound home; who discovering our fleet, and and thinking to gain reputation and reward from the *Spaniards*, shaped her course for *Lisbon*; but she was luckily prevented by the *John and Francis*, another ship of *London*, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Darrel*, who took her within a league of the shore; and this we may account a fourth happiness to our voyage. The first (as hath been

1596. been said) was for the wind to take us so suddenly, and to continue so long: for our soldiers being shipp'd, and in harbour, would have consumed their victuals, and have been so pestered, that it would have endangered a sickness amongst them. The second was the taking all ships that were seen, which kept the enemy from intelligence. The third was the intercepting of the fly-boats from *Cadiz*, whither we were bound, who assured us our coming was not suspected, which made us more careful to hail from the coast than otherwise we should have been: they told us, likewise, of the daily expectation of the galleons to come from *St. Lucar* to *Cadiz*, and of the merchant-men that lay there, and were ready bound for the *Indies*. These intelligences were of great moment, and made the generals presently to contrive their business both by sea and land, which otherwise would have taken up a longer time after their coming thither; and whether all men would have consented to attempt their ships in harbour, if they had not known the most part of them to consist of merchants, I hold very doubtful. The fourth, and most fortunate of all, was the taking of the fly-boat by the *John and Francis*, which the *Swan* let go: for if she had reached *Lisbon*, she had been able to make report of the number and greatness of our ships, and might have endangered the loss of the whole design, she seeing the course we bore, and that we had pass'd *Lisbon*, which was the place the enemy most suspected, and made there his greatest preparation for defence: but had the enemy been freed of that doubt, he had then no place to fear but *Andaluzia*, and *Cadiz* above the rest; which, upon the least warning, might have been strengthened, and we put to great hazard: he might also have secur'd his ships by towing them out with galleys, and, howsoever the wind had been, might have sent them into the *Streights*, where it had been in vain to have pursued them, or over the bar of *St. Lucar*, where there had been no attempting of them.

And, indeed, of the good and ill of intelligence we had had sufficient experience formerly; of the good in 1588. for how suddenly had we been taken, and surprized when we least suspected, had it not been for captain *Flemming*? of the ill, in the year before this, by the *Spaniards* taking a bark of Sir *Francis Drake's* fleet, which was the occasion of the overthrow of himself and the whole action?

The 20th of *June* we came to *Cadiz*, earlier in the morning than the masters made reckoning of. Before our coming thither, it was determined in council that we should land at *St. Sebastian's*, the western-

most part of the land, and thither came all the ships to an anchor, every man preparing to land as he was formerly directed; but the wind being so great, and the sea so grown, and four galleys lying to intercept our boats, there was no attempting to land there without the hazard of all.

This day was spent in vain, in returning messengers from one general to another; and in the end, they were forced to resolve upon a course which Sir *William Monson*, captain under my lord of *Essex*, advis'd him to the same morning, he discover'd the town, which was to surprize the ships, and to be possessors of the harbour before they attempted landing.

This being now resolved on, there arose a great question, Who should have the honour of the first going in? My lord of *Essex* stood for himself; but my lord admiral oppos'd it, knowing if he miscarried, it would hazard the overthrow of the action; besides, he was streightly charged by her majesty, that the earl should not expose himself to danger, but upon great necessity.

When my lord of *Essex* could not prevail, the whole council withstanding him, he sent Sir *William Monson* that night on board my lord admiral, to resolve what ships should be appointed the next day to undertake the service. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had the van given him, which my lord *Thomas Howard* hearing, challeng'd in right of his place of vice-admiral, and it was granted him; but Sir *Walter* having order over-night to ply in, came first to an anchor, but in that distance from the *Spaniards* as he could not annoy them, and he himself return'd on board the lord general *Essex*, to excuse his coming to anchor so far off, for want of water to go higher; which was thought strange, that the *Spaniards* which drew much more water, and had no more advantage than he of tide, could pass where his could not; but Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to second him, passing by Sir *Walter Raleigh's* ship, Sir *Walter* the second time weighed, and went higher. The lord general *Essex*, who promis'd to keep in the midst of the fleet, was told by Sir *William Monson*, that the greatest service would depend upon three or four ships; and Sir *William* put him in mind of his honour; for that many eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetful of his promise, and to use all means he could to be foremost in the fight. My lord *Howard*, who could not go up in his own ship the *Mere-honour*, betook himself to the *Nonpareille*, and in respect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulse*, and *Warspight*, had taken up the best part of the channel by their first coming to an anchor,

1596. to his grief, he could not get higher: here did every ship strive to be the headmost; but such was the narrowness of the channel, as neither the lord admiral, nor any other ship of the queen's, could pass on. Order was given that no ship should shoot but the queen's; making account, that the honour would be the greater, if the victory were obtain'd with so few. This fight continu'd from ten till four in the afternoon: the *Spaniards* then set sail, thinking either to run higher up the river, or else to bring their other broad-sides to us, because of the heat of their ordnance. But howsoever it was, in their floating they came a-ground, and the men began to forsake the ships: whereupon it was ordered, that all the hoys and vessels that drew least water should go to them. Sir *William Monson* was sent in the *Repulse-boat* with like directions. We possess'd our selves of the great galleons, the *Matthew* and *Andrew*; but the *Philip* and *Thomas* fir'd themselves, and were burnt down before they could be quenched.

I must not omit to describe the manner of the *Spanish* ships and galleys riding in harbour at our first coming to *Cadiz*. The four galleons singled themselves from out the fleet as guards of their merchants. The galleys were placed to flank us with their prows before entry; but when they saw our approach, the next morning the merchants ran up the river, and the men of war to the point of the river, and brought themselves into a good order of fight, mooring their ships a-head and a-stern, to have their broad-sides upon us. The galleys then betook themselves to the guard of the town, which we put them from before we attempted the ships.

But because I have promis'd in the beginning of my discourse to particularize some errors and miscarriages, my capacity would permit me to judge of, before I proceed further on this voyage I will declare a main oversight in the *Spaniards*.

After the galleons had (as you have heard) brought themselves to the mouth of the bay of *Cadiz*, and found themselves unable to withstand us, if, instead of running to *Point Royal*, they had put themselves under the defence of the town, they had been defended by their fort *Philip*, which had added a strength to theirs; or being overcome, as afterwards they were, they might with more security have run themselves a-ground near the town, which would have secured their men in spite of us, and not as they did where there was no fort, nor any force of men to support them. Besides, the men that had then escaped into the town, might have defended it with their numbers, that, though we had taken the place, it must

have been upon harder conditions than we did. But to proceed:

The victory being obtain'd at sea, the lord general *Essex* landed his men in a sandy bay, which the castle of *Puntall* commanded; but they seeing the success of their ships, and mistrusting their own strength, neither offered to offend his landing, nor to defend the castle, but quitted it, and so we became possessors of it.

After my lord's peaceable landing, he consider'd what was to be done; and there being no place from whence the enemy could annoy us, but the bridge which crosses over from the main land to the island, by our making good of which bridge there would be no way left for the galleys to escape us, he sent three regiments under the command of Sir *Comiers Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Garret*, to the bridge; who, at their first coming, were encountered by the enemy, but yet possessed themselves of it, with the loss of some men; but whether it was for want of victuals, or for what other reasons, our men quitted it, I know not, and the galleys breaking down divers arches, pass'd it, and by that means escaped.

My lord dispatch'd a messenger to my lord admiral, intreating him to give order to attempt the merchants that rode in *Port Royal*; for that it was dangerous to give them a night's respite, lest they should convey away their wealth, or take example by the *Philip* and *Thomas* to burn themselves. This message was delivered by Sir *Anthony Ashley* and Sir *William Monson*, as my lord admiral was in his boat, ready with his troops of seamen to land, who, fearing the lord general *Essex* should be put to distress with his small companies, which were but three regiments, hastened by all means to second him, and gave order to certain ships the next day to pursue them.

Since I have undertaken to shew the oversights committed in any of our *English* voyages, such as were committed here shall, without fear or flattery, appear to the judicious reader.

Though the earl of *Essex's* carriage and forwardness merited much, yet if it had been with more deliberation, and less haste, it would have succeeded better: and if he were now living, he would confess Sir *William Monson* advis'd him rather to seek to be master of the ships than of the town; for it was that would afford both wealth and honour: for the riches in ships could not be concealed, or convey'd away, as in towns they might. And the ships themselves being brought for *England*, would be always before mens eyes there, and put them in mind of the greatness of the exploit; as for the

1596. the town, perhaps it might be soon won, but probably not long enjoy'd, and so quickly forgotten: and to speak indifferently, by the earl's sudden landing, without the lord admiral's privity, and his giving advice by a message to attempt the ships, which should have been resolv'd upon mature deliberation, no doubt the lord admiral found his honour a little eclips'd, which perhaps hasten'd his landing for his reputation sake, when as he thought it more advisable to have possess'd himself of their fleet.

Before the lord admiral could draw near the town, the earl of *Essex* had entered it; and though the houses were built in such manner, that every house serv'd for a platform, yet they were forc'd to quit them, and retire to the castle.

My lord at last, in despite of the enemy, gain'd the market-place, where he found the greatest resistance from the houses thereabouts, and where that worthy gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was unluckily slain. The lord general *Essex* caus'd it to be proclaim'd by beat of drum through the town, that all that would yield, should repair to the town-house, where they should have promise of mercy, and those that would not to expect no favour. The castle desir'd respite to consider till the morning following, and then by one general consent, they surrender'd themselves to the two lord generals mercy. The chief prisoners, men and women, were brought into the castle, where they remain'd a little space, and were sent away with honourable usage. The noble treating of the prisoners has gain'd everlasting honour to our nation, and the generals in particular.

It cannot be supposed the lord generals had leisure to be idle the day following, having so great business to consider of, as the securing the town, and enjoying the merchant ships: wherefore, for the speedier dispatch, they treated with the best men of the city about the ransom to be given for their town and liberties. One hundred and twenty thousand ducats was the sum concluded on; and for security thereof, many of them became hostages. There was likewise an overture for the ransom of their ships and goods, which the duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we should reap any profit by them, he caus'd them to be fired.

We found by experience, that the destroying of this fleet, (which did amount to the value of six or seven millions,) was the general impoverishing of the whole country; for when the pledges were sent to *Seville*, to take up money for their redemption, they were answer'd, That all the town was not able to raise such a sum, their loss

was so great by the destruction of their fleet. And to speak the truth, the king of *Spain* never receiv'd so great an overthrow, and so great an indignity at our hands as this; for our attempt was at his own home, in his port that he thought as safe as his chamber, where we took and destroy'd his ships of war, burnt and consum'd the wealth of his merchants, sack'd his city, ransom'd his subjects, and enter'd his country without impeachment.

To write all accidents of this voyage, were too tedious, and would weary the reader; but he that would desire to know the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, may confer with divers *Englishmen* that were redeem'd out of the galleys in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

After we had enjoy'd the town of *Cadiz* a fortnight, and our men were grown rich by the spoil of it, the generals imbarcked their army, with an intent to perform greater services before their return; but such was the covetousness of the better sort, who were enrich'd there, and the fear of hunger in others, who complain'd for want of victuals, that they could not willingly be drawn to any farther action, to gain more reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted was *Faro*, a town of *Algarve* in *Portugal*, a place of no resistance or wealth, only famous for the library of *Oforius*, who was bishop of that place; which library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the books bestowed upon the new-erected library of *Oxford*.

Some prisoners were taken; but of small account: who told us, that the greatest strength of the country was in *Lagos*, the chief town of *Algarve*, twelve miles distant from thence, because most part of the gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good, expecting our coming: this news was acceptable to my lord of *Essex*, who preferr'd honour before wealth: and having had his will, and the spoil of the town of *Faro*, and country thereabouts, he shipp'd his army, and took council of the lord admiral how to proceed. My lord admiral diverted his course for *Lagos*, alledging the place was strong, of no wealth, always held in the nature of a fisher-town belonging to the *Portuguese*, who in their hearts were our friends; that the winning of it, after so eminent a place as *Cadiz*, could add no honour; though it should be carried, yet it would be the loss of his best troops and gentlemen, who would rather die than receive the indignity of a repulse. My lord of *Essex*, much against his will, was forc'd to yield to these reasons, and desist from that enterprize.

About this time there was a general complaint for want of victuals, which proceeded rather

1596. rather out of a desire that some had to be at home, than out of any necessity; for Sir William Monson and Mr. Darrel were appointed to examine the condition of every ship, and found seven weeks victuals, (drink excepted,) which might have been supplied from the shore in water; and this put the generals in great hope to perform something more than they had done. The only service now to be thought on, was to lie in wait for the carracks, which in all probability could not escape us, though there were many doubts to the contrary, but easily answer'd by men of experience: but in truth some mens desires homeward were so great, that no reason could prevail with, or persuade them.

Coming into the height of the rock, the generals took council once again; and then the earl of Essex and the lord Thomas Howard offer'd, with great earnestness, to stay out the time our victuals lasted, and desir'd to have but twelve ships furnish'd out of the rest to stay with them: but this would not be granted, though the squadron of the *Hollanders* offer'd voluntarily to stay. Sir Walter Raleigh alledg'd the scarcity of victuals, and the infection of his men. My lord general Essex offer'd, in the greatness of his mind, and the desire he had to stay, to supply his want of men and victuals, and to exchange ships: but all proposalls were in vain; for the riches of *Cadix* kept them that had got much, from attempting more, as if it had been pure want, and not honour, would have enforc'd them to greater enterprizes.

This being the last hopes of the voyage, and being generally withstood, it was concluded to steer away for the *North Cape*,

and afterwards to view and search the harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the king of *Spain's* ships chanced to be there, to give an attempt upon them.

The lord admiral sent a carvel of our fleet into these two harbours, and apparell'd the men in *Spanish* cloaths, to avoid suspicion: this carvel return'd the next day with a true relation, that there were no ships in the harbours: and now passing all places where there was any hope of doing good, our return for *England* was resolv'd upon; and on the 8th of *August* the lord admiral arriv'd at *Plimouth* with the greatest part of the army: and the lord general Essex, who staid to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which was under his charge, and reputed of his squadron, two days after us, being the 10th of *August*, where he found the army in that perfect health, as the like has not been seen, for so many to go out of *England* to such great enterprizes, and to return home again so well.

He himself rid up to the court, to advise with her majesty about the winning of *Calais*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Easter* before. Here was a good opportunity to have regain'd the ancient patrimony of *England*; but the *French* king thought he might with more ease regain it from the *Spaniard* who was his enemy, than recover it again from us who were his friends.

My lord admiral with the fleet went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the charge of the navy to Sir Robert Dudley and Sir William Monson. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endur'd more foul weather and contrary winds, than in the whole voyage besides.

A Voyage to the Islands, the Earl of Essex General, Anno 1597.

Ships.

The Mere-honour, }
after in the *Repulse,* }
The Lyon,
The Warspite,
The Garland,
The Defiance,
The Mary Rose,
The Hope,
The Matthew,
The Rainbow,
The Bonaventure,
The Dreadnought,
The Swiftsure,
The Antelope,
The Nonpareille,
The St. Andrew,

Commands.

{ The earl of Essex. Captain under him,
{ Sir Robert Mansell.
The lord Thomas Howard.
Sir Walter Raleigh.
The earl of Southampton,
The lord Mountjoy.
Sir Francis Vere.
Sir Richard Lewson.
Sir George Carew.
Sir William Monson.
Sir William Harvey.
Sir William Brooke.
Sir Gilly Merick.
Sir John Gilbert; he went not.
Sir Thomas Vavasor.
Captain Throgmorton.

1597. HER majesty having knowledge of the king of *Spain's* drawing down his fleet and army to the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*,

with an intent to enter into some action against her; and that notwithstanding the loss of thirty six sail of his ships that were cast

1597. cast away upon the *North Cape*, in their coming thither, he prepar'd with all possible means to revenge the disgrace we did him the year last past at *Cadiz*. Her majesty likewise prepar'd to defend herself, and fitted out the most part of her ships for the sea; but at length, perceiving his drift was more to affright than offend her, though he gave it out otherwise, because she should provide to resist him at home, rather than to annoy him abroad, she was unwilling the great charges she had been at should be bestowed in vain; and therefore turn'd her preparations another way, than that for which she first intended them.

The project of this voyage was to assault the king of *Spain's* shipping in the harbour of *Ferrol*, which the queen chiefly desir'd to do for her own security at home, and afterwards to go and take the *Tercera* islands, and there to expect the coming home of the *Indian* fleet: but neither of these two designs took that effect which was expected; for in our setting forth, the same day we put to sea we were taken with a most violent storm and contrary winds; and the general was separated from the fleet, and one ship from another; so that the one half of the fleet was compelled to return home; and the rest that kept the sea, having reach'd the coast of *Spain*, were commanded home, by order of the lord general.

Thus, after their return, they were to advise upon a new voyage, finding by their ships and victuals they were unable to perform the former: whereupon it was thought convenient all the army should be discharged for saving of victuals, except a thousand of the prime soldiers of the low countries, which were put into her majesty's ships, that they might be the better prepar'd, if they should chance to encounter the *Spanish* fleet. Thus the second time they departed *England*, though not without some danger of the ships, by reason of the winter's near approach.

The first land in *Spain* we fell in withal was the *North Cape*, the place whither our directions led us, if we happen'd to lose company. Being there descried from the shore, and not above twelve leagues from the *Groyne*, where the *Spanish Armada* lay, we were in good hopes to have enticed them out of the harbour to fight us; but spending some time thereabouts, and finding no such disposition in them, it was thought fit no longer to linger about that coast, lest we should lose our opportunity upon the *Indian* fleet; therefore every captain receiv'd his directions to stand his course into thirty six degrees, there to spread ourselves north and south, it being a heighth that commonly the *Spaniards* sail in from the *Indies*.

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At this time the lord general complain'd of a leak in his ship; and two days after, towards midnight, he brought himself upon the lee to stop it. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and some other ships, being a-head of the fleet, and it growing dark, they could not discern the lord general's working, but stood their course as before directed; and through this unadvised working of my lord, they lost him, which was a great disheartening to his fleet.

The day following, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was inform'd, by a pinnace he met, that the great *Armada*, which we supposed to be in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, was gone to the islands for the guard of the *Indian* fleet: this pinnace, with this intelligence it gave us, Sir *Walter Raleigh* immediately sent to look out the general. My lord had no sooner receiv'd this advice, but at the very instant he directed his course to the islands, and dispatch'd some small vessels to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to inform him of the sudden alteration of his course, upon the news receiv'd from him, commanding him with all expedition to repair to *Flores*, where he would not fail to be at our arrival. At the islands we found this intelligence utterly false; for neither the *Spanish* ships were there, nor were expected there. We met likewise with divers *Englishmen* that came out of the *Indies*; but they could give us no assurance of the coming home of the fleet; neither could we receive any advertisement from the shore, which made us half in despair of them.

By that time we had watered our ships, and refresh'd ourselves at *Flores*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* arriv'd there; who was will'd by the lord general, after he was furnish'd of such wants as that poor island afforded, to repair to the island of *Fayal*, which my lord intended to take. Here grew great questions and heart-burnings against Sir *Walter Raleigh*; for he coming to *Fayal*, and missing the lord general, and yet knowing my lord's resolution to take the island, he held it more advisable to land with those forces he had, than to expect the coming of my lord; for in that space the island might be better provided: whereupon he landed, and took it before my lord's approach. This act was held such an indignity to my lord, and urg'd with that vehemence by those that hated Sir *Walter*, that if my lord, though naturally kind and flexible, had not fear'd how it would have been taken in *England*, I think Sir *Walter* had smarted for it.

From this island we went to *Graciosa*, which did willingly relieve our wants as far as it could; yet with humble intreaty to forbear landing with our army, especially because they understood there was a squad-

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 dron of *Hollanders* amongst us, who did not use to forbear cruelty wherever they came: and here it was that we met the *Indian* fleet, which in manner following miraculously, escap'd us.

The lord general having sent some men of good account into the island, to see there should be no injury offer'd to the *Portuguese*; because he had pass'd his word to the contrary, those men advertis'd him of four sail of ships descried from the shore, and one of them, greater than the rest, seem'd to be a carrack. My lord receiv'd this news with great joy, and divided his fleet into three squadrons, to be commanded by himself, the lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The next ship to my lord, of the queen's, was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monson* went, who receiv'd direction from my lord to steer away south that night; and if he should meet with any fleet, to follow them, carrying lights, or shooting off his ordnances, or making any other sign that he could; and if he met with no ships, to direct his course the next day to the island of *St. Michael*; but promising that night to send twelve ships after him. Sir *William* befought my lord, by the pinnace that brought him this direction, that above all things he should have a care to dispatch a squadron to the road of *Angra* in the *Terceras*; for it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would resort.

Whilst my lord was thus contriving his business, and ordering his squadron, a small bark of his fleet happen'd to come to him, who assur'd him, that those ships discover'd from the land were of his own fleet, and that they came in immediately from them: this made my lord countermand his former direction; only Sir *William Monson*, who was the next ship to him, and receiv'd the first command, could not be recalled back. Within three hours of his departure from my lord, which might be about twelve of the clock, he fell in company of a fleet of twenty five sail; which at the first he could not assure himself to be *Spaniards*, because the day before, that number of ships was missing from our fleet. Here he was in a dilemma, and great perplexity with himself; for in making signs, as he was directed, if the ships prov'd *English*, it were ridiculous, and he would be expos'd to scorn; and to respite it till morning were as dangerous, if they were the *Indian* fleet; for then my lord might be out of view, or of the hearing of his ordnance; therefore he resolv'd ratherto put his person, than his ship in peril. He commanded his master to keep the weather-gage of the fleet, whatsoever should become of him; and it blowing little wind, he betook himself to his

boat, and row'd up with this fleet, demanding whence they were. They answer'd, of *Seville* in *Spain*; and ask'd of whence he was. He told them, of *England*; and that the ship in sight was a galleon of the queen's of *England*, single and alone, alledging the honour they would get by winning her; his drift being to draw and entice them into the wake of our fleet, where they would be so entangled, as they could not escape. They return'd him some shot, and ill language; but would not alter their course to the *Terceras*, whither they were bound, and where they arriv'd, to our misfortune. Sir *William Monson* return'd aboard his ship, making signs and lights, and report with his ordnance, but all in vain; for my lord altering his course, as you have heard, stood that night to *St. Michael's*, and pass'd by the north side of *Tercera*, a farther way than if he had gone by the way of *Angra*, where he had met the *Indian* fleet.

When day appear'd, and Sir *William Monson* was in hopes to find the twelve ships promis'd to be sent to him, he might discern the *Spanish* fleet two miles and a little more a-head of him, and a-stern him a galleon, and a pinnace betwixt them; which putting forth her flags, he knew to be the earl of *Southampton* in the *Garland*. The pinnace was a frigate of the *Spanish* fleet; who took the *Garland* and the *Rainbow* to be galleons of theirs; but seeing the flag of the *Garland*, she found her error, and sprang a-loof, thinking to escape; but the earl pursued her with the loss of some time, when he should have followed the fleet, and therefore was desir'd to desist from that chase by Sir *William Monson*, who sent his boat to him. By a shot from my lord this frigate was sunk; and while his men were rifling her, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Brook* came up in their two ships, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were two galleons of theirs; and so much did my lord signify to Sir *William Monson*, wishing him to stay their coming up; for that there would be greater hope of those two ships, which there was no doubt but we were able to master, than of the fleet, for which we were too weak.

When Sir *William* knew the two ships to be the queen's, which he had before suspected, he began to pursue the *Spanish* fleet afresh; but by reason they were so far a-head of him, and had so little way to sail, they recover'd the road of *Tercera*; but he and the rest of the ships pursued them, and himself led the way into the harbour, where he found sharp resistance from the castle; but yet so batter'd the ships, that he might see the masts of some shot by the board, and the men quit the ships; so that there wanted nothing but a gale of wind to enable him

1597. him to cut the cables of the hawfers, and to bring them off; wherefore he sent to the other three great ships of ours, to desire them to attempt the cutting their cables; but Sir Francis Vere rather wish'd his coming off, that they might take a resolution what to do: this must be rather imputed to want of experience than backwardness in him; for Sir William sent him word, that if he quitted the harbour, the ships would tow near the castle; and as the night drew on, the wind would freshen, and come more off the land; which indeed prov'd so, and we above a league from the road in the morning.

We may say, and that truly, there was never that possibility to have undone the state of *Spain* as now; for every royal of plate we had taken in this fleet, had been two to them, by our converting it by war upon them.

None of the captains could be blamed in this business; all is to be attributed to the want of experience in my lord, and his flexible nature to be over-ruled; for the first hour he anchored at *Flores*, and call'd a council, Sir William Monson advised him, upon the reasons following; After his watering to run west, spreading his fleet north and south, so far as the eastern wind that then blew would carry them; alledging, that if the *Indian* fleet came home that year, by computation of the last light moon, from which time their disemboguing in the *Indies* must be reckoned, they could not be above two hundred leagues short of that island; and whensoever the wind should chop up westerly, he bearing a slack sail, they would in a few days overtake him.

This advice my lord seem'd to embrace; but was diverted by divers gentlemen, who, coming principally for land-service, found themselves tir'd by the tediousness of the sea. Certain it is, if my lord had followed his advice, within less than forty hours he had made the queen owner of that fleet; for by the pilot's card, which was taken in the frigate, the *Spanish* fleet was but fifty leagues in traverse with that eastern wind, when my lord was at *Flores*; which made my lord wish, the first time Sir William Monson repair'd to him, after the escape of the fleet, that he had lost his hand, so he had been ruled by him.

Being met aboard Sir Francis Vere, we consulted what to do, and resolv'd to acquaint my lord with what had happen'd, desiring his presence with us, to see if there were any possibility to attempt the shipping; or surprize the island, and so to possess the treasure.

My lord receiv'd this advertisement just as he was ready with his troops to have landed in *St. Michael's*; but this message diverted his landing, and made him presently cast

1597. about for the islands of the *Tercera*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. In his course from *St. Michael's* it was his hap to take three ships that departed the *Havana* the day after the fleet; which three ships did almost then countervail the expence of the whole voyage.

At my lord's meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a consultation how the enemy's ships might be fetched off, or destroyed, as they lay; but all men, with one consent, agreed the impossibility of it. The attempting the island was propounded; but withstood for these reasons, The difficulty in landing; the strength of the island, which was increased by fourteen or fifteen hundred soldiers in the ships; and our want of victuals, to abide by the siege. Seeing then we were frustrate of our hopes at the *Tercera*, we resolv'd upon landing in *St. Michael's*; and arriv'd the day following at *Punta Delgada*, the chief city. Here my lord imbarc'd his small army in boats, with offer to land; and having thereby drawn the enemy's greatest force thither to resist him, suddenly he rowed to *Villa Franca*, three or four leagues distant from thence; which, not being defended by the enemy, he took. The ships had order to abide in the road of *Delgada*; for that my lord made account to march thither by land; but being ashore at *Villa Franca*, he was inform'd that the march was impossible, by reason of the high and craggy mountains which diverted his purpose.

Victuals now grew short with us; and my lord general began discreetly to foresee the danger in abiding towards winter upon these coasts, which could not afford him an harbour, only open roads that were subject to southerly winds; and upon every such wind, he must put to sea for his safety. He consider'd, that if this should happen when his troops were ashore, and he not able to reach the land in a fortnight, or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a desperate case he should put himself into, especially in so great a want of victuals; and so concluding, that he had seen the end of all his hopes by the escape of the fleet, he embarked himself and army, though with some difficulty, the seas were now grown so high.

By this time the one half of the fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada* made away for *Villa Franca*; and those that remain'd behind, being thought by a ship of *Brazil* to be the *Spanish* fleet, she came in amongst them, and so was betray'd. After her there follow'd a carrack, who had been serv'd in the like manner, but for the hasty and indiscreet weighing of a *Hollander*, which made her run ashore under the castle. When the wind less'n'd, Sir William Monson weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an attempt upon

1597. on her, notwithstanding the castle; which she perceiving, as he drew near unto her, she set herself on fire, and burned down to the very keel. She was a ship of fourteen hundred tuns burden, that the year before was not able to double the cape of *Good-Hope* in her voyage to the *East Indies*, but put into *Brazil*, where she was laden with sugars, and afterwards thus destroyed. The *Spaniards*, who presumed more upon their advantages than valour, and thought themselves in too weak a condition to follow us to the islands, and put their fortunes upon a day's service, subtilly devised how to intercept us as we came home, when we had least thought or suspicion of them and their fleet, which was all this while in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, not daring to put forwards while they knew ours to be upon the coast. Their general, the *Adelantado* came for *England*, with a resolution to land at *Falmouth*, and fortify it; and afterwards with their ships to keep the sea, and expect our coming home scattered; and having thus cut off our sea-forces, and possessing the harbour of *Falmouth*, they thought with a second supply of thirty seven *Levantine* ships, which the marquis *Arumbullo* commanded, to have returned and gained a good footing in *England*.

We may say, and that truly, that God fought for us: for the *Adelantado* being within a few leagues of the island of *Silly*, he commanded all his captains on board him to receive his directions; but whilst they were in consultation, a violent storm took them at east, inasmuch that the captains could hardly recover their ships, but in no case were able to save their boats: the storm continued so furious, that happy was he who could recover home, seeing their design thus overthrown by the loss of their boats, whereby the means of landing was taken away. Some who were willing to stay, and receive the farther commands of the general, kept the seas so long upon our coast, that in the end they were taken; others put themselves into our harbours for refuge and succour; and it is certainly known, that in this voyage the *Spaniards* lost eighteen ships, the *St. Luke* and the *St. Bartholomew* being two, and in the rank of his best galleons.

We must ascribe this loss of theirs to God only; for certainly the enemies designs were dangerous, and not diverted by our force, but by his will, who from time to time would not suffer the *Spaniards* in any one of their attempts to set footing in *England*, as we did in all quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the *Islands*, and both *Indies*.

In this voyage to the islands, I have set down my lord's design upon the *Spanish* fleet lying at *Ferrol*; wherein his lordship required a captain he most relied on to have his opinion in writing. First, Whether he

should attempt the ships in harbour, or no? Secondly, whether before or after his being at the *Tercera*? And, Lastly, the manner how to assail them? The captain's answer follows, which you may read and judge of.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of ESSEX.

1597. **I**N answer to your lordship's demand, *Whether to give an attempt upon the ships in Ferrol, before the landing your men, and the castles gain'd*, this I say, That before I can give my resolution, I must describe the state of the harbour, and the situation of the forts, with the strength of the ships; for out of these must proceed my reasons.

" I conceive at the entrance of the harbour there are two castles, the one on the southside, the other on the north, both commanding any ship that shall enter: they are seated low by the water, the cliffs on both sides very high, and the harbour to be chained.

" My opinion is, if your lordship do land your men in the bay before you take the forts, as there is no other place of landing, you must consider it is an open road, the coast subject to northerly winds, which beat so hard on the shore, that you cannot land your soldiers and their furniture with conveniency and safety, especially being sure to find resistance at your landing.

" But your lordship may answer, That he who attempts great things, must run all hazards: and as it is wisdom to forecast all doubts and dangers, so were it too great security not to hazard loss upon hope of victory: and whereas the danger of landing by reason of the sea's breaking on the shore is alledged, you may think we are not always sure of a northerly wind, nor of so great a sea; and therefore you must put your attempt in adventure.

" But for your lordship's satisfaction in this point, you must know that you cannot seize that coast, but with such a wind as makes such a sea as renders it difficult for you to land. Or suppose, that being upon the coast as you were the last year, when you came from *Cadiz*, and that the wind should now do, as then it did, chop up from the southwest to the north-west, your lordship would be imbay'd, and forced to seek the harbour of the *Groyne* or *Ferrol*, and make good those places, which then you might have done: but now you must consider your army is not so great as it was then, and their fortifications and shipping are much stronger than they were. My opinion is, therefore, That there is little possibility of attempting

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“ tempting the shipping without gaining the forts ; neither do I see any possibility to possess them with your small army.

“ But your lordship may alledge, That though the ports were impregnable, yet they may be pass'd with a large wind ; for every shot that comes from them hits not, or if it does it kills not, but though it should, it sinks not.

“ I allow it is no great difficulty to pass any fort with a ship under sail, being a moveable thing, where no certain aim can be had ; yet I think no place more dangerous than *Ferrol*, because of the highness of the hills, and the narrowness of the entrance that makes a continual calm, or the little wind so uncertain, that every puff brings sundry shift of wind. Many of the king of *Spain*'s ships have been there lost : and therefore the advantage of a ship in passing a castle is the force and largeness of a wind ; as to the contrary, these forts will be able to annoy a ship upon the former reasons.

“ But allow that your lordship's fleet should enter safely ; for the greatest difficulty is not to pass in, but to perform the service when they are within : your fleet being entered, they will be in the state of a prisoner, that cannot get out of a house without leave of his keeper ; for the wind that is good and large for them to enter, is as much against their coming out ; and therefore it behoves every commander, as well to think of bringing himself off with discretion, as of falling on with resolution.

“ Hitherto I have shewed the uncertainty of your lordship's landing, the doubtfulness of your attempt, and the danger in not having the castles ; but I will now suppose the forts to be ours, and the whole shipping passed them without any loss ; yet will the enemy have as great an advantage as they can wish ; for the number of men and shipping, and the greatness of their vessels, are known to exceed ours ; and where there is an equality in shipping on both sides, the victory is not to be obtained on neither side, whilst there is ammunition and men on the other side, unless it be by a general boarding, or stratagem of firing ; in which the *Spaniards* shall have advantage of us, they being in their own harbour, where they may be supplied, and we can have no relief but what we bring with us.

“ If your lordship shall hold it convenient, as in discretion I think you will not, to send in her majesty's ships upon this service, then you must consider the rest of your fleet to be far inferior to the enemies strength ; and so you will send them

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“ apparently to their own destruction, slaughter, and ruin. 1597.

“ As I am against the attempt of *Ferrol* before you return from the islands, so I am also against your lordship's presenting yourself upon that coast ; for in thinking to entice forth the fleet, besides that you shall discover your own strength, you shall give them occasion to arm their country ; and besides, it will be in their choice, whether to fight with you, or no ; for they will be able to discover and judge of your forces ; and such is their discipline, that though they had your lordship upon advantage, yet they dare not attempt you without a special order from the king ; which your lordship found by experience in the count *de Fuentes*'s answer to your lordship's challenge at the walls of *Lisbon*. And to conclude, since your lordship intends to go from *Ferrol* to *Tercera*, it were much better, in my opinion, first to attempt that island, whilst your army is strong and in health. It is a place of much more importance, and more likelihood of prevailing than in your enterprize upon the shipping : that island being possessed, will draw contributions from the rest to maintain it : your lordship will cut off the supplies the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* receive from both the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil* : your lordship will provide a place of refuge for our fleet hereafter ; from whence they may with ease keep the seas, and endanger all the trades aforesaid : your lordship will unite that island to the crown of *England* ; and if there be an agreement of peace betwixt the two nations, you will gain advantageous conditions to the state of *England* upon a treaty : your lordship will be in a possibility of drawing the *Armada* of *Ferrol* to pursue you thither, that island importing them so much to defend ; and then your lordship will have your desire to fight them upon equal terms at sea. If you attempt *Ferrol* at first, and should happen to be repulsed, your lordship will confess, it will be so great a dishonour and loss, that you will not be able to resolve upon any other service ; and then will your expedition for the *Terceras* be utterly void : whereas if you would please to make your attempt upon the *Terceras* first, it will not take away your hope of *Ferrol* afterwards ; for in your return from thence, you will find the shipping either in the same state you left them in harbour ; or if you meet them at sea, you will encounter them upon advantage. Thus have I answered your lordship's demand as you required.”

W. M.

*The Lord Thomas Howard Admiral in the Downs, from whence he returned  
in a Month, Anno 1599.*

## Ships.

*The Elizabeth Jonas,  
The Ark Royal,  
The Triumph.  
The Mere-bonour,  
The Repulse,  
The Garland,  
The Defiance,  
The Nonperville,  
The Lion,  
The Rainbow.  
The Hope,  
The Foresight,  
The Mary Rose,  
The Banaventure,  
The Crane,  
The Swiftsure,  
The Tremontain,  
The Advantage,  
The Quittance,*

## Commanders.

*The Lord Thomas Howard.  
Sir Walter Raleigh.  
Sir Fulke Grivel.  
Sir Henry Palmer.  
Sir Thomas Vavasor.  
Sir William Harvey.  
Sir William Monfon.  
Sir Robert Cross,  
Sir Richard Lewson.  
Sir Alexander Clifford.  
Sir John Gilbert.  
Sir Thomas Sherley.  
Mr. Fortescue.  
Captain Troughton.  
Captain Jonas.  
Captain Bradgate.  
Captain Slingsby.  
Captain White.  
Captain Reynolds.*

1599. I Cannot write of any thing done in this year of 1599. for there was never greater expectation of war, with less performance. Whether it was a mistrust the one nation had of the other, or a policy held on both sides, to make peace with sword-in-hand, a treaty being entertained by consent of each prince, I am not to examine; but sure I am, the preparation was on both sides very great, as if the one expected an invasion from the other; and yet it was generally conceived, not to be intended by either; but that ours had only relation to my lord of *Essex*, who was then in *Ireland*, and had a design to try his friends in *England*, and to be revenged of his enemies, as he pretended, and as it proved afterwards by his fall. Howsoever it was, the charge was not so great as necessary; for it was commonly known, that the *Adelentado* had drawn both his ships and galleys to the *Groyn*; which was not usually done, but for some action intended upon *England* or *Ireland*, though he converted them afterwards to another use; for the galleys were sent into the *Low Countries*, and passed the narrow seas, whilst our ships lay there; and with the fleet the *Adelentado* pursued the *Hollanders* to the islands, whether he suspected they were gone. This fleet of *Hollanders*, which consisted of seventy three sail, were the first ships that ever display'd their colours in warlike sort against the *Spaniards*, in any action of their own; for how cruel soever the war seemed to be in *Holland*, they maintained a peaceable trade in *Spain*, and abused us. This first action of the *Hollanders* at sea proved

not very successful; for after the spoil of a town in the *Canaries*, and some hurt done at the island of *St. Tome*, they kept the sea for seven or eight months; in which time their general and most of their men sickened and died, and the rest return'd with loss and shame. Another benefit which we received by this preparation, was, That our men were now taught suddenly to arm, ever man knowing his command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of; and who knows not, that sudden and false alarms in an army are sometimes necessary? To say truth, the expedition which was then used in drawing together so great an army by land, and rigging so great and royal a navy to sea, in so little a space of time, was so admirable in other countries, that they received a terror by it; and many that came from beyond sea, said, *The queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing she ever did.*

*Frenchmen* that came aboard our ships did wonder (as at a thing incredible) that her majesty had rigged, victualled, and furnished her royal ships to sea in twelve days time: and *Spain*, as an enemy, had reason to fear and grieve to see this sudden preparation; but more, when they understood how the hearts of her majesty's subjects joined with their hands, being all ready to spend their dearest blood for her, and her service. *Holland* might likewise see, that if they became insolent, we could be as soon provided as they; nor did they expect to find such celerity in any nation but themselves.



1599. It is probable too, that the king of *Spain*, and the archduke, were hereby drawn to entertain thoughts of peace: for as soon as our fleet was at sea, a gentleman was sent from *Brussels* with some overtures, though for that time they succeeded not. However, whether it was that the intended invasion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her majesty was fully satisfy'd of my lord of *Essex*, I know not; but so it was, that she commanded the sudden return of her ships from sea, after they had lain three weeks or a month in the *Downs*.

*Sir Richard Lewson to the Islands.* Anno Dom. 1600.

*Ships.*

*The Repulse,*  
*The Warspite,*  
*The Vanguard,*

*Commanders.*

*Sir Richard Lewson.*  
*Captain Troughton.*  
*Captain Sommers.*

1600. THE last year, as you have heard, put all men in expectation of war, which yet came to nothing. This summer gave us great hope of peace; but with the like effect; for by consent of the queen, the king of *Spain*, and the archduke, their commissioners met at *Bologne in Picardy*, to treat of peace, a place chosen indifferently, the *French* king being in league and friendship with them all. Whether this treaty were intended but in shew only, or that they were out of hopes to come to any conclusion, or what else was the true and real cause of its breaking off so suddenly, I know not; but the pretence was slender: for there grew a difference about precedency betwixt the crowns of *Spain* and *England*; and so the hopes of peace were frustrated, though had it been really intended, matters might easily have been accommodated.

The queen suspected the event hereof before their meeting; and the rather, because the *Spaniards* entertained her with the like treaty in 1588. when at the same instant their navy appeared upon her coast to invade her: therefore, lest she should be guilty of too great security, in relying upon the success of this doubtful treaty, she furnished the three ships before named, under pretence to guard the western coast, which at that time was infested by the *Dunkirkers*.

And because there should be the less notice taken, part of the victuals was provided at *Plimouth*, and *Sir Richard Lewson*, who was then admiral of the narrow seas, was appointed general, for the more secret carrying on of the business; so as it could not be conjectured, either by their victualing or by their captain, being admiral of the narrow seas, that it was a service from

home. As they were in a readiness at *Plimouth*, expecting orders, the queen being fully satisfy'd that the treaty of *Bologne* would break off without effect, she commanded *Sir Richard Lewson* to hasten to the islands, there to expect the carracks and *Mexico* fleet. The *Spaniards*, on the other side, being as circumspect to prevent a mischief, as we were subtle to contrive it; and believing (as we did) that the treaty of peace would prove a vain hopeless shew of what was never meant, furnished eighteen tall ships to the islands, as they had usually done since the year 1591. The general of this fleet was *Don Diego de Borachero*.

Our ships coming to the islands, they and the *Spaniards* had intelligence of one another, but not the sight; for that *Sir Richard Lewson* hailed sixty leagues westward, not only to avoid them, but in hopes to meet with the carracks and *Mexico* fleet, before they could join them. But the carracks being formerly warned by the taking of one of them, and burning of another, in 1591. had ever since that year endeavoured to shun the sight of that island; so that our fleet being now prevented, as they had often before been, (nothing being more uncertain than actions at sea, where ships are to meet one another casually,) they returned home, having consumed time and victuals to no purpose, and seen not so much as one sail, from the time they quitted the coast of *England*, till their return, two ships of *Holland* excepted, that came from the *East Indies*, (for then began their trade thither,) which ships *Sir Richard Lewson* relieved, finding them in great distress and want.

## Sir Richard Lewson into Ireland, Anno 1601.

| Ships.                | Commanders.         |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>The Warspite,</i>  | Sir Richard Lewson. |
| <i>The Garland,</i>   | Sir Ames Preston.   |
| <i>The Defiance,</i>  | Captain Goer.       |
| <i>The Swiftsure,</i> | Captain Sommers.    |
| <i>The Crane,</i>     | Captain Mainwaring. |

1601. IN the year 1600. and part of the year 1601. there was a kind of cessation from arms, though not by agreement; for this year gave a hope of peace, which failing, the former course of annoying each other was revived; we in relieving the *Low Countries*, the *Spaniards* in assisting the rebels in *Ireland*. This was the summer that the archduke besieged *Ostend*, which was bravely defended, but principally by the supplies out of *England*. And towards winter, when the *Spaniards* thought we least look'd for war, *Don Diego de Borachero*, with forty eight sail of ships, and four thousand soldiers, was sent to invade *Ireland*.

In his way thither he lost the company of his vice admiral *Siriago*, who returned to the *Groyn*; which when the king heard, he was much distast'd with *Siriago*, and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to hasten with all speed for *Ireland*, as he was formerly directed. *Don Diego's* landing was known in *England* when it was too late to prevent it; yet, lest he should be supply'd with further forces, Sir *Richard Lewson* valiantly entered the harbour, drew near their fortifications, and fought the enemy for the space of one whole day, his ship being an hundred times shot through, and yet but eight men slain. God so blessed him, that he prevailed in his enterprise, destroyed their whole shipping, and made *Siriago* fly by land into another harbour, where he obscurely embarked himself in a *French* vessel for *Spain*. All this while the main army, which landed with their general *Don Juan de Avila*, was at *Kingsale*, expecting the aid of *Tyroen*, who

promised every day to be with them. Our 1601. army, commanded by the lord *Monjoy*, lord deputy of *Ireland*, besieg'd the town, so that he prevented their meeting, and many skirmishes pass'd betwixt them.

The siege continued with great miseries to both the armies, and not without cause, considering the season of the year, and the condition of the country, that afforded little relief to either. Some few days before *Christmas*, *Tyroen* appeared with his forces, which was some little heartening to the enemy, in hopes to be freed of their imprisonment; for so may I call it, they were so strictly beleagu'd. The day of agreement betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Tyroen* was *Christmas-Eve*, on which day there happened an earthquake in *England*; and as many times such signs prove *aut bonum, aut malum omen*, this proved fortunate to us, the victory being obtained with so little loss as is almost incredible.

This was the day of trial, whether *Ireland* should continue a parcel of our crown, or no; for if the enemy had prevail'd in the battle, and a treaty had not afterwards obtained more than force, it was to be feared *Ireland* would hardly have been ever recovered. The *Spaniards* in *Ireland* seeing the success of *Tyroen*, and the impossibility for him to reinforce his army, being hopeless of supplies out of *Spain*, and their poverty daily increasing, they made offers of a parley; which was granted, and a peace ensued; the conditions whereof are extant in print. They were furnished with ships, and secured of their passage into *Spain*, where arriving in *English* vessels, the ships returned back for *England*.

*Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson to the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.*

| Ships.                     | Commanders.                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>The Repulse,</i>        | Sir <i>Richard Lewson</i> admiral.      |
| <i>The Garland,</i>        | Sir <i>William Monson</i> vice-admiral. |
| <i>The Defiance,</i>       | Captain <i>Goer.</i>                    |
| <i>The Mary Rose,</i>      | Captain <i>Slingsby.</i>                |
| <i>The Warspight,</i>      | Captain <i>Sommers.</i>                 |
| <i>The Nonpareille,</i>    | Captain <i>Reynolds.</i>                |
| <i>The Dreadnought,</i>    | Captain <i>Mainwaring.</i>              |
| <i>The Adventure.</i>      | Captain <i>Trevor.</i>                  |
| <i>The English Carvel,</i> | Captain <i>Sawkel.</i>                  |

1602. THE last attempt of the Spaniards in Ireland awaken'd the queen, who, it seems, for two or three years together, entertained the hopes of peace, and therefore was sparing in setting forth her fleets; but now perceiving the enemy had found the way into Ireland, and that it behoved her to be more vigilant than ever, she resolv'd, as the safest course, to infest the Spanish coasts with a continual fleet, and this year furnished the ships aforesaid, having promise from the states of Holland to join to them twelve sail of theirs; and because this important service required great speed, she had not time enough to man them; or supply them with provisions altogether so well as they were usually wont to be, but was content with what could be got in so short a warning, so desirous was she to see her ships at sea.

Sir Richard Lewson set sail with five of them the 19th of March, and left Sir William Monson behind with the other four, to attend the coming of the Hollanders; though within two or three days after Sir William received command from the queen to hasten with all speed to Sir Richard Lewson; for that she was advertis'd, that the silver ships were arrived at the Terceras. Sir William Monson hereupon neglected no time, nor stay'd either to see himself better mann'd, or his ships better furnished, but put to sea the 26th of March.

This intelligence of the queen's was true; for the plate-fleet had been at the Terceras, and departing thence, in their course for Spain, Sir Richard Lewson, with his few ships, met them; but to little purpose, wanting the rest of his fleet, and the help of the twelve Hollanders. We may very well account this not the least error or negligence that has been committed in our voyages; for if the Hollanders had kept touch, according to promise, and the queen's ships had been fitted out with care, we had made her majesty mistress of more treasure than any of her progenitors ever enjoy'd.

1602. Sir Richard Lewson's design against the Indian fleet, notwithstanding his great valour, being thus frustrated, and by the Hollanders slackness crossed, he plyed towards the rock, to meet Sir William Monson, as the place resolved on between them; but Sir William having spent fourteen days thereabouts, and hearing no tidings of him, went round to the southward Cape, where he was likewise frustrated of a most promising hope; for meeting with certain Frenchmen and Scots, at the same instant he descried three ships of ours, sent by Sir Richard to look him. These French and Scotch ships came from St. Lucar, and gave an account of five galleons, ready the next tide to set sail for the Indies: they likewise told him of two others that departed three days before, wherein went Don Pedro de Valdes to be governor of the Havana, who had been prisoner in England in 1588.

These two latter ships were met one night by the Warspight, whereof captain Sommers was commander; but whether it was by the darkness of the night, or by what other casualty, (for the sea is subject to many,) I know not; but they escaped.

This news of the five galleons, and the three ships of the queen's so happily meeting together, made Sir William direct his course into the latitude the Spaniards were most likely to sail in; and coming to it, he had sight of five ships, which, in respect of their number and course, he made reckoning to be the five galleons; and thought that day should fully determine and try the difference between the strength and puissance of the English and Spanish ships, their number and greatness being equal. But his joy was soon abated; for coming up with them, he found them to be English ships from the Streights, and bound home. Yet this did not lessen the hope he had conceived that the Spaniards might be met withal; and the next day he gave chase to one ship alone, that came out of the Indies, which he took, though he

1602. had been better without her; for she brought him so far to leeward, that at night the galleons passed to windward, not above eight or ten leagues off us, by report of an *English* pinnace that met them, who came into our company the day following. These misfortunes lighting first upon Sir *Richard*, and after upon Sir *William*, might have been sufficient reasons to discourage them: but they knowing the accidents of the sea, and that fortune could as well laugh as weep, having good ships under foot, their men sound and in health, and plenty of victuals, they did not doubt but that some of the wealth which the *Indies* sent forth into *Spain* would fall to their shares.

Upon *Tuesday* the first of *June*, to begin our new fortune with a new month, Sir *Richard Lewson* and Sir *William Monfon*, who some nights before, had met accidentally in the sea, were close on board the rock, where they took two ships of the *east* country, bound for *Lisbon*; and while they were rummaging these ships, they descried a carvel from cape *Espichel* bearing with them, which, by signs she made, they perceived had a desire to speak with them. Sir *Richard* immediately chafed her, and left Sir *William* with the two *Easterlings* to abide about the rock till his return. The carvel being fetch'd up, gave account, that a carrack and eleven galleys were in *Cerimbra* road, and that she was sent by two ships of ours, the *Nonpareille* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to look out the admiral. With what joy this news was apprehended may be easily imagined: Sir *Richard* made signs to Sir *William* to stand with him, and left he should not be discern'd, he caused the carvel to ply up with him, wishing him to repair to him; but before they could approach the cape it was midnight, and nothing chanced all that time but the exchanging of some shot that pass'd betwixt the admiral and the galleys.

Upon *wednesday*, the second of *June*, every man look'd early in the morning what ships of her majesty's were in sight, which were five in number; the *Warspight*, wherein Sir *Richard* was; for the *Repulse* he had sent for *England* some days before, by reason of a leak; the *Garland*, the *Nonpareille*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, besides the two *Easterlings* taken the day before. All the captains resorted on board the admiral to council, which took up most part of the day. At first there was an opposition by some, who alledged the danger and impossibility of taking the carrack, being defended by the castle and eleven galleys: but Sir *William Monfon* prevailed so far, as that all consented to go upon her the next day, and concluded upon this

course following, That he and Sir *Richard* should anchor as near the carrack as they could, the rest to ply up and down, and not anchor. Sir *William* was glad of this occasion, to be revenged of the galleys, hoping to requite the slavery they put him to when he was prisoner in them, and singled himself from the fleet a league, that the galleys might see it was in defiance of them; and so the marquis of *St. Cruz* and *Frederrick Spinola*, the one general of the *Portuguese*, the other of the *Spanish* galleys, apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight him; but being within shot, were diverted by one *John Bedford*, an *Englishman*, who undertook to know the force of the ship, and Sir *William* that commanded her.

Before I go farther, I will a little digress, and acquaint you with the situation of the town, and the manner of placing the galleys against us. The town of *Cerimbra* lies in the bottom of a road, which is a good succour for ships with a northerly wind. It is built with free-stone, and near the sea is erected a strong and spacious fort, well replenished with ordnance: above the town, upon the top of a hill, is seated an ancient strong friery, whose situation makes it impregnable, and able to command the town, castle, and road: close to the shore lay the carrack, like a bulwark to the west side of the castle, so as it defended both that and the east part of the town. The eleven galleys had flank'd and fortified themselves with the small neck of a rock on the west side of the road, with their prows right forward, to play upon us, every one carrying a cannon in her beak, besides other pieces in their prows; and they were no way to be damaged by us, till our ships came so nigh the town, that all these forces might play upon us in one instant.

The galleys being placed to this great advantage, they made account (as a captain of one of them we took confess'd,) to have sunk our ships of themselves, without any farther help. We saw the tents pitched, and great troops of soldiers drawn together, which was no less than the whole country in arms against us: the boats passed betwixt the shore and the carrack all the day long, which we supposed was to unlade her; but we found afterwards it was rather to strengthen her with men and ammunition. Here appear'd many difficulties and dangers, and little hope of taking, but rather of sinking or burning her, as most men conjectur'd. The danger from the galleys was great, they being flank'd with the point of a rock at our entrance, as you have heard, it being likewise calm, and they shooting low: another danger was, that of the

1602. the wind; for if it had come from the sea, the road being open, and the bay deep, our attempt must have been in vain. And notwithstanding these, and many more apparently seen, and that there was no man but imagin'd that most of the carrack's lading was ashore, and that they would hale her a-ground under the castle, where no ship of ours should be able to come at her; all which objections, with many more, were alledg'd, yet they little prevail'd. Procrastination was perilous, and therefore with all expedition they thought convenient to charge the town, the fort, the galleys, and carrack, all at one instant: and they had determin'd, if the carrack had been a-ground, or so nigh the shore, that the queen's ships could not reach her, that the two Easterlings, the day before taken, should board and burn her.

Thursday the third day, early in the morning, every man commending himself to God's tuition and protection, expected when to begin, according to the agreement the day before. A gale of wind happening about ten of the clock, the admiral weigh'd, shot off a warning-piece, and put forth his flag in the main-top. The vice-admiral did the like in his fore-top, according to the custom of the sea. Every captain encourag'd his men; which so emboldened them, that though they were weak and feeble before, they now revived and bestirred themselves, as if a new spirit had been infused into them. The admiral was the first that gave the charge; after him follow'd the rest of the ships, shewing great valour, and gaining great honour. The last of all was the vice-admiral, who entering into the fight, still strove to get up as near the shore as he could, where he came to an anchor, continually fighting with the town, the fort, the galleys, and carrack, all together; for he brought them betwixt him, that he might play both his broad-sides upon them. The galleys still kept their prows towards him. The slaves offer'd to forsake them, and swim to us; and every thing was in confusion amongst them: and thus they fought till five of the clock in the afternoon.

The vice-admiral was anchor'd in such a place, that the galleys rowed from one side to another, seeking to shun him, which Sir *Richard Lewison* observing, came on board him, and openly, in the view and hearing of his whole company, embraced him, and told him, *He had won his heart for ever.*

The rest of the ships, as they were directed, plied up, except the admiral; who by the negligence of his master, or some other impediment, when he should have anchor'd, fell so far to leeward, that the

wind and tide carried him out of the road, so that it was the next day before his ship could be fetch'd in again; whereat the admiral was much enrag'd, and put himself into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an anchor, close to the vice-admiral, about two of the clock in the afternoon. There was no opportunity let pass; for where the admiral saw defect in any other ship, he presently caused it to be supplied; and the Easterlings, who were appointed to board the carrack, beginning to faint, and fail of observing the directions given them, the vice-admiral perceiving it, went on board them himself, vowing, that if they seem'd backward in putting in execution the design of firing the carrack, they should look for as little mercy from the *English*, as they could expect from the enemy. Whilst the vice-admiral was thus ordering things, Sir *Richard Lewison* came to him, and would in no case suffer him to board the carrack himself, but carried him into the *Dreadnought*, where they consulted how to preserve the carrack, and enjoy her.

The result of this consultation was, to offer her parley, which they presently put in practice, and commanded all the ships to leave shooting till the return of the messenger. The man employed was one captain *Sewell*, who had escaped, and swam to us, having been four years prisoner in the galleys, as did many *Turks* and christians. The design of this parley was to persuade them to yield, promising honourable conditions; and he was to intimate, as from himself, that the galleys, whose strength they presum'd upon, were beaten, some burnt, the rest fled; that we had the possession of the road, the castle not being able to abide our ordnance, much less the carrack; and if they refused this offer of mercy, they were to expect all the cruelty and rigour that a conqueror could impose upon his enemy. After some conference to this effect, the captain of the carrack told him, he would send some gentlemen of quality, with commission to treat, and desir'd that some of like quality from us might repair to him to the same purpose.

These gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the admiral and vice-admiral were, attending the return and success of captain *Sewell*. After the delivery of their message, they would needs hasten on board the carrack again; for that, as it seem'd, there was an uproar and a division in her, some being of opinion to entertain a parley, others to save themselves, and set her on fire; which Sir *William Monson* hearing, without further delay, or conference with Sir *Richard* what was to be done, he leaped suddenly into his boat, and rowed to the carrack. When he drew near to her, he

1602. he was known by divers gentlemen on board her, as having once been a prisoner among them: they seem'd to be very glad of this meeting, and they embrac'd in remembrance of their old acquaintance: the captain was Don *Diego Lobo*, a gallant young gentleman, of a noble house: he came down upon the bend of the ship, and commanded his men to stand aside; Sir *William* did the like to his company in the boat. The captain demanded of him if he had the *Portuguese* language. He told him he had enough to treat of that business; acquainted him of the place he commanded in the fleet, intimated the affection and respect he bore to the *Portuguese* nation, and that the treaty which was offer'd was his motion, and wished him to make his proposals, which were as follows. The first demand he made was, *That they should be safely put ashore with their arms.* The second, *That it should be done the same night.* The third, *That they should enjoy their ship and ordnance, as appertaining to the king, but we the wealth.* The fourth, *That the flag and ancient should not be taken down, but worn while the carrack was unloading.* His speech being ended, Sir *William* told him, *That his demands gave suspicion, that under pretence of parley, they meant treachery, or that their hopes were greater than there was cause; and but that he knew it was the use of some men to demand great things, when less would serve them, he would not lose his advantage to entertain a parley.* He desired that what they intended might be quickly concluded, for night growing on might advantage them; and for his resolution he should understand it in few words, *viz.* To his first demand, *He was willing to yield, that they should be put ashore with their arms.* To the second, *That he was content they should be set ashore that night, except eight or ten of the principal gentlemen, whom he would detain three days.* To the third, *He held it idle and frivolous to imagine he would consent to separate ship and goods, and look'd upon it as a jest.* To the fourth, *He would not consent, being resolv'd never to permit a Spanish flag to be worn in the presence of the queen's ships, unless it were disgracefully, over the poop.* There was long expostulation upon these points; and Sir *William Monson* seeing the obstinacy of the captain, offer'd in a great rage to leap into his boat, resolving to break the treaty; which the rest of the gentlemen perceiving, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well stand with their reputation, they intreated him once more to ascend into the carrack, and they would enter into new capitulations: the effect whereof, as it was agreed upon, were these that follow:

*That a messenger should be sent to the*

1602. *admiral, to have his confirmation of the points concluded on; and that in the mean time the flag and ancient should be taken down; and if the admiral should not consent to the agreement, they to have leisure to put out their flag and ancient before the fight should begin. That the company should be presently set on shore; but the captain, with eight others of the principal gentlemen, three days after. That the ship, with her goods, should be surrendered, without any practice or treason. That they should use their endeavours, that the castle should forbear shooting whilst we rid in the road; and this was the effect of the conditions agreed upon.* This carrack winter'd in *Mosambique*, in her return from the *Indies*, a place of great infection, as appear'd by the mortality among them; for of six hundred and odd men, twenty liv'd not to return home. After a great deal of calamity and mortality, she arriv'd at this port of *Cerimbra*, as you have heard, the viceroy of *Portugal* having sent eleven galleys to her rescue, and four hundred *Mocas du Camera*, which is a title of gentlemen that serve the king upon any honourable occasion, when they are commanded. That she was brought to this pass, and forced to yield on these conditions, Sir *Robert Cecil* was wont to impute to the gentlemen's acquaintance with Sir *William Monson*. Though three days were limited for setting the captain on shore, yet it was held discretion not to detain them longer than till the carrack was brought off safely to our ships; and therefore Sir *William Monson* having carried the captain, and the rest of the gentlemen aboard him, where they supped, had variety of musick, and spent the night in great jollitry. The morning following he accompanied them ashore himself, whether the *Conde de Vidigueira* had drawn down all the force of the whole country, amounting to the number of twenty thousand men.

I must not omit to describe the behaviour of the galleys in the fight, that every man may have that honour that is due to him. Those of *Portugal*, being of the squadron of the marquis of *St. Cruz*, betook themselves, with their general, to flight in the middle of the fight; but *Frederick Spinola*, who was to convey his galleys out of *Spain* into the low countries, follow'd not the example of the marquis, but made good the road; which the other seeing, with shame return'd, but to both their costs; for before they departed, they found the climate so hot, that they were forced to fly, their galleys being so miserably beaten, and their slaves so pitifully slain, that there wanted nothing but boats to possess them all, as well as the two we took and burnt; which

1602. which is a thing has been seldom seen or heard of, for ships to take and destroy galleys. The number of men slain in the town, the castle, the carrack, and galleys, is unknown, though they could not chuse but be many. The wealth of the carrack could then as ill be estimated, though after found to be great. The value of the two galleys burnt, with their loading of powder, is hard to judge, though it's known to have been a service of great importance. For our loss, it was not much, only one man kill'd in the fly-boat, five slain, and as many hurt in the *Garland*, and one hurt in the *Adventure*. Sir *William Monson* had the left wing of his doublet shot off, but receiv'd no other hurt.

The day following, with a favourable wind, we stood our course for *England*, which brought us into forty seven degrees; and there we met a pinnace, sent with a packet from the lords, signifying the readiness of a second fleet to supply us, and the setting out of the *Hollanders* which were so long look'd for; which fleet of *Holland* was in view of the pinnace the same night, but pass'd by us unseen. This unlook'd-for accident made the admiral and vice-admiral consider what to do, and concluded they could not both appear at home, and leave a fleet of so great importance upon the enemies coast without a guide or head; and therefore they held it fit the vice-admiral should put himself into the *Nonpareille*, as the ablest ship of the fleet, and make his return once more to the coast of *Spain*. But he having taken his leave, and standing his course for the coast, a most violent storm, with a contrary wind, took him, which continued ten days, and discovered the weakness of his ship, who had like to have foundered in the deep. The carpenters and company seeing the apparent danger, if he bore not up before the wind, presented him with

1602. a petition, beseeching him to have regard to their lives; for by keeping the seas, they should all perish. Thus was he forc'd by mere extremity to bear for *England*; and coming for *Plimouth*, he found the carrack safely arriv'd, and the fleet he went back to take charge of, not to have quitted the coast of *England*.

Though it be somewhat impertinent to this voyage, to treat of more than the success thereof, yet I will a little digress, and relate the misfortune of that worthy young gentleman *Don Diego Lobo*, captain of the carrack; and because his worth will more appear by his answer to Sir *William Monson's* offer to him when he was his prisoner. Thus it was; Sir *William Monson* told him, he doubted, that by the loss of the carrack, he had lost his best means; for that he supposed, what he had gain'd in the *Indies* was laden in her, and therefore offered, That what he would challenge upon his reputation to be his own, he should have freedom to carry along with him. The gentleman acknowledg'd the favour to be extraordinary; but replied, That what he had, he gain'd by his sword; and that his sword, he doubted not, would repair his fortunes again, utterly refusing to accept any courtesy in that kind. But, poor gentleman, ill fortune thus left him not; for the viceroy, *Don Christoval de Mora*, holding it for a great indignity to have the carrack taken out of the port that was defended by a castle, and guarded with eleven galleys, and especially in his hearing of the ordnance to *Lisbon*, and in the view of thousands of people who beheld it; some of them feeling it too, by the loss of their goods that were in her, others grieving for the death of their friends that were slain; but every man finding himself touch'd in reputation.

*The Names of the Carrack and eleven Galleys.*

The *St. Valentine*, a carrack of one thousand seven hundred tons.

The *Christopher*, the admiral of *Portugal*, wherein the marquis *de Sancta Cruz* went.

The *St. Lewis*, wherein *Frederick Spinola* went general of the galleys of *Spain*.

The *Fortaleza*, vice-admiral to the marquis.

The *Trinidad*, vice-admiral to *Frederick Spinola*, burnt.

The *Leva*, in which Sir *William Monson* was prisoner, 1591.

The *Occasion*, burnt, and the captain taken prisoner.

The *St. John Baptist*.

The *Lazar*.

The *Padilla*.

The *Philip*.

The *St. John*.

And the viceroy not knowing how to clear himself so well as by laying it upon the gentlemen he put on board her, the same night they return'd to their lodging, he caus'd most of them, with their captain,

to be apprehended, imputing the loss of the carrack to their cowardice and fear, if not treason and connivance with the enemy. After some time of imprisonment, by mediation of friends, all the gentlemen were

1602. leased but the captain; who received secret advice, that the viceroy intended his death; and that he should seek by escape to prevent it. Don *Diego* being thus perplexed, practised with his sister; who finding means for his escape out of a window, he fled into *Italy*, where he lived in exile from 1602. when this happened, till 1615. His government of *Malaca* in the *Indies*, for which he had a patent in reversion, was confiscate, and he left hopeless ever to return into his native country, much less to be restored to his command; an ill welcome after so long and painful a navigation. Having thus spent thirteen years in exile, at the last he advised with friends, whose counsel he followed, to repair into *England*, there to enquire after some commanders that had been at the taking of the carrack, by whose certificate he might be cleared of cowardice or treason in the loss of her, which would be a good motive to restore him to his government again. In the year 1515. he arrived in *London*, and after some enquiry found out Sir *William Monson*, to whom he complained of his hard mishap, craving the assistance of him and some others, whom Sir *William* knew to be at the taking of the carrack, and desired him to testify the manner of surprizing her, which he alledged,

was no more than one gentleman was bound to afford another in such a case. 1602.

Sir *William* wondered to see him, and especially upon such an occasion: for the present he entertain'd him with all courtesy; and the longer his stay was in *England*, the courtesies were the greater which Sir *William* did him, who procured him a true and effectual certificate from himself, Sir *Francis Howard*, Captain *Barlow*, and some others who were witnesses of that service; and to give it the more reputation, he caused it to be inrolled in the office of the admiralty. The gentleman being well satisfy'd with his entertainment, and having what he desired, returned to *Flanders*, where he presented his certificate to the archduke and the *Infanta*, by whose means he got assurance, not only of the king's favour, but of restitution likewise to his government. The poor gentleman having been thus toss'd by the waves of calamity from one country to another, and never finding rest, death, that masters all men, now cut him off short in the midst of his hopes, as he was preparing his journey for *Spain*; and this was the end of an unfortunate gallant young gentleman, whose deserts might justly have challenged a better reward, if God had pleased to afford it him.

### Sir William Monson to the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.

#### Ships.

*The Swiftsure,*  
*The Mary Rose,*  
*The Dreadnought,*  
*The Adventure,*  
*The Answer,*  
*The Acquittance,*  
*The Lion's Whelp,*  
*The Paragon, a merchant,*  
*A small Carvel,*

#### Commanders.

Sir *William Monson.*  
 Captain *Trevers.*  
 Captain *Cawfield.*  
 Captain *Norris.*  
 Captain *Brodgate,*  
 Captain *Browne.*  
 Captain *May.*  
 Captain *Jason.*  
 Captain *Hooper.*

1602. THE fleet of Sir *Richard Lewison* being happily returned, with the fortune of a carrack, as you have heard, and the queen having now no ships upon the *Spanish* coast, to impeach the enemies preparations, she feared the fleet which was ready at the *Groyne*, would give a second assault upon *Ireland*; whereupon Sir *William Monson*, who by this time was arrived at *Plimouth*, was sent for in great haste by her majesty, to advise about, and take on him the charge of the fleet then at *Plimouth*. After a long conference with Sir *William Monson*, in the presence of her majesty, her lord admiral, treasurer, and secretary, it was resolved, That Sir *William* should repair to *Plimouth*, and with all speed get forth those ships, and others that were there making ready. His

directions were to present himself before the harbour of the *Groyne*, being the place where the *Spaniards* made their rendezvous; and if he found any likelihood of a design upon *Ireland*, not to quit that coast till he saw the issue; but if he found *Ireland* secure, and the enemies preparations to be intended only for defence of their own coasts, then his instructions led him thence, to the place where the *Holland* fleet had order to attend and expect him: and afterwards the whole carriage of the action was referred to his discretion; but with this caution, that above all respects of other profit or advantage, he attended the affair of *Ireland*. The wind this part of the summer hung contrary, and it was six weeks before he could clear the coast, during which time he



1602. lost his greatest hopes, by the return of the carracks of the *Indian* fleet, which happen'd a full month before his arrival. He set sail from *Plimouth* the last of *August*, with a scant wind, which continued with foul weather till he recovered the *Groyne*, chusing rather to keep the sea, than hazard the overthrow of the voyage by his return.

He stay'd at the *Groyne* till he understood that the fleet, which was suspected to be prepared for *Ireland* was gone to *Lisbon*, to join with *Don Diego de Borachero*, who all that summer durst not budge forth for fear of our fleet that made good the coast thereabouts. Sir *William* in his way to the *Rock*, commanded his carvel to repair to the islands of *Bayona*, as the likeliest place to procure intelligence of the state of those parts. As the carvel drew near the islands, she discerned the *Spanish* fleet, consisting of twenty four sail, whose design was, as she understood by a boat she took, to look out the *English* fleet, whose coming they daily expected upon the coast; and meeting Sir *William* with this news, he held it a good service to be thus warned of them. Here he took two goodly ships of *France*, bound for *Lisbon*, which harbour he put them from, and took pledges, that they should directly return into *France*, without touching in any harbour of *Spain*; for that he understood the *Spanish* fleet was ill provided of men, and many other things, which these ships could supply. Sir *William* and the *Dreadnought* were carried with a chase into the road of *Cerimbra*, where the carrack was taken not long before; and after some fight with the castle, who defended the vessel chased, they came to a friendly treaty, and presents passed between them.

That night, while the admiral rid in the road, a carvel coming in, not mistrusting him, was taken, but dismissed in a friendly manner; by whom he understood the affairs of *Lisbon*, but could get no notice of the *Holland* fleet, which was appointed to attend at the *Rock*, whither once more he repaired.

Coming thither the 26th of *September*, a light was spied in the night, which the admiral chased, thinking it had been the fleet of *St. Tome*, or *Brazil*, bound for *Lisbon*, where they were expected; but drawing so near them, that he might hail them, he found them, by the hugeness of their vessels, and the number, which answered the relation the carvel made, to be the *Armada* of *Spain*: whereupon he sought means how to clear himself, being engaged amongst them, and made a *Spaniard* that served him call to them, but they could not hear him; the *Adventure* only and the *Whelp* were left with him, the rest losing company four nights before in a storm. The enemy perceiving

our lights, and thinking it to be some fleet of *Flemmings*, stood in amongst us; but the *Adventure* being discovered to be an enemy, the alarum was soon taken, and they shot at her, and slew and hurt some of her men. As soon as the day appeared, the *Spaniards* beheld the three *English* ships a-head of them, which they chased; and three of them, which were better sailors than the rest, fetch'd upon us, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of small force to resist them.

But the admiral resolving, though it was to his own evident peril, not to see a pinnacle of her majesty's so lost, if he could rescue her with the loss of his life, though it was much against the persuasions of his master and company, he struck his two sails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to stand her course, while he staid for the three *Spanish* ships, with hope to make them have little list to pursue us. The admiral of the *Spaniards* perceiving how little he cared for his three ships, in that he lingered for their coming up, took in with the shore, and shot off a piece for his three ships to follow him. It may appear by this, as by several other expeditions of ours, how much the swift sailing of ships does avail, being the principal advantage in sea-service; and indeed the main thing we could presume upon in our war against the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus escaped the enemy, in his traverse at sea there happened, as there does upon all coasts where there is plenty of trade, divers occasions of chases; and one day Sir *William* following one ship, and the *Adventure* another, they lost company for the whole voyage.

Sir *William* was advertized by a ship he took, being a *Freuchman*, who came from *St. Lucar*, that the *St. Domingo* fleet was looked for daily; which intelligence made him bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have news of his fleet.

He was no sooner come to the cape, but he was informed by some *English* men of war, that the *St. Domingo* fleet was passed by two days before; here he met with ships of several nations; some he rescued from pirates, and to others that were in league with her majesty, he gave his safe-conduct for their free passage on the sea. He kept that coast till the 21st of *October*, on which morning he gave chase to a galleon of the king of *Spain*, who recovered the castle of *Cape-St. Vincent* before he could fetch her up; though he knew the strength of the castle, yet he attempted, and had carried her, had it not been for the fear and cowardice of him at the helm, who bore up when he was ready to board her. The fight was not long, but sharp and dangerous;

1602. rous; for there never past shot between them, till they were within a ship's length one of another. The castle play'd her part, and tore the *Swiftsure*, so that a team of oxen might have crept through her under the half-deck, and one shot killed seven men. Between the castle and the galleon they slew in the admiral ten men, and hurt many more, in the view of *Siriago* and his squadron to the westward, and of divers *English* men of war to the eastward, who durst not put themselves upon the rescue of *Sir William*, for fear of the castle. *Sir William* being now left alone, and seeing what head-land soever he came to, he was to encounter a *Spanish* squadron, stood his course that night to sea, thinking to try if the islands of *Tercera* would afford him any better fortune; but coming within forty or fifty leagues of the islands, he was taken short with the wind, yet still bearing up what he could for the rock; but at length finding his victuals grew short, his mast perished, and the dangers he was exposed to, by keeping that coast, he directed his course for *England*, and came to *Plimouth* the 24th of *November*, where he found the *Mary Rose* and *Dreadnought*, most part of their men being dead or sick.

The *Adventure* arrived within an hour after him, who in her way homewards fell

amongst the *Brazil* fleet, and encountering 1602. with them, lost divers men, but took none. The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a prize of sugar and spices, which counter-vailed the charge of the voyage. The *Quit-tance* in her return, met two ships of *Dunkirk*; and in fight with them, her captain was slain; but she acquitted herself very well, without further harm. This fleet, as you have heard, was to keep the enemy busied at home, that he might be diverted from the thoughts of *Ireland*; what hazard it endured by the enemy, the fury of the sea, and foul weather, does appear: and no marvel; for it was the latest fleet in winter that ever kept upon the *Spanish* coast; as it was likewise the last fleet her majesty employ'd; for in *March* after she died, and by her death all war ceased. As *Sir William Monson* was general of this last fleet, so he was a soldier, and a youth, at the beginning of the wars; and was at the taking of the first *Spanish* prize that ever saw the *English* coast, which yet was purchased with the loss of twenty five of our men, besides fifty hurt. This prize was afterwards a man of war, and served against the *Spaniards*, and was in those days reckoned the best ship of war we had: she was called the *Commander*, and belonged to *Sir George Carew*, then governor of the *Isle of Wight*.

*Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson into the Narrow Seas;*  
Anno 1603.

## Ships.

*The Repulse,*  
*The Mere-honour,*  
*The Defiance,*  
*The Warspight,*  
*The Rainbow,*  
*The Dreadnought,*  
*The Quittance,*  
*The Lion's Whelp,*

## Commanders.

*Sir Richard Lewson.*  
*Sir William Monson.*  
Captain *Goer.*  
Captain *Seymers.*  
Captain *Trevor.*  
Captain *Reynolds,*  
Captain *Howard,*  
Captain *Polwheele.*

1603. **S**IR *William Monson* returning with his fleet in *November*, there was a resolution to furnish another against *February*, which should be recruited with fresh ships, men, and victuals, in *June*. *Sir Richard Lewson* was to command the first fleet, and *Sir William Monson* the latter; for the queen found it a course both secure and profitable, to keep a continual force upon the *Spanish* coast, from *February* to *November*, that being the time of the greatest peril to her majesty; and she was the rather encouraged thereto, by the safety she found the last summer, and the wealth and riches she had from time to time taken from the enemy. The

complaint of the ill furnishing out of her 1603. ships in other voyages, made it more carefully to be looked to now, and there was better choice of victuals and men than usually had been; but in the mean time, it pleased God to visit her majesty with sickness, which caused a lingering, though no absolute dissolving of the fleet; but when her danger was perceived to increase, the ships were hastened out to sea, it being a point of good policy, to keep our seas guarded from any foreign attempt, till his majesty should be peaceably settled in *England*.

1603. This fleet departed from *Queensborough* the 22d of *March*, and arriv'd in the *Dowens* the 25th of the same, being the day after her majesty's death. The news whereof, and commandment to proclaim king *James* the sixth of *Scotland* our lawful king, and the rightful inheritor to the crown, arriv'd both together; which put us into two contrary passions, the one of grief, the other of joy; grief for the loss of the queen, joy for accepting of the king in that peaceable manner; which was a happiness beyond all expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the design of this fleet was to guard and defend our own coasts from any incursion that might be made out of *France* or the low countries; so the commanders were vigilant to appear on those coasts once in two days, to dishearten them, in case they had any such thought: but the truth is, it was beyond their abilities, whatever was in their hearts, to impugn his majesty: and because the archduke would make the can-

didness of his intention apparent to the world, he call'd in his letters of reprisal against the *English*, and published an edict for a free and unmolested traffick into *Flanders*; so that now our merchants might again trade peaceably into those parts, from which they had been debarr'd the space of eighteen years. The king finding that *France* neither impeach'd his right, nor gave any jealousy by the raising of an army; and that the archduke made a demonstration of his desire of peace, his majesty did the like, acknowledging the league he had with those princes, with whom the late queen had wars; for wars betwixt countries are not hereditary, but commonly end with the death of their kings; wherefore he commanded his ships to give over their southern employment, and to repair to *Chatham*, giving manifest testimonies, how desirous he was that his subjects should recover that wealth and freedom by peace, which they had formerly lost by war.

*The Voyage of the Earl of Cumberland to the Island of Puerto Rico, and the Reasons why it is inserted at the End of this first Book.*

I SHALL exceed my first design, by adding this voyage to *Puerto Rico* to the rest of her majesty's actions, or those where her ships were employed at the charge of others; yet because this was the greatest undertaking by subjects, without the help or assistance of the queen, both in number of ships and land forces, being furnish'd as well for land as sea service, as also because so great a person as the earl of *Cumberland* took upon him the command of it, having by several voyages before attain'd to a perfect knowledge in sea-affairs; for these reasons I have inserted this action to *Puerto Rico* among the rest of the queen's, aforesaid.

The earl being naturally addicted to the sea from his youth, as may appear by his undertakings, the first shew whereof was in a voyage he undertook at his great charge and expence in 1586. intending his ships should pass to the *South Sea* by the *Streights of Magellan*; but unadvisedly they fail'd. After this he made fundry adventures in his own person, as in the former discourse is declar'd; and he often obtain'd the favour of her majesty, to assist him with some of her ships; which she was the more willing to grant, to encourage him in his enterprises, and to cherish the forward spirit of so great a person.

But at last my lord began discreetly to consider the obligation he had to the queen, for the loan of her ships from time to time, and withal weigh'd what fear and danger he brought himself into, if unluckily any

of those ships should miscarry; for he valued the reputation of the least of them at the rate of his life.

Upon these considerations, no persuasions being of force to divert him from his resolution of attempting some great action on the sea, where he had spent much time and money, and thinking thereby as well to enrich himself, as to shew his forwardness to do his prince and country service, he resolv'd to build a ship from the stocks, that should equal the middle rank of her majesty: an act so noble and so rare, it being a thing never undertaken before by a subject, that it deserv'd immortal fame.

This ship, which he nam'd the *Malice-Scourge*, (for by that name it seems he tasted the envy of some that repin'd at his honourable achievement,) was eight hundred tuns burthen, proportioned in all degrees to equal any of her majesty's ships of that rank, and no way inferior to them in sailing, or other property or condition of ships.

When built, she had several employments to sea, whilst my lord was owner of her, and prov'd as all other ships and men usually do, sometimes fortunate, and sometimes otherwise; for there is nothing that a man can account firm or stable in this world, especially where the sea hath the most predominant power.

And for her last farewell to sea, my lord perform'd this voyage to *Puerto Rico* in her; where he had trial of her goodness and wholesomeness in the sea, by the violent

1603. forms he endur'd, better than most part of his fleet.

It was not the ceasing of warlike actions by the king's coming to his crown, who brought peace with him, that made this ship cease from doing the part for which she was built: but another, while she was employed by the merchants of the *East Indies*, who bought her for that trade, and whither she resorted, and made two happy returns: but in her third, what by foul play and treachery, she became a prey to the *Hollanders*, where she ended her days in fire, being worthy of a far better funeral.

My lord being aboard this ship, (the *Malice-Scourge*;) and having divers others of burthen and strength under his command, he set sail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. Besides his general design to take, to destroy, or any way else to impoverish and impeach the king of *Spain*, or his subjects, he grounded his voyage upon two hopes, the first more probable than the second, in my opinion, who undertake, as I have said before, to observe the errors committed in such voyages.

From *Plimouth* he directed his course to the mouth of the river *Tagus*, upon which river the city of *Lisbon* is seated, that sends forth yearly a number of ships to the *East Indies*, called carracks, and that in the month of *April*. There was no question to be made of the certainty of their departure, because if they stay beyond that month, they meet with much bad weather, and cannot weather the capes south of the line in their voyage to the *Indies*, but particularly that of *Good Hope*.

My lord's principal end in this voyage was to intercept those carracks, which for burthen exceed all other ships in *Europe*, and go full freighted with commodities for the *East Indies*, besides the abundance of money transported in them, which would have enrich'd my lord abundantly, and the rest of the adventurers.

Against the time they should depart out of harbour, my lord appear'd with his fleet before it, which did so much dishearten and dismay the *Portuguese*, that rather than they would put themselves in hazard of him and his fleet, they chose to give over their voyage, and lose the excessive charge they had been put unto in furnishing their ships, by means whereof their carracks lay at home, without employment the whole year after.

Besides the profit my lord propos'd to himself by this project thus frustrated, it tended to a matter of greater consequence to the state of *England*, if it had prov'd successful; for you must understand that in the *East Indies* they are prohibited planting of vines, and want many other things for their

suffenance, with which they are supplied yearly out of *Portugal*, that the *Indies* may not subsist without *Portugal*. Then let us consider what hindrance and losses both *Portugal* and the *Indies* receiv'd, by hindering their ships from going to the *Indies* that year.

And if one year prov'd so prejudicial to them, what would three or four years have done, if they had been so serv'd and prevented? It would have reduc'd them to great want, and forc'd them to accept of a friendly traffick with us; or in time we might have divided the *Indies* from *Portugal*, especially if we had carried a younger son of *Don Anthony*, whom no doubt they might have been forc'd to accept as king.

The error committed in the prosecution of this voyage, must be imputed to my lord himself, in not forecasting how to prevent the hazard and fears that might be impediments to his design; therefore he worthily deserv'd blame, to present himself and fleet in the eye of *Lisbon*, to be there discover'd, knowing that the secret carriage thereof gave life and hope to the action. By a familiar example of a man that being safely seated in a house, and in danger of an arrest, knows that catchpoles lie to attack him, and yet notwithstanding would venture abroad, and not seek to avoid them; so far'd it with the carracks at that time, who rather chose to keep themselves in harbour, than venture upon an unavoidable danger.

If my lord had done well and providently, his fleet should have been furnished without rumour, noise, or notice, in several harbours in *England*; the men that went in them not to know or imagine the design of their voyage, or that they should meet to compose a main fleet, till they were come to the height the carracks were to sail in; and after that each captain to have open'd their directions, with a special caution not to appear within sight of the shore, for fear of discovery. This way, and no other there was, to lull the *Portuguese* into security, or to avoid mistrust, till they had fallen into their hands.

My lord's other hope, if this should fail, was to give an attempt with his land forces, either upon some island or town that would yield him wealth and riches, being the chief end of his undertaking; and after many propositions made at council, his resolution was to make an attempt upon the island of *Puerto Rico*, in which island there is a town of convenient bigness and strength, which my lord not long after took and possessed, with little loss of men on either side, because they came to composition.

Herein lies my part to except against this design of my lord's, as I promis'd in my former

1603. former relations; for whereas all mens actions have a reasonable shew of likelihood of good to redound to them in their intended enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive how a land attempt upon towns could yield my lord any profit, or the merchants that adventur'd with him; for my lord by experience well knew, having been himself at the taking of some towns, that they afforded little wealth to the taker, because riches of value will be either buried, or secretly conveyed away. And for merchandizes of great bulk, which that poor island yielded, it was only some few hides, black sugar, and ginger, which would not amount to any great matter, to countervail the charge of so costly a journey.

Commonly that island sends out two or three ships of a reasonable burthen to transport the yearly commodities it yieldeth, for though it have the name of being in the *Indies*, yet it is a place remote, and unfrequented with traffick, either from the *Indies*, or any other place: or though the island should be surprized at such a season of the year as their commodities were ripe, and ready for transportation, yet the value is not to be esteem'd, where so many people that adventur'd with my lord were to look for a dividend according to their adventure.

And yet I will not deny, but by accident this island was made worthy an attempt upon it, by example of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, who, as you have heard, sail'd thither on their own account, Anno 1595. and their defeat made it the more admir'd, and purchas'd my lord's greater honour, in that he carried it with a smaller number of men, and less loss than *Drake* was repulsed.

But because time and opportunity alter the circumstances of things, therefore, to satisfy these common and vulgar people, who judge according to event, and not to reason, you shall understand the difference, and the cause that made the difference betwixt Sir *Francis Drake* in the year 1595. and the earl of *Cumberland* in 1598.

Sir *Francis Drake* was commanded thither

1603. by directions from the queen; not that she expected profit or benefit from the island, which she well knew, of itself, was unworthy any enterprize; but what she did was upon intelligence she receiv'd of a galleon of plate; which, with the loss of her mast, was forced into that island, as I gave an account, when I treated before of that voyage of 1595.

In the mean time five frigates were preparing in *Spain* to bring home that treasure, and in them to the number of eight or nine hundred soldiers, who, in their course to *Puerto Rico* surpriz'd a pinnace of Sir *Francis Drake's* fleet, that gave intelligence of his design, as well against that place as *Nombre de Dios*, whither he was bound; by which accident his designs were prevented, and the enemy had leisure to fortify, strengthen, and man the town with the soldiers brought in by the frigats, which made Sir *Francis Drake* suddenly and dishonourably retire, with the loss of divers gentlemen and others of good quality. This misfortune was supposed to hasten the death of Sir *John Hawkins*, who then died, after he had seen himself thus repulsed.

My lord might as well have consider'd, that no use could be made of the situation of that island, as of other islands of less value and riches there might be; as for instance, the *Tercera*, which, though the soil yields not that plenty and profit *Puerto Rico* does, yet by our inhabiting it, the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* would find great annoyance in their returns from their *Indies*, *Brasil*, and *Guinea*; in which seas our ships would continually lie, and endeavour cutting them off: as on the contrary, *Puerto Rico* is seated so lonesome, that they have scarce the sight of a ship in the whole year, except those few of their own I have formerly spoke of.

And thus much for my exception against my lord's voyage to *Puerto Rico*. Now will I collect some brief proceedings in that voyage, taken out of the printed copy publish'd by Dr. *Laseild*, chaplain to my lord in that expedition.

1603.

## Ships.

*The Malice Scourge,*  
*The Merchant Royal,*  
*The Ascension,*  
*The Sampson,*  
*The Alcedo,*  
*The Consent,*  
*The Prosperous,*  
*The Centurion,*  
*The Galleon Constance,*  
*The Affection,*  
*The Gueanna,*  
*The Scout,*  
*The Anthony,*  
*The Pegasus,*  
*The Royal Defence,*  
*The Margaret and John,*  
*The Bartley Bag,*  
*The Old Frigate,*

## Commanders.

1603.

The earl of Cumberland.  
 Sir John Bartley.  
 Captain Flicke.  
 Captain Clifford.  
 Captain Coach.  
 Captain Slingsby.  
 Captain Langton.  
 Captain Palmer.  
 Captain Foliambe.  
 Captain Fleming.  
 Captain Cabetburst.  
 Captain Jolliffe.  
 Captain Careless.  
 Captain Goodwyn.  
 Captain Bromley.  
 Captain Dixon.  
 Captain Lea.  
 Captain Harper.

My lord, with the ships aforesaid, being furnished with all things necessary for such a fleet, set sail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. and directed his course for cape *Finister*, the northermost cape of *Spain*.

But before he could reach that coast, he found a defect in his main mast, which was almost perished, and he forced to favour it with a slack sail, until he arrived at the island of the *Burlings*, over against *Peniche* in *Portugal*, where he anchor'd, and commanded his fleet to keep a good distance off at sea, to avoid being discovered from the shore, knowing that the hopes of his voyage consisted in secrecy.

He was not many days fitting his mast, having carpenters and materials enough for disasters: but notwithstanding his directions to his ships to stand off to sea, it could not keep the enemy from knowledge of them at *Lisbon*, where the carracks lay ready to depart; and thus the expectation of my lord's voyage was frustrated; for the carracks being fallen down as low as the bay, ready to sail, they were instantly commanded to give over their voyage, and return to *Lisbon*.

My lord finding it bootless to expect any good of the carracks, upon which the grounds of his voyage depended, directed his course to the *Canaries*, rather to refresh his men ashore, who were raw soldiers, and wearied at sea, than out of expectation of gain, or any way to annoy the enemy: he landed without resistance at the poor island of *Lansarotte*, and the rather, because he was made believe a marquis liv'd there, who, being taken prisoner, would yield ten thousand pounds ransom; but the projector knew as little of the truth thereof, as he did of the place when he came to land.

This miserable island afforded nothing

but earth to walk on, and some little store of wine, not worth the speaking of; and yet, as small a quantity as it was, it put his company into a mutinous disorder of drunkenness, that to pacify them, my lord was forc'd to use threats and the rigour of his commission, and to admonish them how to carry themselves ever after, upon danger and peril of their lives.

The 21st of *April* he set sail from thence, and being off at sea, he call'd a council; in which he propos'd to his captains, Whether, in their opinions, it was better to direct his course for *Fernan-Buco* in *Brazil*, or *Dominica* in the *West Indies*, and there to take a new consultation. After long discussing this point, every man having the liberty to use his best argument, it was at last resolv'd for *Dominica*, whither he hasten'd, and landed there on the 23d of *May*. Having water'd, (for the island afforded nothing else,) he stood for the island of *Virgines*, a place unpeopled, where he landed, and muster'd his soldiers, and found the greatest part of them both rude and raw.

At this island he was not far from *Puerto Rico*, whither his former resolution led him: my lord himself went in his boat to view a convenient landing-place, and found a sandy bay fit for his purpose; whereupon he instantly put his men ashore on the 6th of *June*, where he found no resistance; and because there needs no long account of the assault he gave to the outworks, before his approach to the town, I shall say no more, to avoid prolixity, but that in two days he took both town, fort, and what else were impediments to his enterprize.

Having brought the enemy to his mercy, he carry'd himself both nobly and with pity: and whereas in such tumults disorders cannot be avoided, yet if they appeared, or were made known to him, he punished.

1603. nished the actors with great severity, and in fight of the *Spaniards*, who beheld the justice of his carriage.

We have one instance of it in a valiant foldier, who otherwise had deserved well, and whom, for having committed violence upon the wife of a *Spaniard*, my lord, without hearkening to mediation or mercy, hanged in the publick market-place. A sailor had been so serv'd for defacing the church, but by the impportunity of other sailors (for at that time there was occasion to please them above soldiers) my lord forbore his execution after he was brought to the gibbet. As the fleet lay in harbour, upon *St. Peter's-Day* there was a ship came bearing in amongst them from *Angola* in *Africk*, laden with blacks, a commodity that country does chiefly deal in, and was there secured: another had been so served, but that seeing so many ships in the harbour, she suspected they could not be *Spaniards*, and so escaped. There was another which came from *Trinidad*; but of so small value, that she is not worth mentioning.

After all things were thus quieted and settled in the town, there was a consultation whether it should be kept or quitted; but in the end one reason prevailed against all objections, which was a sudden sickness among the soldiers, which in a few days swept away four hundred of them.

There was nothing more to do now but to embark ordnance, and goods as the town afforded, which consisted of hides, ginger, and coarse sugar, things of small value to countervail so great an expence as that of this voyage: in fine, he returned into *England*. It is needless to set down accidents at sea; but he arriv'd safely in the month of *October* following.

And thus much concerning the voyages, successes, designs, and commanders, from the year 1585 to 1603, that the wars ceased; wherein it plainly appears how conquering and victorious our nation has been in their latter actions at sea: and to add the more to their honour, you must observe the exploits they have performed by land in the land-voyages, in taking and spoiling of towns, ports, fortresses, and other places of moment, which for a time they have enjoyed and possess'd in the several dominions of the kings of *Spain*, as namely, in the *Indies*, *Brazil*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, the islands; and farther than all these, in the *South Sea*, which at that time no nations failed to but the *Spaniards* themselves, till the voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendish*.

The Taking of these Places following is to be justify'd by the Lawfulness of a War begun 1585. betwixt England and Spain.

Sir *Francis Drake* at his first voyage, which was in the year 1585. took these places following in the *West Indies*.

Playa, } in Cape Verde.  
St. Jago, }  
St. Domingo in Hispaniola.  
Cartagena in Terra Firma.  
St. Antonio in Florida.  
St. Hellena and the fort of St. John in Florida likewise.  
Rio de la Hacha.  
Tapia.  
Rancheria.

Sir *Francis Drake* in the *West Indies*, 1595.

Sancta Maria.  
Nombre de Dios.  
Porto Bello.

Captain *Preston* in the *West Indies*, 1595.

Puerto Sancto.  
Cboco.  
Cbapa.  
St. John de Lima.  
Cumená.

Captain *Parker* in the *West Indies*, 1601.

St. Vincent in Cabo Verde.  
Porto Bello once more.  
The fort of St. Jago.  
Triana.  
Campeachy.

The earl of *Cumberland*, 1597.

The island of *Lanzarote*, one of the *Cannaries*.  
The isle and town of *Puerto Rico*.

Captain *Newport* in the *West Indies*, 1591.

Taguana, } in Hispaniola.  
Oieda, }  
Truxillo.

Sir *John Burroughs* took a town in the island of *Trinidad* in the *West Indies*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* another after.

Mr. *Cavendish's* first voyage about the world, 1586.

A fort and ordnance in the *Streights* of *Magellan*.

1603.

*Sancta Maria.*  
*Marmaroma.*  
*Arica.*  
*Pisco.*  
*Paraca.*  
*Cberisca.*  
*Paito.*  
 The isle of *Puna.*  
*Acapulco* in *New Spain.*  
 The port of *Nanidad.*  
 The port of *St. Jago.*  
 The bay of *Compostella.*  
 The isle of *St. Andrea.*  
 The bay of *Mascallan.*

All in the *South Sea.*

Mr. *Cavendish's* second voyage to *Brazil,*  
 1591.

*Sanctos.*

*St. Vincent.*

*Fernando Buco* taken and quitted, and the carracks and goods brought from thence by captain *Lancaster* and others.

Captain *Langton* in the *West Indies,* 1593. burnt and ranomed several farms and plantations in *Margarita, Hispaniola,* and *Jamaica.*

*Drake* to the bay of *Cadiz,* 1587 and 1589. took two or three forts upon cape *St. Vincent* and cape *Sagre.*

He and Sir *John Norris* took, in the voyage to *Portugal, Peniche,* and several villages: in Sir *John Norris's* march to *Lisbon* he took the suburbs of *Lisbon,* and *Drake* took *Cascais.*

1589. The earl of *Cumberland* took the island of *Fayal,* and made *Graciosa,* the island of *Flores,* and *Cuervo,* give him relief.

1596. The earl of *Essex* and the lord admiral took the city of *Cadiz,* the bridge of *Swafe,* and the town of *Faro* in *Portugal,* (a bishop's seat.)

1597. The earl of *Essex* took the island and town of *Fayal,* and *Villa Franca* in the island of *St. Michael.*

I omit divers other places taken by private ships of war.

*The names of such private persons as went to the West-Indies upon their own account, with such prizes as they took; by which may appear how little hurt we have done or can do to the Spaniards in the West Indies, in comparision of other places we have annoy'd them in, as I have more largely proved in my second book.*

1587. Sir *George Cary* set out three ships; two of which took nothing, and the third took a prize, and brought her into *Bristol,* worth 2000*l.*

1589. Captain *Michelson,* in the *Dog,* 1603. took three ships, but of no value, none of which he brought for *England.*

1593. A small ship of Sir *George Cary's* took nothing; but had like to be taken her self.

In the same year captain *Newport* return'd with the like success.

1594. These ships following were set forth:

Captain *Lane* with three ships of Mr. *Wats's.*

Captain *Roberts* in a ship of *Bristol.*

Captain *Benjamin Wood* with four ships of my lord *Thomas.*

Captain *Kevill* of *Lime-House;* and captain *King* of — : in all thirteen, which return'd not the charge of their voyage.

1594. Sir *Robert Dudley,* having two ships and two pinnaces, did not counter-vail his charges.

1596. Sir *Anthony Shirley* and captain *Parker* took some towns; but no profit to them.

1596. My lord of *Cumberland,* as I have said, took *Puerto Rico* without profit.

1593. Two ships and a pinnace of my lord of *Cumberland* did some spoil to the *Spaniards,* but little good to themselves.

1601. Captain *Parker* did some spoil upon towns, but they were like the rest in profit.

*David Middleton* brought home a prize of one hundred and forty tuns of *Campesby* wood, but of little value.

1595. Sir *Walter Raleigh* to *Guiana,* no profit at all; and the year before Sir *John Burroughs* with the like success.

There were divers pinnaces that went several years to discover *Guiana,* and the river of *Amazons,* but never any of them returned with profit.

1601. Captain *Cleive,* with a ship and a pinnace, took a prize of hides, which he restored at his return, the peace being concluded between the two kingdoms in the time of his absence.

These private voyages being compared with the rest of the queen's that went before, a man may plainly perceive that they produced greater loss, spoil, and damage, to the *Spaniards,* than profit or advantage to the *English;* for computing the expence of our publick actions and private adventures with the gain that arose out of them, we shall find they were much more chargeable than gainful to us; though I confess, in that case we are not to value the expence and loss in our disbursements; for it was repaid with the honour we gain'd, which will immortalize our nation.



1603.

*The Advantages of keeping a Fleet on the Coast of Spain in Time of War.*

1603.

I Omit in this first book to insert a treatise I was required by Sir *Robert Cecil*, then principal secretary of state, to write, concerning the abuses and corruptions at sea, which then began to creep in, not only in ships, men, and victuals, but in the designs; with a remedy how to amend and redress them. But because it is more proper for my third book, where I treat of projects, a reformation of the abuses of the navy, as also how to make an offensive and defensive war upon our neighbouring countries that oppose us on the seas, I refer you to that book, and have gathered by this that follows, That whilst the *Spaniards* were employed at home by our yearly fleets, they never had opportunity nor leisure either to make an attempt upon us, or to divert the wars from themselves; by which means we were secured from any attempt of theirs, as will appear by what follows.

The *Spaniards* stood so much in awe of her majesty's ships, that when a few of them appeared on the coast, they commonly diverted their enterprizes; as namely, in the year 1587. when Sir *Francis Drake* with twenty five ships prevented an expedition that summer out of *Cadiz-Road* for *England*, which the next year after they attempted, in 1588. because not molested as the year before.

Our action in *Portugal* following so quick upon the overthrow in 1588. made the king of *Spain* so far unable to offend, that if the undertaking had been prosecuted with judgment, he had been in ill circumstances to defend it, or his other kingdoms.

From that year to the year 1591. he grew great by sea, because he was not busied by us as before; which appeared by the fleet that took the *Revenge*; which *Armada* of his, it is very likely, had been employ'd against *England*, had it not been diverted that year by my lord *Thomas Howard*.

And for four years together after this the king employ'd his ships to the islands, to guard his merchants from the *Indies*, which made him have no leisure to think of *England*.

The voyage to *Cadiz* in 1596. did not

only frustrate his intended action against *England*, but we destroy'd many of his ships and provisions that should have been employ'd in that service.

He designed the second revenge upon *England*, but was prevented by my lord of *Essex* to the islands; which action of his, if it had been well carried, and that my lord would have believed good advice, it had utterly ruined the king of *Spain*.

The next year that gave cause of fear to the queen was 1599. the king of *Spain* having a whole year, by our sufferance, to make his provisions, and brought his ships and army down to the *Groyn*; which put the queen to a more chargeable defensive war, than the value our offensive fleet would have been maintained with upon his coast.

This great expedition was diverted by the fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* pursued to the islands.

The following years, 1600 and 1601. there was hope of peace, and nothing was attempted on either side till the latter end of 1601. that he invaded *Ireland*; but with ill success, as you have heard.

The last summer, 1602. he was braved by her majesty's ships in the mouth of his harbour, with the loss of a carrack, and rendered unable to prosecute his designs against *Ireland*; for no sooner was Sir *Richard Lewson* returned, but Sir *William Monson* was sent back again upon that coast, as you have heard, who kept the king's forces so employ'd, that he betook himself only to the guard of his shores.

It is not the meanest mischief we shall do the king of *Spain*, if we war thus upon him, to force him to keep his shores still armed and guarded, to the infinite vexation, charge, and discontent of his subjects; for no time or place can secure them so long as they see or know us to be upon the coast.

The sequel of all these actions being duly considered, we may be confident, that whilst we busy the *Spaniards* at home, they dare not think of invading *England* or *Ireland*; for by their absence their fleet from the *Indies* may be endangered, and in their attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

1603.

1603.

*The Names of such Ships as her Majesty left at her Death.*

| Names of Ships.         | Tunnage. | Men in Harbour | Men at Sea, whereof | Mariners. | Gunners. | Sailors. |
|-------------------------|----------|----------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| <i>Elizabeth Jonas.</i> | 900      | 30             | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>Triumph.</i>         | 1000     | 30             | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>White Bear.</i>      | 900      | 30             | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>Victory.</i>         | 800      | 17             | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Mere-bonour.</i>     | 800      | 30             | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Ark Royal.</i>       | 800      | 17             | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Saint Matthew</i>    | 1000     | 30             | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>Saint Andrew</i>     | 900      | 17             | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Due Repulse,</i>     | 700      | 16             | 350                 | 230       | 30       | 90       |
| <i>Garland,</i>         | 700      | 16             | 300                 | 190       | 30       | 80       |
| <i>Warspight,</i>       | 600      | 12             | 300                 | 190       | 30       | 80       |
| <i>Mary Rose.</i>       | 600      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>The Hope.</i>        | 600      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Bonaventure.</i>     | 600      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>The Lion.</i>        | 500      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Nonperelle.</i>      | 500      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Defiance.</i>        | 500      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Rainbow.</i>         | 500      | 12             | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Dreadnought.</i>     | 400      | 10             | 200                 | 130       | 20       | 50       |
| <i>Antelope.</i>        | 350      | 10             | 160                 | 114       | 16       | 30       |
| <i>Swiftsure.</i>       | 400      | 10             | 200                 | 130       | 20       | 50       |
| <i>Swallow.</i>         | 330      | 10             | 160                 | 114       | 16       | 30       |
| <i>Foresight,</i>       | 300      | 10             | 160                 | 114       | 16       | 30       |
| <i>The Tide.</i>        | 250      | 7              | 120                 | 88        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>The Crane.</i>       | 200      | 7              | 100                 | 76        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Adventure.</i>       | 250      | 7              | 120                 | 88        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Quittance.</i>       | 200      | 7              | 100                 | 76        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Answer.</i>          | 200      | 7              | 100                 | 76        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Advantage.</i>       | 200      | 7              | 100                 | 70        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Tyger.</i>           | 200      | 7              | 100                 | 70        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Tremountain.</i>     |          | 6              | 70                  | 52        | 8        | 10       |
| <i>The Scout.</i>       | 120      | 6              | 66                  | 48        | 8        | 10       |
| <i>The Catis.</i>       | 100      | 5              | 60                  | 42        | 8        | 10       |
| <i>The Charles.</i>     | 70       | 5              | 45                  | 32        | 6        | 7        |
| <i>The Moon.</i>        | 60       | 5              | 40                  | 30        | 5        | 5        |
| <i>The Advice.</i>      | 50       | 5              | 40                  | 30        | 5        | 5        |
| <i>The Spy.</i>         | 50       | 5              | 40                  | 30        | 5        | 5        |
| <i>Merlyn.</i>          | 45       | 5              | 35                  | 26        | 5        | 4        |
| <i>The Sun.</i>         | 40       | 5              | 30                  | 24        | 4        | 2        |
| <i>Synnet.</i>          | 20       | 2              |                     |           |          |          |
| <i>George Hoy.</i>      | 100      | 10             |                     |           |          |          |
| <i>Pennyrose Hoy.</i>   | 80       | 8              |                     |           |          |          |

Her majesty left these ships aforesaid at her death in good condition; and whilst she lived they gained her and her realms honour, by the exploits and victories they and her subjects obtained; and she left in every one of those ships, officers serving in their several places whilst they lay in harbour.

But as abuses by continuance of time are crept in for want of care and overlooking, like chimneys that gather soot by continual

fires, that may endanger the house if it be not prevented by sweeping; so fared it with our navy at the latter end of the queen's reign; which Sir Robert Cecil, the principal secretary, carefully foresaw, and caused me to write the ensuing discourse how the then abuses might be taken away, and a course settled for a reformation, that the like might not hereafter happen; which I directed to him as follows:

1603.

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil,  
Principal Secretary to her Majesty.

“ I Have by your honour's command,  
“ and my own experience and observa-  
“ tion, briefly collected the abuse of our  
“ seamen, and the corruptions that are to-  
“ lerated; and shew the injuries offered in  
“ furnishing, victualling, and manning her  
“ majesty's ships; and lastly, how such  
“ wrongs may be reformed; all which I  
“ humbly represent to your honour.”

*Concerning the Abuses of our Seamen.*

NOTHING breeds disorders in our sailors, but liberty and over-much clemency: the one they have in their ordinary ships of reprisal, where no discipline is used, nor authority obey'd; the other in escaping punishment when they justly deserved it, which hath brought her majesty's service to be no more accounted of, than the actions of private men. It is strange what misery such men will chuse to endure in small ships of reprisal, though they be hopeless of gain, rather than serve her majesty, where their pay is certain, their diet plentiful, and their labour not so great. Nothing breeds this but the liberty they find in the one, and punishment they fear in the other.

The ships these men covet to go in, are neither of service nor strength to the state, or annoyance to the enemy: their owners are men of as base condition as themselves, making no more reckoning what outrages their ships commit at sea, than the men themselves that commit them. They grow so bold upon the lenity used toward them, that they as confidently detain men after they are pressed, as if there were no law to prohibit it. Nor are they satisfy'd with a competent number of men in their ships; but commonly carry twice as many as their ships and victuals require; and the first carvel or fisherman they take, they put their spare men into, who many times sink in the sea, famish for want of victuals, or are forced ashore into *Spain*, where they must either be compelled to serve against their country, or die in misery. And thus have more seamen been consumed, than in all other actions or enterprizes against *Spain*. And no man dares reprove it, because the lord admiral is interested in all such prizes as these unprofitable ships take.

It is time to foresee and prevent these inconveniencies; for it is apparent this neglect of the queen's service lost her majesty the *Indian* fleet Sir *Richard Lewson* met withal, being forced to leave Sir *William Monson* with half the ships at *Plimouth* for want of sailors to man them, when at the same

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time more men were suffered to go in private ships of war, than would have manned her majesty's navy.

And yet this is not all the mischief that ensues upon it; for these men being thus suffered to go, her majesty's ships are supplied with fishermen at the season of their voyage to *Newfoundland*; so that not only the poor sailors, but the countries about them that are supported by that trade, are half undone. The men themselves are so unserviceable, and of so little spirit, that I look upon it as a principal cause of sickness in her majesty's ships. These abuses are well known to the *Spaniards*, which made *Siriago*, general of their sea, covet nothing more than to board one of her majesty's ships, knowing how ill they are manned in comparison of privateers.

Besides many private voyages have prov'd prejudicial to her majesty's designs; for very often those men that go in such ships are taken prisoners, and give notice of our intentions, whereby the enemy is provided, and we prevented. As for example, the two voyages of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendish* about the world, which though honourable to themselves, yet it had been much better for the queen that they had not been undertaken, but with greater forces; for we have now discovered to the *Spaniards* our finding the way through the *Streights of Magellan*, which they thought to conceal from us: we have passed by the coast of *Chile* and *Peru* up to *Panama*, cross'd over to the *Philippine* and *Molucco* islands, and the *East Indies*. Thus have we warn'd, without annoying them, to strengthen themselves in those parts; so that such places as had no defence, are now made able both to defend and offend, as appeared by the taking of Mr. *Hawkins* in the *South Sea*, 1594.

And since that time, it is apparent by three several voyages made by the *Hollanders*, the one in 1597. with five ships; the second in 1614. with as many; but, lastly, and especially in the fleet called by the name of the *Nassaw Fleet*, in 1623. all which fleets passed the *Streights of Magellan*, attempted landing in divers parts of *Peru* and *New Spain* with a force of three thousand soldiers, and were repulsed in those places which Mr. *Cavendish* had taken and enjoy'd, Anno 1587. but with thirty shot.

*How to redress these Disorders.*

IF it be true, as it is held to be, an easier thing to cure than discover a disease, then may there be hopes of amendment of these enormities and abuses: but the first thing that must be obtained, is, the consent and countenance of the lord admiral; for I have shewed, that these abuses are crept

C c c

in

1603. in by his permission, or at least his officers.

The second is, not to admit of all men to become owners and captains, that are able to buy or victual a ship; but to examine their condition, their estate, and qualities, and to cause them to give security not to connive at the abuses here mentioned.

Thirdly, to restrain all private actions whilst her majesty's are on foot; but if they will adventure, to let it be done in the company of her ships, where they shall have a share proportionable to their adventure; and I believe it will prove more beneficial than now they find it: or if they refuse it, it shall be lawful for them to adventure alone four months in the year, (when it is not fit to keep the king's ships at sea;) but to injoin them to return at a day limited: and the care to see this executed may be committed to the vice-admiral of every county, who is to take care they carry no more men than the ships require, nor less provision than is requisite, lest they run into the misfortunes above mentioned.

This will be the way to redress all abuses, to make men obedient to discipline and command, to avoid sickness in her majesty's ships, to employ none but such as are serviceable, not to molest the poor labouring fishermen, to give the merchants satisfaction, and to preserve the life and liberty of sailors.

*Now follow the Abuses in her Majesty's Ships.*

**T**HERE are so many, and several abuses in her majesty's ships, that the reforming of one is to little purpose, unless there be a reformation in the whole. And I will first begin with victuals upon which the lives of men depend: in this there is such great abuse in every voyage, that there is no man but has cause to complain.

The gunners, into whose charge is committed the strength of the ship, are preferred to their places rather for money than merit: and to descend to the ships themselves, there are so many impediments in them in our southern voyages, that we cannot say any thing is strong or serviceable about them. And though their wants be made known before their going from home, the officers of the navy, either out of frugality, or following precedents of former ages, not considering there was no such employment for the queen's ships heretofore, have not that care which is expedient. And, lastly, the men that serve in them are so ill treated, that they alledge it for the cause of their backwardness to serve the queen.

*The Manner how to reform these Abuses.*

1603.

**T**HE way to redress every abuse, is, to execute severe justice upon the chief men in office: as, first, the victualler, if he fail either in goodness or quantity of her majesty's allowance, let his life answer it; for no subject's estate is able to countervail the damage her majesty may sustain by such defect. And to take away all excuses of his part, and to provide there may be no failing of the service, it were convenient to have a surplus of victuals transported in other ships, to be exchanged, if upon view the other prove to be ill-conditioned.

Secondly, For the gunners: their frauds in powder and shot, and other things under their charge, are intolerable; and they have been the more embolden'd by the baseness of some captains, who have consented to their theft.

For reformation hereof, it were good to have a deputy appointed in every ship from the officers of the ordnance, to take charge of powder, shot, musket, &c. and to deliver them to such men as shall be accountable for them at the end of the voyage; for it is no reason so great a charge should be committed to the gunners, who make no conscience to steal, and may steal without controulment when it is in their possession.

Another thing, a captain must have orders to forbid, and look precisely it be obey'd, which is the lavishness of shooting for pleasure at the meeting of ships, passing by castles, and feasting aboard; for indeed there is more powder wastefully spent in this sort, than against an enemy.

For the third, which is the disability of ships to the southward, it is occasioned by the great weight of ordnance, which makes them labourfome, and causes their weakness; and considering how few gunners are allowed to every ship, it were better to leave some of these pieces at home, than to pester the ships with them. I must say, and with truth, that all her majesty's ships are far undermanned; for when people come to be divided into three parts, the one third to tackle the ship, the other to ply their small shot, and the third to manage their ordnance, all the three services fail for want of men to execute them.

Neither do I see that more men can be contained in the queen's ships to the southward, for want of stowage for victuals, and room to lodge in. No ship that returns from the southward should go to sea again under half a year's respite; in which time she will be well air'd, and her ballast must be chang'd.

There

1603. There should be a general workman appointed in harbour, carefully to overlook the ships that shall be employed: this man should go the voyage, and have the like charge at sea. Nothing that is necessary for ships, but must be carried in a great abundance by a deputy from the officers of the navy, as I have formerly said in the like case of the officers of the ordnance. All precedents of former times of furnishing the queen's ships to be abolish'd; and whosoever takes upon him this office as deputy, to be bound to give an account of the surplusses remaining, that what is not spent may be restor'd; which will nothing increase the charge in carrying them to sea; and yet the ships shall be so provided, as no casualty that can happen at sea will bring them into distress. Besides, they shall supply the want of such prizes as they take, who by reason of their long voyages have consum'd their sails, ropes, and tackling, as in the like case we found by the carrack, which we could not have brought for *England*, if we had not supplied her want out of the queen's ships.

And lastly, for the men that sail in the ships, without whom they are of no use; their usage has been so ill at the end of their voyages, that it is no marvel they shew their unwillingness to serve the queen; for if they arrive sick from any voyage, such is the charity of the people ashore, that they shall sooner die, than find pity, unless they bring money with them.

And seeing her majesty must and does pay those that serve, it were better for them, and much more profit and honour to the queen, to discharge them upon their first landing, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whether they are sick, or lie idle in harbour, their pay runs on till the ships and they are discharg'd, to the great consumption of victuals and wages, which falls upon the queen.

Wherefore it is necessary, that an undertreasurer be appointed in every fleet, who should carry money for all necessary disbursements. I have borrow'd some part of these reformations, and annex'd them to my fifth book, which I presented to the king's view, shewing the abuses of this time, both in ships, victuals, men, &c.

*When all these Things are reform'd and well order'd, and ships ready furnish'd to Sea, the next important Thing in a General, is to provide how to get Intelligence of his Enemy, and to keep the enemy from having Intelligence of him; which in our late Wars with Spain we compass'd by the following means.*

**W**HAT I have said touching an offensive and defensive war with *Spain*, needs no other repetition than what is con-

tain'd in the fifth book; for as I have often said in the precedent discourses, the life of all action by sea is to get intelligence of an enemy, and to keep the enemy from intelligence; for in so doing, a man is arm'd to encounter an enemy naked and unprovided, as I have instanc'd in many examples before; for whosoever is successful by chance and good luck, rather than by providence and foresight, cannot challenge the honour as his own, but must allow fortune a share with him; for success is the mistress of fools, and true management proceeds from judgment.

And to the end in our succeeding actions and wars with *Spain*, if ever there should happen a new breach, we may not be ignorant how to proceed against that nation by our former precedents, I have annexed these following precepts as a light and guide how to get intelligence at our arrival upon that coast, by which we shall be able the better to direct ourselves in the whole voyage; for it is an easier thing to follow a lesson well taught us, than to compass it by our own practice or study.

The first means we used to get intelligence of the affairs of *Spain* upon our arrival, was to hail into the height of the *Burlings*, a small desert island, whither every night the carvels of *Peniche*, opposite to it, resorted to take fish, which serv'd the whole country. About the time the carvels were to draw near the island, in the night time, we used to leave some ships boats, well mann'd, near the shore, where there could be no suspicion of them, and at the dawning of the day, the shallops suddenly boarded and seized some of the said carvels, of which we made good use in two kinds: the first was the intelligence we receiv'd of the state and affairs of *Lisbon*, and the whole coast; as also what preparations were made, either to defend or offend. The second was in respect of the carvels excellent sailings, for there were few ships but they could fetch up, and then keep sight of them both night and day, till our approach to them. Thirdly, by the unusual sails carvels carry, by means whereof we deceived the *Spaniards*, and made them believe they were their own. At last, when the voyage was at an end, the poor men were restored again to their vessels, and some reward bestowed on them.

*The Means how we obtain'd Intelligence of the south Parts of Spain, by a Method of my own.*

**I**N the voyage of *Sir Richard Lewson* and *Sir William Monfon* to the coast of *Spain*, you will find an intelligence I receiv'd from certain *Scotch* and *French* ships, of five galleons riding at *St. Lucar*, watching

1603. ing an opportunity of wind and spring tides to pass the bar of *St. Lucar*, being ready bound for the *West Indies*; and because I would be particularly resolv'd of all the circumstances thereof, I employed captain *William Love* to the ports of *Sally* and *Mamora* in *Barbary*, with the following instructions.

*Imprimis*, That you first repair to *Sally*; and if you cannot be fully inform'd of such things as you desire to know, to depart thence to *Mamora*, seven leagues eastward of *Sally*.

*Item*, You are to have especial care to manage your business with secrecy, as well from the *English* that go with you in the bark, as from the *Spaniards* and *Moors* resident in the country. And because you shall have the better pretence of coming into their forts, I will deliver you certain commodities to trade with, that are vendible in that country.

*Item*, You are to inquire and seek for the chiefest *Englishman* in either of the two places, and to deliver him a letter with a superscription, *To my faithful countryman*. And finding no such man there, if you break your mind to any other stranger, let it be to a *Hollander*, that either lieth there as agent or merchant, to whom you shall have another letter, *To my dear friend and neighbour*.

*Item*, If you find neither *English* nor *Hollander*, you having the language, may insinuate yourself into the acquaintance of some *Portuguese* or *Spaniard*, of whom you may learn by circumlocutions, so that he may find you have an intention to be inform'd of any thing in particular; and if you find his intelligence to concur with that I received from the *French* and *Scotch*, you may the more boldly give credit to him.

*Item*, The things you are principally to enquire after, are these following: the number and quality of all ships at *Cadiz* or *St. Lucar*. Secondly, whether the galleons you are employed to hearken after be gone to the *Indies*, or no; or whether they came over the bar the last spring tide; or if they be not gone, to demand the cause of their stay, or when they will depart. To enquire whether there be any ships appointed to convoy them to the *Canaries*, and how many, and their names, because I have a catalogue of all the king of *Spain's* ships, and may judge of their strength accordingly. To learn whether they alter their ordinary course of sailing, for fear of her majesty's ships being upon their coast. Speak nothing of their wealth, lest it should give some cause of mistrust. I will not write thus particularly, either to the *Englishman* or the *Hollander*; but they having my letter to credit what you shall say, and shewing my hand

to these instructions, it will be sufficient to give them satisfaction. 1603.

*Item*, That you suffer not any of the bark's company to go ashore, nor, as near as you can, any of the *Moors* to come aboard; but if any of the *English* should happen to go ashore, to give them great charge not to discover the place or height I lie in, or that any of the queen's ships are at sea, pretending it was four months since you left *England*, unless the cleanness of your ship may give suspicion, and then you may tell them you trim'd her at *Mogotbor*, an island in *Barbary*.

*Item*, That finding yourselves fully inform'd as to these things you desire, or what else you think convenient to know, then speedily to repair to me in the same height you left me; and missing me there, to direct your course to *Puerto Santo*, near the island *Madera*, where I intend to refit my ships after the fight, if I chance to meet with the galleons aforesaid.

Given on board the *Garland*, the  
17th of April, 1602.

#### *The Means to get Intelligence at the Tercera Islands.*

THE instructions following I have formerly used to be informed of affairs in those parts, and employed captain *Whiskens* in a small carvel to the effect following.

*Imprimis*, You are to keep company with the *Primrose* of *London*, which is bound for *Gratiosa*, till you come short of that island, and then to ply into the road of *Villa Franca* and *St. Michael*; where you shall use your endeavour to speak with the ships there riding, that trade under the *Scotch* colours, but are properly *English*; and to avoid suspicion and danger that may after arise to the said *Englishmen*, you shall speak with them in the night.

*Item*, The things you shall desire to know are these, *viz.* Of the state of the *West-India* fleet; and whether they still continue at the *Tercera* islands, not venturing to go from thence without a convoy from *Spain*; to learn the time of their departure from thence, and what port they mean to repair to; learn whether they keep their treasure aboard, or if it be landed, and how far their ships ride from the shore; whether they have any intelligence of *Sir Richard Lewson* and my being at sea; what you can learn of the carracks coming home, or any thing else in general touching these points.

*Item*, When you are thus satisfied of all your demands, that from thence you go to the island of *Tercera*, and view the road of *Angra*, to see in what state the ships there ride, and the possibility to surprize them at an anchor.

*Item*,

Item, That this being done, you repair to *Gratiosa*, where you shall find the *Primrose* aforesaid, who against your coming will be able to inform you of all particulars contain'd in the second article.

Item, If you find the fleet of treasure to be gone for *Spain*, then to make no stay about the islands, but return to the coast of *Spain*, where you shall find the admiral or me ten or twelve leagues west from the rock,

Item, If you be informed that the fleet of the *Indies* hover about the island, expecting a convoy from *Spain*, that you endeavour to speak with some *English* man of war, and there to deliver them this letter, the contents whereof you are already acquainted with, which will direct both you and the man of war with whom you shall meet; and so wishing you prosperous success, I rest.

From aboard the *Garland* at *Plymouth*, March 27. 1602.

*A Copy of the said Letter sent by Captain Whiskens.*

“ AFTER my hearty commendations; Whereas the queen's most excellent majesty is advertis'd of the late arrival of the plate fleet in the road of *Angra*, at the island of *Tercera*, in their course from the *West Indies* towards *Spain*; and forasmuch as her majesty hath sent divers of her ships to sea, whereof Sir *Richard Lewson* is admiral, and myself vice-admiral, to hinder and impeach the said silver fleet's passage through the seas, as a service of the highest importance, to lessen the greatness of so dangerous and mighty an enemy as the king of *Spain*; so it is, that my admiral, Sir *Richard Lewson*, is put to sea some few days before me, and before her majesty was advertis'd of the said fleet's arrival at the *Tercera*; wherefore I have employed this bearer, captain *Whiskens*, with such instructions for the accomplishment of the service, as is thought most convenient for the effecting it; which instructions I have given him order to acquaint you with upon your meeting, and the delivery of this letter, which contains a request, and as much as lieth in my power, to command all you *English* captains and masters, with whom he shall meet in the sea, to be helping, aiding, and assisting to him in so great and weighty a service, as well in counsel and advice, as in willingness to execute the directions given in my said letter, viz. If you shall understand the plate fleet intends not to venture home without ships to guard it,

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“ that you presently thereupon use the best means to give notice to Sir *Richard*, or me, when you shall know by captain *Whiskens* where to find us; or else that you keep about the road of *Angra*, and send captain *Whiskens* himself to look us; which soever of you comes, must observe these directions following.

“ Upon the *Spanish* fleet's putting to sea; both of you to pursue them atern, till you bring them to the height they mean to hail in; and that done, then one of you to lose company of them in the night, and to ply with all possible speed to the place aforesaid, to meet Sir *Richard* or me. And that the other bark do still attend the fleet, that if they should alter their height, she may in like manner leave them in the night, and follow the directions aforesaid, as the other bark is directed; but with this caution, that you keep a strict account of the shifting of the winds, from the time you left them, until your meeting with us; for knowing their height, and observing the winds shifting, there will be little doubt of our meeting. The service you will do to the queen and state by this, and the good that will redound to yourself, needs no repetition; and therefore not doubting of your willingness and care herein, I bid you farewell.”

From on board the *Garland* at *Plymouth*, March 26. 1602.

I have known our state use this policy in time of war, when they desir'd to be inform'd of the state of the king of *Spain's* ships, the places of their abiding, furnishing, and building: they have sent a spy, disguised like a pilgrim, to travel through all the ports of *Biscay* and *Galicia*, in his way to *Saint Jago de Compostella*, pretending his going to be in devotion; by which means he has seen and discover'd all those things he had in charge, and return'd with a true relation how things then stood.

The *Spaniards* in all their actions against *England* by sea, could never set foot on shore, but in the year 1595. when with four galleys they pass'd from *Bluet* in *Britany*, which they had taken from the *French* king, into *Pensance* in *Cornwall*. These four galleys took, spoiled, and rifled that poor town of *Pensance*, made no long stay there, but speedily return'd again for *Britany*.

The plotter of this stratagem was one captain *Burleigh*, an *Englishman*, who was afterwards well requited for his treachery; for to be even with him for so foul a fact, Sir *Robert Cecil*, the principal secretary, writ a letter to him residing in *Lisbon*, pretending that he was employed as a spy, and gave

D d d

him

him thanks for some particular service he named he had done, when indeed there was no such cause, for the man was ever too honest to that side.

Sir *Robert Cecill* so ordered it, that this letter fell into the hands of some ministers of the king of *Spain*; whereupon *Burleigh* was apprehended, close imprisoned, and cruelly tortured, when he deserved no such severe usage. I speak this, because I would have the world judge how justly he deserved it, and how prettily the *Spaniards* were imposed upon by it.

*Some Observations of my own.*

**W**HETHER we shall impute it to the work of God, who disposes of all things, or to the queen's good fortune; which attended throughout the greatest part of her reign, or to the wise conduct of those she reposed trust in, or to the care and skill of the captains, masters, and mariners that took charge of her ships, I know not which to judge of them; but it is very certain, we must acknowledge it for a great and admirable work of God, that in her majesty's eighteen years war with *Spain* by sea, her fleets, which were continually employed on the *Spanish* coast, in the *Indies*, and other places, continually abiding and enduring the fury of all winds and weather, never out of motion, and working in troublesome water, never for the space of three, four, five, or six months so much as putting into harbour, or anchoring, or having any other refreshment from shore, but still toiling on the waves of mountainous seas that never break, in comparison of ours that seem but little hills to them, the difference in times and tides much altering the case, for upon our coasts and narrow seas, where our greatest wars have been, no disaster to our ships but might be easily remedied and amended, for commonly we were never further from home than we might repair to some of our ports in twenty four hours.

The marvel I speak of, is, that notwithstanding the apparent dangers and casualties of the sea aforesaid, yet not one of her majesty's ships ever miscarried, but only the *Revenge*, which I said, in her voyage in 1591. was taken by the *Spaniards* by the unadvised negligence and wilful obstinacy of the captain, Sir *Richard Greenville*.

And we may partly judge by that ship the *Revenge's* precedent misfortunes, that she was design'd, from the hour she was built, to receive some fatal blow; for to her, above all other her majesty's ships, there happen'd these unfortunate accidents. In 1582. in her return out of *Ireland*, where she was admiral, she struck upon a sand, and escaped by miracle. Anno 1586. at

*Portsmouth*, being bound upon a southern expedition, coming out of the harbour she run aground, and against the expectation of all men was sav'd, but was not able to proceed upon her voyage. The third disaster was in 1589. as she was safely moor'd in *Chatham*, where all the queen's ships lay, and as safe one would think as the queen's chamber; and yet, by the extremity of a storm, she was unluckily put ashore, and there over-set, a danger never thought on before, or much less happen'd: and to make this misfortune the more strange and remarkable, the same night being *twelfthnight*, it was my chance to be at *Cork* in *Ireland*, and passed down from thence in a boat to *Cross-Haven*, in the greatest calm I have seen.

If we compare these fortunes of the queen's with those of her father's, who next to her had the greatest employment for his ships at sea, you will find great difference betwixt them, although we cannot properly call them voyages of king *Henry* the eighth's time; for his ships were never so far from home, but they might return again with a good wind in twenty four hours sail; as the others never expected to see the *English* shore, under four, five, or six months, and many times more.

*The Disasters of some of King Henry VIII's Ships, and the Lord Admiral.*

**U**PON the coast of *Britany*, in a fight betwixt the *English* and the *French*, the *Regent*, otherwise call'd the *Sovereign of England*, encounter'd with a carrack of *Brest*, and being grappled together, were both burnt; and the captain, Sir *Thomas Nevet*, and seven hundred men in her; and the captain of the carrack was Sir *Pierce Morgan*, with nine hundred men that perish'd with him.

The *Mary Rose*, next to the *Regent* in bigness and goodness, after this was cast away betwixt *Portsmouth* and the *Isle of Wight*, the very same day king *Henry* boarded her, and dined in her. Part of the ribs of this ship I have seen with my own eyes: there perish'd in her four hundred persons.

The next disaster that befel the king at sea, was the lord admiral himself, lord *Edward Howard*, who offering to land in his boat at *Bertaume-Bay*, near *Brest* in *Britany*, was there slain and drowned together.

When the lady *Mary*, sister to king *Henry*, was transported into *France* with fourteen ships of his majesty's, to marry *Lewis XII.* king of *France*, three of his ships were cast away; and the admiral, wherein the lady went, being the best and the greatest of the rest, called the *Lubeck*, was one of them that perish'd; but by good hap, and industry and pains of men, the lady escap'd,



escaped, but four hundred and odd persons were drowned.

Within two days after the casting away of the *Mary Rose* afore said, a pinnace of the king's, called the *Hedge-hog*, riding before *Westminster* bridge, by a misfortune of shooting off a gun a barrel of powder took fire, and blew her up.

*As I have set down in this first book the state of the war with Spain by sea from 1585. when it began, till 1602, when it ended; for the conclusion of the affairs of that time, I will annex the advice and resolution of our state, and the council of war, for making a defensive war against Spain, when we feared an invasion in 1588.*

If the following discourse seem more tedious to the reader than is fitting, let it not be imputed a fault in me; for I neither add nor diminish one word from the original copy resolved on by the council of war, whose names here follow:

The lord *Gray*,  
 Sir *Francis Knowles*, treasurer of the household,  
 Sir *Thomas Laken*,  
 Sir *Walter Raleigh*,  
 Sir *Richard Greenville*,  
 Sir *John Norris*,  
 Sir *Richard Bingham*,  
 Sir *Roger Williams*,  
*Ralph Lane* Esq;  
 The 27th of November, 1587.

PROPOSITIONS.

Such means as are considered to be fittest to put the forces of the realm in order to withstand an invasion, and the places most to be suspected that the *Spaniards* intend to land in.

*Milford*,  
*Heylford*,  
*Falmouth*,  
*Plimouth*,  
*Torbay*,  
*Portland*,  
*Portsmouth*,  
*The Isle of Wight*,

These are aptest for the army of *Spain* to land in.

*Nesse* in *Suffex*,  
 The *Downs*,  
*Margate* in *Kent*,  
 The river of *Thames*,  
*Harwich*,  
*Yarmouth*,  
*Hull*, and *Scotland*.

These are aptest for the army of *Flanders*.

How many of these places may be put in defence to hinder their landing.

*Milford* for *Wales*,  
*Plimouth* for the west.  
*Portland* for the middle of the west parts.  
*The Isle of Wight*,  
*Portsmouth*, and the  
 River of *Thames*.

MILFORD.

Although we do suppose the barrenness of the country to be such as it is not likely to be invaded, yet touching *Milford-Haven*, in respect of the goodness of the same, we think it convenient, that there should be trained the number of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be levied, and had in readiness: and for the increase of horsemen, if any lack be, then the gentlemen with their serving-men may be commanded to supply the default of the number afore said.

PLIMOUTH.

The reason why *Plimouth* is thought to be the most likely place, is, for that it is unlikely that the king of *Spain* will engage his fleet too far within the channel, before he has mastered some good harbour; and *Plimouth* is the nearest to *Spain*, easy to be won, speedily to be by them fortify'd, and conveniently situated to send succour to, either out of *Spain* or *France*.

PORTLAND.

The reason why *Portland* is also an apt place to land in, is, for that there is a great harbour for all his ships to ride in, and good landing for men; the isle being won, is a strong place of retreat, the country adjoining champion, where, with great conveniency, he may march with his whole army.

The reason why the *Downs*, *Margate*, and the river of *Thames*, are thought fit landing-places, is in respect of the commodity of landing, and nearness to the prince of *Parma*, in whose forces the king of *Spain* reposed special trust.

Now in these places following, order may be taken to hinder their landing, whether by fortification or assembly of the people, or both.

For *Plimouth*, both by fortification and assembly of people.

In *Devon* and *Cornwal* there are of train'd men in the counties and stannaries five

five thousand men, which are to be assembled for the defence of *Plimouth*, standing equal to both counties; of which we are of opinion, in place of muster-days, which is very chargeable, and, in effect, to no purpose, That two thousand of those should be assembled together at *Plimouth*, under such a general as shall be ordain'd to govern that western army, to the intent that they may know their leaders, be acquainted, be thoroughly instructed to all purposes, that on sudden occasions there may be no amaze, nor any confusion: this shall be done, the one half at the charge of her majesty, the other at the charge of the country, if the country's charge does not surmount the ordinary trainings.

*For Portland, by assembling of men and fortifying.*

In *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* there are of trained men two thousand seven hundred, which are to be assembled for the defence of that place; and that two thousand of the said number should be assembled and exercised, as before is said, at *Plimouth*, or in some place of *Wiltshire*, appointed for the *Isle of Wight* to take *Somersetshire*, in which there are two thousand foot.

*At Sandwich, and the Downs, by the assembling of men.*

In *Kent* and *Suffex* there are of trained men four thousand five hundred, which are to be assembled in those places for defence thereof; and two thousand of the same number to be assembled at *Sandwich*, to be governed and exercised, as before is said, for *Plimouth*.

So likewise for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, like order to be observed.

Our farther meaning is, That these garrisons shall remain but for twenty days, to be thoroughly trained and acquainted with encamping; and then every such two thousand men in garrison being so acquainted with this discipline, shall give example to a great army of raw men, whereby there shall be no manner of confusion on all sudden emergencies.

Farther, we are of opinion, That to these two thousand men there shall be twenty captains appointed, which twenty captains having each of them an hundred trained men, shall receive under their charge, when the army shall assemble, an hundred more; so as in effect there shall be four thousand men in order, and under martial discipline: the choice of which captains we think, for the one half, to be left to the choice of the general of the army, and the other to be of the principal

gentlemen of the country, under whom there may be soldiers appointed for their lieutenants.

The like order is to be observ'd in every of the other places of garrison.

*What order must be taken to fight with the enemy, if by force be be landed.*

For the manner how to fight with the enemy, it must be left to the discretion of the general; only we give this advice, That at his landing he may be impeached, if conveniently it may be done; and if he march forward, that the country be driven so as no victuals remain, but such as they shall carry on their backs, which will be small; that he be kept waking with continual alarms; but in no case that any battle be adventured, till such time as divers lieutenants be assembled to make a gross army, as we have before specified, except upon a special advantage.

Farther, it is thought necessary, that in these two provinces, and in all others, where many lieutenants be, there should one be appointed to be chief to lead the army, (for among many lieutenants there may be some straining of courtesy,) left by such delay and confusion great inconveniences do grow to the country, and advantages to the enemy; and therefore any lieutenant coming out of any country with his force, his authority only to extend to govern his company as colonel of that regiment, and so to be commanded by the lieutenant-general: as for example, in *Devon* and *Cornwal* there are ten lieutenants, whereby it may be known who shall command in either, as need shall require.

*What proportion of men must be prepar'd to serve to that end.*

Wheresoever the enemy shall land, as if at *Plimouth*, for example, then by the computation of six thousand men armed, and furnished in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, we conceive that the assistance of *Wiltshire*, *Dorset*, and *Somerset*, adjoining to the six thousand of the west, will make a sufficient army, being strengthened by the gentlemen and serving-men, and other of the country that shall be adjoined, though not so thoroughly arm'd as the west: and if it happen, either by design or contrary weather, that the enemy pass over *Plimouth*, and land at *Portland*, then the arm'd men and trained soldiers of the west shall repair to them. And farther, if the invasion be in *Kent*, or any other where to the west of the river of *Thames*, then those middle shires directed to assist the west, may turn to the east along the coast.

If

If the army of *Flanders* land in the river of *Thames*, then the same order is to be taken with the shires adjoining, as is afore-said, namely, *Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex*, and the city of *London*.

And because there is a special regard to be had of her majesty's person, we think it most necessary that an army should be provided to that end, to be composed of such counties as are appointed and reserved for that purpose, and to join with the forces of the city of *London*, and such other as may be armed out of her majesty's store.

Farthermore, generally for the increase of foot lacking armour, we think it fit that there be of the able men unarmed, whereof choice may be made of the trained men armed one fourth part more; of the which fourth part of unarmed men, eighty may be pikes, and twenty billmen; for the providing of which pikes and bills, there must be speedy provision made, being weapons that the realm does furnish.

Also for the increase of armed pikemen in this time of scarcity of armour, we do think it good, that all the armed billmen may be converted to be made armed pikemen; and that all able billmen unarmed should be levied, and chosen in their places; because the ranks of billmen in order of battle are always environed and encompassed about with pikemen; for the billmen serve especially for execution, if the enemy in battle shall be overthrown: but here is to be noted, that there must be reserved a few armed billmen and halbardiers to guard the ranks, wherein the ensigns and drums, &c. are placed in the order of battle.

Also, since upon any sudden invasion it would be too late to provide these things, which shall be necessary for defence, it is thought necessary that before-hand a store of ordnance and ammunition be provided, as also powder, spades, and all other furniture whatsoever; and to be left in these fore-named places, in which these garrisons shall remain.

It is also to be provided, that all those general assemblies be held for training, as well the horsemen as footmen; and to that end, that at *Plimouth, Portland, Sandwich*, and any other places that shall be fit to have the like training, the horsemen of the next adjoining counties be brought together; as, namely, at *Plimouth* those of *Devon, Cornwall*; and *Somerset*; at *Portland* those of *Dorset* and *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*; at *Sandwich* those of *Kent, Sussex, Surrey*, &c. But because it may fall out, that in those places appointed for training of the infantry, there may want forage, or place fit for horsemen, it may be left to the discretion of the lieutenants to chuse the

fittest for the cavalry, as near the foot as conveniently they may.

#### SCOTLAND.

Farther, as touching *Scotland*, where landing we cannot resist, we think it meet that a stronger proportion be considered of for that part, namely, six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, whereof to be a thousand lances, arms of far more defence, and may be furnished as good and cheap as the jack, and to be taken out of the tower.

If therefore the army of *Flanders* should happen to land in *Scotland*, whereby their forces and strength shall be so great, as the army afore-said shall not be able to encounter them, then we think fit that a good part of the army prepared to guard her majesty's person shall march to support the army of the *North* against that enemy, and join with the trained men of that country, and the army of the west be brought to supply that charge.

It is also most carefully to be considered, that the king of *Spain* is not hopeless of some party of papists and malecontents.

All which, if these small regiments before spoken of, be not in readiness, it will be too late both to assemble for resistance of any foreign enemy, and to withstand them at home both on one day: for every man shall stand in fear of firing of his own house, and destruction of his family; therefore if any stir should happen, such severe proceedings or execution towards such offenders, would be used by martial law.

And to conclude, when it shall be bruted in *Spain*, that there are at *Plimouth* and other places such a number of armed soldiers under ensigns and leaders, the number will be reported to be double or treble; so as the king of *Spain*, upon good probability, may conceive that these soldiers, and such as are in other places upon the coast in like readiness, are determined to land in *Portugal* or the *Indies*, the same opinion being fortify'd by the preparations of so many ships as are given in charge to be made ready in those parts by Sir *Francis Drake*.

We think it also very necessary, that throughout all the countries of the realm, this proportion, as well amongst the arm'd and trained, as the unarm'd pikes and bills, may be observed, that is to say, that of every hundred there be eighty pikes and twenty bills.

We think it necessary also, that some order and provision be taken by their lordships, that her majesty's ships being at *Rocheſter* be not entrapped.

*Thus far is the Direction and Resolution of the Honourable Commissioners aforesaid, concluded on November 27. 1587.*

*Now follows an Exception to some Points of the Resolution aforesaid.*

**I**F I had been of that age and experience as now I am, and worthy to have been called upon for my opinion, by so many noble and able personages, to the propositions aforesaid, I should have dissented in some things from them, under correction be it spoken, as shall appear by these ensuing reasons.

Our safety upon an invasion depends on three defences; the one, on the good success of our ships at sea; the second, on our repulsing an enemy in offering to land; and the third, on our forces within the kingdom, if they chance to land: all which are at large handled in the precedent discourse, by the prime and most experienced foldiers of our time.

#### MILFORD HAVEN.

The first direction of propositions by them is *Milford Haven*, as a place of danger, and wish it may be guarded with two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with some supplies of gentlemen and their servants, which they think sufficient, in respect of the barrenness of the country of *Wales*.

*The ANSWER to Milford Haven.*

I conceive, as *Milford Haven* has the advantage of all havens in *England*, or almost in *Europe*, for the largeness and goodness of the port, so there are multitude of landing places; for it is said of *Milford Haven*, that a thousand ships may ride in it, and not one see another; whereby an enemy may stand to his advantage when he list, without resistance; and in that case, where two thousand five hundred foldiers are designed to withstand the enemy's landing, there is no possibility for them to do service, unless the shore should be as well fortify'd; which would be a thing impossible.

I would therefore advise, if it were not too great a presumption in me, not to hazard any part of the two thousand five hundred men in seeking to defend their landing; but to draw them to a head, and seek to take advantage of them after their landing; as, namely, in cutting off the rear and stragglers in their marches, wearying them with often alarms, to prevent the foraging of the country of victuals; and in the mean time to draw and convey their cattle of all kinds into the mountains, that

an enemy can neither possess, nor know where to find them; and for other kind of victuals, as corn, &c. that cannot be conveniently transported, to set them on fire, that the enemy may meet with hunger and famine, instead of food.

And if the invaders intend to march from *Milford Haven* to the inward part of the land, (for that is the end of all conquerors,) it will easily appear what imminent dangers they will run themselves into.

Their victuals in that part of *Wales* will not sustain them; and it will be the less, being before destroy'd. Secondly, their march will be wearisome and tedious, where they must pass mighty mountains, and find themselves destitute of all succour; in which passages the two thousand foot and five hundred horse aforesaid, knowing the country so perfectly well, as the others do not, they may take great advantage of them. Thirdly, the further they march they will be the greater distance from their ships, and consequently from succour and assistance: and in the mean time, whilst they are upon their troublesome and dangerous march, the queen will have time enough to draw her forces from the furthest part of *England*.

#### PLIMOUTH.

The next that is alledged is *Plimouth*, as the likeliest place, in respect it is the nearest port to *Spain*, to give succour; and that they will not in reason adventure their fleet further into the channel before they are masters of some good harbour.

#### ANSWER.

I approve these reasons, as a chief ground for an enemy to settle upon; for whosoever invades by sea, above all things must seek to obtain a port for his fleet; only I disapprove the election of *Plimouth* before *Falmouth*; for *Falmouth* lies more convenient for *Spain*, fourteen or fifteen leagues nearer to it, a better harbour and outlet, and at that time of less defence than *Plimouth*; and being possessed by the *Spaniards*, it will be made stronger by the situation. Moreover *Falmouth* is in *Cornwall*, a small shire, and narrow betwixt sea and sea, and has no country neighbour to it westward to give us assistance, as *Devonshire* hath *Cornwall* to the west, and *Somersetshire* to the east; but the one and the other I hold as fit to be fortify'd, as any two harbours of *England*.

#### PORTLAND.

*Portland* is alledged to be an apt place for the *Spaniards* to arrive in; for that it is a great harbour for all their ships to ride in,

in, and a good landing for their men; that the island being won, it is a strong place for retreat, the country adjoining to it champion, where with great conveniency they may march with their whole army.

In *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* there are of train'd men two thousand five hundred, which are to be assembled for defence of that place; and the honourable commissioners do advise that two thousand of the same number should be assembled and exercised, as before is said of *Plimouth*; and that some place be appointed in *Wiltshire* for the succour of the *Isle of Wight*, and to take the help of *Somersetshire*, which are two thousand foot.

#### A N S W E R.

The honourable commissioners are misinformed in the state of *Portland*; for is it neither an island, nor has, as they conceive, a harbour for ships to lie in safely from all weather. It hath only an open bay, where with an easterly wind ships ride in danger. And if the fleet of *Spain* should arrive there, I should sooner look to have them wrecked upon the shore than to return safe again to sea.

*Portland* is a road some leagues over from shore to shore, and within it lieth a small bar, and dry haven, called *Weymouth*, of no defence against an enemy's landing, nor fit for great ships, as is all that shore, except only a small port of no importance upon the road.

This place is in the state of *Milford Haven*, that hath an infinite number of places to land in, and no possibility to impeach an enemy's landing: and this will serve as well for an answer to the *Isle of Wight*, and other places of that sort, where there are several landings.

The road of *Portland* gives us an advantage over the *Spaniards*, if they should anchor there, by reason of the breadth of the road, which is such, that no fortifications from the shore can impeach our attempts upon them. For suppose we should not be able to cope with them in ships, yet keeping ourselves to windward of them, during the time of the whole flood, we shall be able to put in execution stratagems, in firing them with vessels we may drive among them; or, if we fail one flood we shall be able to attempt them as often as we list, and the flood shall run without danger to ourselves; for during the flood they cannot come to us; and with the first of the ebb, we shall be able to ply out, without endangering ourselves any manner of way.

I confess it is necessary that the men be mustered and trained in every shire, to make them able soldiers; but, in my opinion, it is not safe to design so many men to so ma-

ny several places, without there be works and trenches made to defend them, and to enable them to repulse an enemy's landing; for if those men should be defeated, the loss of their arms would equal the loss of so many men, and dishearten others that have not been acquainted and accustomed to the accidents and chances of war.

Something I have said to this part of keeping an enemy from landing in my fifth book, where I treat of stratagems, by example of the *Downs*, and other places, where the shore-side is full of small stones and shingles cast up by sea.

#### How to fight.

The next that follows is the order to be taken to fight the enemy if he be landed, which must be left to the discretion of a general: what ensues more, by the advice of the honourable commissioners, I refer to their former directions which you have read; and for brevity sake will deliver my opinion for the world to consider.

#### A N S W E R.

There must be great consideration, not only how to fight, but a place must be chosen within the land to make their rendezvous, for all their forces to meet together with most conveniency; for the enemy being landed, we must lay aside all other propositions or stratagems, more than to think how to force them in a main battle, as we shall hear they direct their course, either by dividing their army, or marching in a whole body.

And for the effecting hereof, we must resolve to gather and draw so many men into a body, as will make two main battles, the one to attend the south and west coast, the other to be ready to attend the prince of *Parmã* and his army in the east.

If our ships fail of intercepting the *Spaniards* landing, they will become masters of all our ports; and there is no coast where they shall arrive in *England*; but will yield them store of landing places without resistance, as before I have expressed; and therefore our chief defence must consist in our land army, if we must not employ so many men as is design'd to withstand their landing as aforesaid.

For the place of rendezvous for our western army, I hold *Salisbury* the most convenient seat: it lieth half way betwixt *London* and *Plimouth*, which will make the easier march for them both; not forty miles from *Portland*, and that southern coast; not above eighteen from *Southampton*, nor thirty to the *Isle of Wight* and *Portsmouth*; so that we shall in a manner be upon the enemy

enemy before they can be provided or prepared for their march.

All the foldiers that are design'd to oppose their landing in *Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Hampshire*, being join'd with the rest that shall be drawn out of the inland shires, will make an army able to encounter more men than three such fleets can either contain or bring.

When it comes to this extremity, the countries must have care to drive away their cattle, and live things of all sorts, and to convey their corn and other victuals in carts, and one cart to take it of another, that the first may return back for another load; and if they have not time enough, then to burn the rest, and carts also, that the enemy may be disappointed of carriages as well as victuals; and for forage for their horses, they coming by sea, their number cannot be great.

The place to drive their cattle to be near the army, which will surely guard them. This being done, the general is to advise whether to march and meet the enemy before their further entrance into the land, or to suffer him to march into the inward country, to have the greater advantage of them, being far from their ships, and by consequence from all relief and help that they can afford them: but I am utterly against the adventuring of our people by handfuls before they come to a main battle.

The place of our rendezvous for our eastern army was well and advisedly chosen in 1588. when her majesty repaired to her army: first, in respect of the small distance from *London*, from whence they were to receive supplies; secondly, by the provision made of building a bridge of boats to pass over the river to the succour of *Kent*, or *Kent* of them; and, thirdly, for appointing their rendezvous on the *Essex* shore, rather than in *Kent*: for if an enemy land in *Kent*, he is kept by the river of *Thames* from coming to *London*, unless it be by the bridge of *London*, or of *Kingston*, which may be prevented by breaking them down: whereas if an enemy land on *Essex* side, he may march directly to *London* without let, impeachment, or other impediment, but by the encounter of an army, that may be drawn out of *Essex, Kent, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntington, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Middlesex, and London*. And for *Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire*, and the shires thereabout, they lie indifferently to give assistance as well to the western as eastern armies.

The honourable commissioners did conceive, that this great preparation of ours would so much terrify the *Spaniards*, that it would divert them from their intended

invasion upon *England*; but I believe it proceeded rather out of a hope, or an imagination, than out of any ground or reason; for so great an expedition as this of the *Spaniards*, is not to be scared away like birds with wisps from a cherry-tree: but if you do it as a policy to amaze them, I fear they are not so unprovided of intelligence from *England*, but to know that the preparation of ships, the quantity of victuals, and the raising of soldiers, does intend no great matter from home.

Besides, if we should fright them with a voyage to the *Indies*, there are many things required in such a voyage that cannot be suddenly provided, as, namely, the sheathing our ships, provisions of all kinds, iron hoops for casks, and many other things needless to express.

But suppose we should actually undertake such a voyage from home, I know not how we can give a greater advantage to the *Spaniards*, they having so great an army and navy in readiness to assault us wheresoever we arrive; and in such a place where they shall be continually supplied from home; whereas we shall find nothing but what we carry with us.

#### PROPOSITION.

Whereas the council of war do advise, that in the army that shall be raised there be an increase made of pikes and bills, as weapons that the country affords, and shews the necessity of their being put into such mens hands as have not been taught other arms.

I will be bold, without derogating from those noble persons, to deliver my conceit to this point, and to commend to them a weapon, that though it be known to us, yet has never been used in war, or against publick enemies; and yet in my opinion it may be made useful in the field, where there is neither castle, fort, nor town of strength.

The weapon is a pike-staff, such as keepers and warreners use for the guard of the game; and that every wood affords us without cost.

This staff to have an extraordinary long pike, and three small ones to be scrued in at the sides of the staff, and so light, that a man may easily command him; every man in a town to be enjoined to have one. And to give the more credit and reputation to this weapon, and to encourage men to the use of it, as an exercise of value, credit, and pleasure, as football, hurling, and wrestling, have been anciently used, when there was more society and friendliness among men than now-a-days, I would advise, that all people thus armed with staves, may every holiday



holiday have a place and time appointed for meeting and conversation, to use these commendable exercises and sports, and amongst them to have men of skill appointed to instruct them, as masters of defence, do their scholars, till they be made perfect.

At this meeting they may also use wrestling, and other laudable sports, which would put life and agility of body into them: it will make them courageous to encounter an enemy, and skilful to take an advantage upon him: they need take no care but to wield their staves with such advantage as shall be taught them; as a musketer, with whom they are to encounter, has his musket, his rest, shot, powder, and match, to look to, ~~one~~ whereof failing, he may cast away his piece for any other service he can do.

Let the musketer in this case be sure to kill him he levels at, or else the pike will be within him before he can load again, and have the advantage of his weapon upon him; and the pikeman being taught to wrestle, will suddenly kick up the other's heels; and if he carry ever a dagger or knife in his pocket, he will be the death of his opposite, if his staff fails him.

The bill in this case is improper, under correction to the commissioners, whose use is, if an army be routed, to fall upon them pell-mell with blows only: a bill is short, and not so nimble in a man's hand as a staff: it will be commanded by the horse,

and a great trouble to him that carries it after the pursuit of an enemy. A staff has no impediment, but may easily overtake a musketer that is laden with his piece and furniture, that he shall be either forced to yield, or cast away his arms, to escape by flight. It will also be an advantage to a man if he be put to leap a ford or ditch, and many other uses may be made of it.

This meeting for recreation will make good conversation and love amongst men; it will make them abandon alehouses, and think on nothing but on holidays to spend their time in sports, which for many years they have been debar'd of. And for the better governing it, and to avoid any hurt that may arise by it, it is wish'd, that at the time of practice the pikes be taken out of their screws; and at every such meeting the constable and his deputy be appointed to govern them, and punish abuses.

Thus shall all men in the kingdom be made to serve their prince and country without murmuring, exception, or offence offered by one or other: they are drawn to no expence or charge by it, or time lost or spent in vain, to hinder their other affairs or labours; the holiday yields them free liberty for their delights and sports, which have been of later times worse spent.

And thus much of a gentle private opinion, to be compar'd with that of the honourable commissioners.

### *The Queen's Death, and the Advantages of the Peace that ensued above the War in her Time.*

HAVING run over as briefly as I could such accidents as the eighteen years war did produce betwixt *Spain* and us, now happen'd, as you have heard, the queen's death, which, as was to be expected, produced alterations in *Europe*, though not much in *England*; for commonly every state changes with time, and sometimes to its advantage; for subjects fondness of princes is uncertain, and they are often friends to day, and enemies to morrow.

When God call'd her majesty to his mercy, it had been long look'd for, and desir'd by her foes, and fear'd by her friends; some laugh'd, some lamented; *Spain* and its adherents rejoiced, having tasted the bitterness of eighteen years of war with her; *Holland* fear'd, and suspected their good days began to wain, because his majesty needed not to support factions abroad to defend his just and lawful title.

These two nations that were opposite one to another, had their particular ends; but the people that heartily and inwardly mourn'd, were the *English*, to see themselves deprived of a sovereign so good and gra-

rious, so virtuous and victorious, whose reign had continued so long, as few had before in *England*, which made them the more uneasy.

But this trouble was soon turn'd into joy: for when his majesty appear'd, they recover'd a new life and spirit, and receiv'd him with that alacrity, that they had soon forgot their grief, and fixed their hearts as faithful to serve the king, as they had willingly obeyed the queen.

But before I end with the queen's death, I will shew you and the world, by comparison, the difference betwixt peace and war in the queen's time, if she had been so happy as to enjoy it; for though her actions were of great reputation to her and her subjects, through the success she had against so mighty and potent an enemy as the king of *Spain*, yet I must confess, the actions of our two succeeding kings (king *James* and king *Charles*) settled a firm and quiet league and peace in this kingdom, that has produced greater happiness and benefit, if we will lay aside passion and partiality.

Peace has eased us of needless taxes, which in war princes are forced to lay upon their subjects: peace takes away all fear of enemies, so that every man may live quietly under his olive-tree. Our peace has trebled our number of ships to that of former times; mariners are abundantly increased, and wealth plentifully augmented; so that we are better enabled and provided to resist the fury of war, either by land or sea, if there should be occasion.

And if eighteen years of peace have produced so great an alteration and change to this kingdom, in comparison of the eighteen years of war past, how happy had we been, if the eighteen years aforesaid had been converted into the same number of peace. All blessings had been poured upon this land, which by war was hinder'd; for who sees not that eighteen years of trade doubly increased those riches that time consumed. These errors of ours will serve for a warning to us in future times; for it is an old saying, *That example is of greater force than precept*; and, *That custom teacheth nations, reason men, and nature beasts*.

*Spain* is more punish'd by the king's peace, than by the queen's war; for by our peace, *England* is enlarg'd by several plantations in *America*, all neighbours to *Spain* in their habitations of the *West Indies*, in case they become insolent, or offer injuries; which plantations in eighteen years are brought to afford plenty of food, without the help of *England*; which is no small benefit to us, considering the increase of *Scotch* and *French* that are ready to devour us: and besides this abundance of victuals, the soil of that country will produce whatever we shall plant or graft there; so that *England* need spare nothing out of it, that will bring a want to it; for their chiefest want is of tools, materials, and other instruments.

The air is delightful, and the climate wholesome, and lies most convenient for other nations to take off their commodities: then judge, if queen *Elizabeth* had not been diverted by war, what honour, what wealth, and all other blessings, had she left as a legacy to her subjects, which was afterwards increased by our two kings aforesaid.

And besides these seven western plantations, begun and continued by subjects, without expence to the kings, and not molested by the terror of the enemies, I will sail to the *East Indies* three times further distant than the other from *England*, and where the equinoctial line must be twice cut; there we found a trade to the island of *Socotora*, at the mouth of the *Red Sea*, and the nearest part of that continent to us; and keeping the shore of that *African* coast, we landed at the island of *Ormus*, and other places

within the gulph of *Persia*, where we assisted the king of *Persia* to take that island from the king of *Portugal*.

But I confess, this was not so commendable as many other noble acts of ours; for here we defiled our hands with stealth; and what is worse, we did it to aid and benefit a mahometan. But mark what the end of that voyage prov'd to the *English*, which brought God's anger and revenge upon them; for the *Persians* treacherously broke their word with our men, and upon a slight occasion seized all the goods they had taken. And besides, an *English* ship lighting upon greater wealth than the rest, was there cast away and perish'd; not to speak of many other disasters that befel them.

We stopp'd not here, but in the same easterly course repair'd to *Surat*, in the kingdom of *Gambaya*, under the government of the great mogul, to try what trade and riches that king and country would yield us. The long distance betwixt the sea-coast and the court of the mogul, did not obstruct our visiting him, but thither we sent at times several ambassadors, who found civil entertainment, which has afforded us a peaceable trade, with divers immunities.

But before we leagued, or had correspondence with this king, we had settled and continued, and to this day do enjoy a greater trade, and further from home than *Surat*, as namely, at *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Jacatras*, the *Molucca* islands, and others. We have seen and tried what *China* and the island of *Japan* afford, though we are not much encouraged to persevere in those trades; for they do not answer the great expectation we had conceived of them. I dare boldly aver, if the custom-books of that trade to the *Indies* were viewed, it has yielded the crown of *England* many an hundred thousand pounds, all which we must attribute to our peace; for though in the queen's days, and in the year 1591. captain *Raymond* gave a warlike attempt, if he and his ships had not miscarried in his going to the *East Indies*, yet that voyage produced nothing but misery, as you will understand hereafter.

But I know the well-wishers to war, and favourers of the queen's time, will except against me, and all I can alledge in commendation of peace, as placing it before war. But in answer to them, I say, I was as great an actor in those days of war, as any other that shall question what I say, and have as good reason to judge of the difference of times as they, if partiality and faction does not transport them.

And because I insist so much upon peace, and go about to prove the good it produced above the queen's war, I expect to be hit in the teeth with his majesty's late war  
with



with *Spain* in 1625. and with *France* in 1628. But before I come to that time, I must tell them, That king *James*, who reigned twice as long as his son, reckoning to the year 1635. could not be said to have been molested, or his countries infested by enemies. And the accident that fell out in the days of king *Charles*, might rather be term'd an act of unkindness with the king of *Spain*, than of malice, and therefore deserved not the name of war, for it was begun and ended before either side could think to frame themselves to hostility; and who knows not that some evil and passionate counsellors drew our king to a sudden and sharp revenge upon *France*; which was as quickly ended, as words could give satisfaction.

But I would ask these captious persons, whether either of these two unkindnesses or occasions were so violent, or of so long continuance, as to hinder his majesty's designs to enrich his kingdoms, or whether the plantations failed by any misfortunes we found by war.

Another objection will be made against what I say of our plantations, which is, That they were known to us long before; and that *English* ships visited the *East Indies* in the queen's time; and perhaps they will press me with the first discovery of *Sebastian Cabot*, Anno 1496. from fifty eight to thirty six degrees of latitude; which I thus answer:

No relation of *Cabot's* ever mentioned his possession, or setting his foot ashore to inhabit any of the lands betwixt the degrees aforesaid; and therefore we can challenge no right of inheritance, wanting proof of possession, which is the law acknowledged for right of discovery: and by this argument, the *Spaniards* may as well inroach on us upon as colourable title, because they were the first that failed into *America*.

The second objection is, the proof of our inhabiting *Norrambega*, a part of the main continent of *America*, and betwixt the degrees aforesaid, in 1584. and so we say captain *Raymond*, before spoken of, was in the *East Indies* in 1591.

I confess here was a possession in 1584. and a patent granted *Sir Walter Raleigh*, who placed there a colony; but so ill seconded, that all the planters were there consumed, and no memory left of them, though our late planters endeavoured to find what became of them; whereby we may say our possession was lost, as in the case of inheritance, that for want of heirs a man forfeits his estate.

And to answer the objection of the *East Indies*, there is no mention of possession by *Drake*, who was there the first of any *Englishman*, when he sailed round the world, and before the reign of king *James*. And moreover, in the forty third year of the queen, and the year before she died, she granted a patent to certain merchants for fifteen years trade to the *East Indies*, which was prolonged in the ninth year of king *James* to continue for ever; but the queen lived not to see the return of that first voyage which captain *Lancaster* went. And moreover, his employment was as well to take by violence, as to trade by sufferance; and unworthy the name of an honest design: for the hands of merchants should not be stained or polluted with theft; for in such case all people would have liberty to do the like upon them.

But indeed, the most memorable thing we can challenge by that trade, is, That we have lately agreed with the *Portuguese*, who were the first discoverers, and to this day enjoy the benefit of it; have settled their government and language; built rich and curious cities, churches, and monasteries; and all things else that belongs to a civil nation, in as large and ample a manner, as in their own country of *Portugal*: and more than this, they have the command of many civilized countries adjacent to them. They have ships sufficient to uphold the trade betwixt *Portugal* and the *Indies*; and yet they are willing to make us sharers in their commerce, and to incorporate us as freely as themselves, with promise to employ and freight our ships for our better satisfaction.

But give me leave freely to deliver my opinion concerning this voluntary offer made by the *Portuguese*, who hitherto could be brought upon no account to grant us trade. We must conclude they are drawn to it rather through necessity than love, or other respects; for they find the intrusion and good success of the *Hollanders* to be such, as in time may hazard the ruin and subversion in the *Indies*, without the help of *England*, who is best able to right them; therefore let us consider the time and the occasion of this overture, and embrace it as friendship grounded upon interest; for though leagues betwixt states be to support one another, yet every one has his particular advantage. I will say no more to this point, but advise you to safety and security, and to beware you be not deluded with golden pills, wherein is hidden most deadly poison.

*A Farewel to the Gentlemen to whom I dedicated this Book.*

Gentlemen,

“ I MAKE you the *Alpha* and *Omega* of my discourse; for at the beginning of this book, I commended it to your view; and now, at the end, I take my leave with a loving farewell, adding this admonition by way of caution, That you beware of adventuring yourselves and estates upon sea expeditions; you may perceive, by my observations, what peril they bring, without profit; and what pains, without preferment; for there are few whose employment has gain'd them advantage or honour; as to the contrary, many are brought to want and misery by them.

“ Our private actions of reprisal have been as fatal to the adventurers, as *Sejanus's* horse to the riders, or the gold of *Toulouse* to *Scipio's* soldiers; for to this day there remains a proverb in *France*, *That he who is unfortunate, has some of the gold of Toulouse in his house*: and so fares it with our undertakers of reprisals; for wealth so gain'd, brings a curse with it; and not only wastes itself, but consumes goods well gotten, if mixed with it.

“ Take notice of these few persons following, instead of a multitude I could recite, that have been brought into the estate of *Sejanus's* riders, or the destroyers of *Toulouse*; and it will appear, God was displeas'd with their actions, and punish'd their designs.

“ I will begin with the earl of *Cumberland*, whose voluntary undertakings were well punish'd in his first two voyages, bereaving him of two hopeful sons, whom this kingdom could not match; and in the prosecution of such actions, he so impaired his estate, that his heirs, and their posterity, have just cause to bewail his proceedings.

“ The three eminent men of that time by sea, were *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbushier*, none of which left any legitimate issue to enjoy their adventurous labours: and if two of them were now alive, they knew not where to find the estates they left behind them.

“ The miserable gentlemen that undertook such enterprizes for gain, to recover their spent and consumed estates, were *Candish*, *Cbidley*, *Manby*, *Cock*, with many others I could name, whose funerals were all made in the bottomless sea, and their lands consumed and turned into the element of water.

“ And if we descend to the towns, which for that time flourished with the goods so gotten, and examine the conditions of them and their inhabitants, we shall find not only the people, but the places impoverished after the same manner they were enrich'd, (that is to say,) by rapine, spoil, and piracy: and I may further say, that there are not three men in this kingdom who can boast they have succeeded their fathers in any quantity of goods so gotten.

“ What I warn you of, is not so much out of persuasion, as precedents and example, which is a compass to fail by; but if your wilfulness will not admit of advice, and hereafter you feel the smart of it, remember that counsel is always full of perturbation to such as embrace their own wills.

“ And remember the saying of a grave and wise counsellor, *That as youth is warned to prevent the worst, so age bids us provide for the best*; for it is a sickness of most men to be guided by opinion, and not by judgment: but wise men do otherwise; for if they run into an error, they seek quickly to amend it.”

*The End of the FIRST BOOK.*

# Sir . W I L L I A M M O N S O N

T O

## His S E C O N D S O N .

Good S O N,

**B**Y computation of years, it is now nine since I address'd my self to you in writing; which number of nine changes one's complexion, and many times one's conditions: nine times seven, or seven times nine, make fixty three, which is the climacterical, or dangerous year.

This ninth year has bred greater alterations in you, than either in complexion or condition: her malice and perils towards others have begotten a contrary effect in you, and in so high a measure, by your marriage, that the climacterical year has lost its reputation with the observers of it; for in despite of it fortune has given you a lady of birth, parts, and means, far above your merit or thought; and since fortune has been so liberal, do not give her cause of scandal, or to find ingratitude in your face, by your carriage to your lady; for an unthankful man incites God to punish, and people to abhor him.

No man can treat with an ungrateful person, without suspicion of him; and next to the name of an evil christian, the word *Ingratitude* is the worst: God, for all his blessings on man, requires nothing at his hands but thankfulness.

Next the respect to your lady, let your carriage to all others be with that moderation and affability, that they may perceive you are no more elevated with good fortune, than you will be dejected with bad; but stand like a tree well rooted, which no wind can stir or move.

The reputation you may seek to get in this world, depends not so much upon prudence as goodness; for a man ought to get credit and esteem of all, and to be suspicious of his own advice and carriage: time will inform you, that the greatest gift nature can bestow on a young man, is comeliness of body, discretion in his carriage, and eloquence of tongue; and yet all this is nothing, if it be not attended with a good reputation. The true property of a gentleman, which I would have you to observe, is to be temperate in speech, liberal and frank in giving, moderate in diet, honest in life, and courteous in carriage: for it is not titles or riches that makes men esteemed, but the favour they do, and the gifts they bestow.

The mischiefs that breed contrary effects to these, as hate, spleen, and contempt, are

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covetousness, pride, and disdain: the cure to false this, is not to presume too much upon your self, without the counsel of others; for many times people (and especially young men) attribute more to themselves, than others can discern in them. *Solomon* says, *That wise men take counsel; and he that does things with advice, governs prudently; and he that does otherwise perisheth, and faileth in his own designs.*

This counsel is not to be expected from one of twenty or thirty years of age, but from hoary hairs. *Licurgus* ordered that old men should be more respected, because their advice was more to be regarded.

The greatest combat in this world, is to conquer one's self, and to tame his heart, as *Plato* says: but the way for young men to be virtuous in this battle, is to take advice, to hear, and with humility submit to reason; for naturally youth is inclin'd to have an opinion of themselves; and to abandon the counsel of others, which commonly ingenders pride, vain-glory, and ambition: then followeth reproach, contempt, and scorn, which makes their paths as dangerous to walk in, as the slipperiest of ice or glass to tread on.

Be careful in the choice of your friends; and esteem them more for virtue than honour: the one is but a title of power; the other of desert. Know there's no end of friendship which is founded upon love, and requited with the same. To such a friend one ought to be scarce in words, but prodigal in works; for the true perfection of friendship is to supply a man's wants, and advise him in his errors. But *Seneca* saith, That such are rare; and a man ought to seek but one of them, and to have never an enemy: for as it is dangerous to have enemies, so it is troublesome to have many friends: if he be poor, you must give; if rich, you must observe; if favoured, you must adore; if disfavoured, you must support; if cross and perverse, you must flatter; if choleric, you must forbear; if proud, he is not long to be endured.

Above all other vices, beware of that of pride; for young men are subject to it: it is called vanity in women, and ambition in old age. Youth are prone to be proud of their persons and external parts: women are as vain therein; and what they want by nature, they help by art. Young men affect ostentation, and to be praised; women vain-glory,

glory, and to be adored. A man endures no competitors, nor woman equal.

Many women by reason of their lightness, and young men for want of knowledge, are inconsiderate: they apprehend, and execute, all with one breath, which many times brings them to repentance: and yet do I rather approve the vanity of women, which are governed by the inconstant motion of the moon, than mens pride, that can give no reason for their being so, if they seriously consider how indifferently God distributes his gifts to all creatures; so that no man can persuade himself but that thousands equal him.

If he is proud of the favour of a prince, he may as well be proud of his fortunes; for comparing his merits with others, he will find many competitors exceed him: if of his progenitors, or other parts of his ancestors, kings reward mens proper virtues, not what they can challenge to descend from others: if of learning, his waste hours permit him not to attain to that perfection ordinary scholars do by continual study: if he affect popular applause, it is like an echo, to be heard, but no man knows where: and let him not be deceived, for no proud man is either valued or beloved, as himself can witness; for the nature of pride, is to abhor it in another: if he be frank and liberal, for pride without bounty is like a spot in a fair face that defiles it, his esteem will be according to his expence; but that ceasing, men turn their hearts against their pride.

Ambition is more sufferable and allowable in an old man, than pride in a young one: for there are two distinctions in ambition; the one is allowable and commendable, when a man hath an opportunity to compass his allow'd desires by his lawful endeavours.

Most divines hold free-will in man to do well; and where ambition tends to well-doing, pride has no power or part in him. The pride of *Tarquin* was so detestable, that it overthrew the title of kings in the *Roman* commonwealth. *Cæsar* settled the highest degree of monarchy by the name of emperor: his ambition was carried with that temper, that he attained his end by love; whereas *Tarquin* lost himself by pride, and was worthily loathed.

No man that desires to be singular, but has some part of ambition, and yet free from any part of pride. If the common soldier did not aspire by ambition to the degree of a captain, his valour against the enemy would little appear: if a courtier had not a thought of advancement, he might better employ his time, than in the service of a prince. A thankful man ambitiously strives to requite the courtesy of another: then it is not the word ambition that makes

it unlawful, but the manner of compassing it, and the means of employing it.

The second degree of ambition is accompanied with pride, envy, and hate; and obtained by corruption, flattery, and unlawfully, as appears in some *English* kings, who have not spared the destruction of their own blood to attain their devilish ambitious ends.

Ambition is like the unfatiable sea, that receives all other brooks and rivers, and yet is never filled. It may be compared to the monster *Hydra*, which though she loseth her head, yet it increaseth again; for the nature of ambition is never to have an end; and as man compasseth his desire in one thing, he is not long satisfied with it, but covets another, still working his own misery and woe. But he should remember the words of *Plutarch*, *That none climbs so high, but he has God above him, and his actions are beheld by man.* Ambition is a thing conceived in the heart, and consented to in the mind.

The last and basest property of ambition, is to compass their end by corruption: this age, and this our nation is best able to testify it; for no man's virtue can advance him, nor no man's vice hinder his ambition, if he have money and means to buy his preferment; as, on the contrary, amongst the *Romans*, no man was advanced to honour but such as refused it; and none with us, but those that buy it: nor no man was preferred but by his worth; but none with us but for their wealth. I confess that as it is reputation to have it, so it is infamy to purchase it; for a good man careth not for titles, and his good name cannot be taken from him; he may be ill used, but not dishonoured.

The next thing I commend to you is patience and temperance, as a singular virtue in itself, and the cause of much happiness to man. It breeds content to the mind, ease to the body, and quietness to the soul. It abandons ambition, and makes one submit to reason. *Plutarch* advises *Trajan* to patience in troubles, to be gentle in business, and to bear with ill tongues, and suffer calumnies; which time cures, when reason cannot; and it is as great wisdom to do no evil office, when a man may do good; for if he may have his ends by fair means, not to obtain them by foul; for the true property of a wise man is to think of times past, to order things present, and to be careful of the future. *Cicero* says, that prudence and patience is the art of life, as physick is of health; it neither deceives, nor is deceived. As for worldly fortunes, they are uncertain and mutable; for no man can account himself happy till his death.

One thing I heartily and earnestly recommend to you at your idle hours; (I know my

my request is no sooner propounded than granted;) which is the continuance and delight in your book; but with this caution, *That it breeds not a vain and arrogant conceit, which may cause contests and quarrels in arguing.* Matters of story depend on the author's authority that writes, and their judgments that read: many times writers differ; and readers are apt and prone to rely on him who suits best with their particular opinion. This over-waining conceit lives in the house of will, where reason has no power, and it is the original breeding of all heresy. And if men would read with patience, with judgment consider, with humility to submit, and with reason to receive satisfaction; neither would sects so much abound, nor scholars so greatly disagree among themselves.

All men are affectionate or partial in their opinions and sports; some delight in hunting; some in hawking, and other exercises; and as there are many faces that do not agree in one feature, so there are as few that agree in all points and delights. But esteem no less of him that sports not with your humour, than of a christian that jumps not with you in points of religion.

If reason guideth actions, learning should have the preheminance above all other satisfactions; for he that is a lover of his book, shall learn of wisemen courage to imitate, prudence to counsel, grief to lament, mirth to laugh at, fools to jest with; yea, he shall find the good he desires, and may eschew what evil he pleases.

*Barilius* the emperor advised his son not

to be weary of reading of books, because he would find that without sorrow, which others do with great trouble; he would see the mutability of human life; the raising of some, and the falling of others; the punishment of the evil, and the reward of the good; that he might fly the one, and embrace the other.

Good son, for an end of all, be confident before you enterprize a thing; be constant in pursuing it, and patient to effect it; for nothing is compassed with that facility but finds opposition, nor nothing spoils a good cause sooner than haste and choler. It is like an evil weed put into a favory broth, or poison into a potion.

Three things there are I would advise you to remember; the commandments of God, benefits received, and the uncertainty of your life: in the one, you will perform your duty to your creator; in the other, shew thankfulness to the world; and in the last, abandon many vices and vanities this age produces.

For your duty to me, let it be as God hath commanded: not that I expect more than by nature is due; and for less, let *Noah* be your example, who being despised by his son *Cham*, and being pity'd by his two other sons, God sent his curse upon the seed of *Cham*, and blessed his other children. Remember that the clear and unspotted life of the living son, begets fame and glory to the dead father. And carry in mind these precepts of mine, and you need not esteem the affronts of malicious tongues; for they may throw stones, but do no other hurt.

T O S U C H

Gentlemen and Commanders as were Actors in the Wars with *Spain* in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*.

*Noble Gentlemen,*

**I**N my former book I have presented to the view of the world, the accidents and occurrences of the late war with *Spain*, in which you may worthily challenge an interest by having hazarded your persons in such desperate expeditions; and wherein your rewards did not equal your deserts: for time and ingratitude are the destroyers of all noble and memorable acts, and have caused you to be forgot.

The *Romans* had never been nobly esteemed, nor their victories gloriously achieved, had they not respected the actors as the authors of their conquests. They valued men not for their birth, but for their worth, accounting virtue the cause of preferment, and honour but the effect. They accounted them not gentlemen that got riches, but those that attained to reputation in war; saying, He was unworthy the praise of his ancestors, that did not imitate them in virtue and valour.

In six hundred and forty years the *Romans* were victorious, they never gave office to men that sued for it, but to such as out of mature discretion they chose, whom they knew to be fit to execute it. Soldiers may plead their honours to be more ancient; for it is written in the province of *Caria*, in the *Lesser Asia*, they gave spurs to the valiantest men at arms, by which they were privileged and dignify'd. Feathers were likewise invented to distinguish soldiers from others; and punishment inflicted on those that wore them, and could give no account of some exploit in chivalry.

Inscriptions on tombs and monuments were allowed only to those that gave testimony of their valour in warlike feats.

A young man, whose valour was suspected, and son to a famous captain, besought king *Antiochus* to give him the reward his father had given him by king *Demetrius* : *Antiochus* answered, I reward not the virtue of fathers, but the deserts of the son.

*Lycurgus*, among his many laws, for the encouragement of men to imitate the virtue of their ancestors, ordained, That at the solemn and publick feasts there should be three choirs of singers, according to their ages : the first were old men, who sung their own praise of times past : the second young men in their prime, who sung, *We are young and able, and he that will not believe us may try us* : the last were boys, who sung, *We shall be better than those that went before us*.

If these three degrees were now to sing, the old men with hoarse voices might rather exclaim against the iniquity of the times ; the young men with untunable notes, might renounce following the example and steps of those that went before them ; the boys might complain, that all hope of preferment and reward is taken from them.

Virtue was ever esteemed, and arms rewarded before all other professions ; and as a man is bound to serve a prince, so has he leave to sue to him. The powerful king *Abasuerus* was wont to say, There was no man that did service to his prince or country, but they were bound to reward him ; and because his deeds might be answerable to his words, they write of him, That one night in his bed being not disposed to sleep, he caused the annals of his country to be read to him ; and finding that one *Mordecai* had done great service to himself and country, he asked, what reward the said *Mordecai* had received ; and finding he was neglected, he advanced and preferred him above the rest of his subjects, saying, *That prince was unworthy, who did not reward according to the service he had done*.

*Numa Pompilius* commanded those to be revered that overcame in battle. *Solon* ordained a reward for such men as deserved well of their country.

But now you see, and with grief must confess, we make more account of the word honour, than of deserving it. In ancient times none had titles of dignity but those that fought to avoid it ; and few with us, but such as will buy it : we value honour by riches, not by desert, as it was first instituted.

But what shall we say of inconstant time, which alters and changes all things ? For the *Romans* flourishing estate, which continued longer and more prosperous than any other nation, was at last overthrown by luxury and delights they brought out of *Asia* : for after *Paulus Æmilius* overcame them, he brought such effeminacy into *Rome*, that other nations took advantage of it, and became conquerors over them by whom they had before been conquered ; and those that had been honoured for their valour, now became infamous to succeeding ages for their cowardice.

*Mario Antonio* observes another bane to commonwealths ; as, namely, private and particular favourites : For, says he, *the importunity of favourites makes the prince give to him from whom he should take, and take from him to whom he should give ; they dishonour the worthy, and honour others of less merit ; they despise the experienced, and rely upon the weak and ignorant ; they prefer not men to offices for their persons, but persons to offices ; they give justice to the unjust, and refuse justice to the just ; and value justice by their own profit*.

When they are brought to preferment thus unworthily, they make their authority greater than their place : they supply that with malice which they want in discretion ; they praise their own ill, no less than if it were goodness in another : but in the end they lose themselves, by adventuring into a sea they know not : they make infamous the prince they misgovern, and commonly their end is death and destruction ; for their beginning was pride and ambition, and their end envy and malice.

Though it be a scandal to a commonwealth, where princes make more of favourites than of well deservers, it behoves you not to approve or repine at it ; but to hope that act of his will not stand as a precedent.

Evil kings rely more upon custom than goodness, and desire rather to be obey'd than counselled ; the devil under colour of advice deceives them : but such princes are like covetous persons, That live poor, to die rich. They please their humours whilst they live, and leave infamy behind them when they die.

*Seneca* says, *That Cato deserved more glory for banishing the vices of Rome, than Scipio did for conquering of Carthage*. By which you may see it is not your profession, I mean arms, that reforms commonwealths, but wisdom in grave and sage senators ; for *Democritus* the philosopher truly says, *That two things govern the world, reward and punishment*. My last and best advice is, That you refer your selves and causes to time ; for that must cure, when reasons cannot.

## BOOK II.

### Containing some Actions of the *English* after King *James's* Accession to the Crown; and several Discourses upon that Subject.

*The Peace with Spain after the Queen's Death, and some Accidents that happened.*

**A**S commonly ill news flies apace, so the queen's death was soon divulged in all parts of *Europe*, every prince striving to be the first to congratulate his majesty's happy accession to the crown.

And though *Spain* be generally observed, and by its friends much condemned for its long and tedious dispatches, yet this action being so rare, and importing them so much, the news was no sooner brought them, but an ambassador was immediately nominated to perform such rites and ceremonies as princes afford one another in such cases.

What succeeded in their treaty, or what labouring by other states to keep these two great kingdoms in division, concerns me not to enquire; only I will prosecute such accidents as fell out at sea in the twelve years I served as admiral in the narrow seas.

Though his majesty might say, (as few princes ever did,) *That he could not esteem any state in Europe his enemy*; and that his christian-like motto, *Beati pacifici*, declared how far his heart was from war, or to support the divisions of christians; yet he was willing to follow the example of his predecessors in keeping some ships in the narrow seas, to defend his right and jurisdictions there, which the *Hollanders* thought to invade, as will appear by the following discourse.

This treatise was writ by Sir *William Monson*, who served as admiral of those seas twelve years, and dedicated it to the two late lord chancellors at his deliverance out of the *Tower*.

The narration shall speak for itself; and the reader may judge, if he be not too much transported in affection to the nation of *Holland*, to what their insolencies then tended, or may tend hereafter.

But before that discourse shall take place, I will entertain you with two or three acci-

dents worth your knowledge, and which may challenge a place among the rest.

The peace between *England* and *Spain* being concluded, and published in the year 1604. the war between *Holland* and *Spain* still continued as hot and fierce as before. The admiral of the narrow seas was now to think to walk indifferently, and without partiality betwixt the two nations, like a careful shepherd, to keep his neighbours flocks from intruding upon one another.

The next thing that gave occasion of debate was in the year 1605. when the king of *Spain* sent eight ships with a thousand soldiers through the narrow seas for *Flanders*. He would not exceed the number of eight vessels, because the articles of peace did warrant the entertainment of so many in his majesty's harbour.

But, as I have shewed, the bane of actions has been in the discovery of them; so this of the *Spaniards* being understood by the *Hollanders*, they provided to intercept them at sea; where they met, and there passed a cruel and bloody fight betwixt them: many of the *Spaniards* were slain, and some taken; but the greatest part recovered *Dover*, where they were defended with shot from the castle and platform.

Being now arrived in his majesty's dominions, they counted themselves under his protection, and waited an opportunity to pass over secretly and by stealth into *Flanders*; or by his majesty's mediation, who laboured with the states of *Holland* to that effect.

But the *Hollanders* having the *Spaniards* at a bay, and knowing they durst not venture to put out, being beleaguere'd by their ships, for the space of seven or eight months, his majesty sollicitated their passage, and Sir *Nevil Charoon* was sent over to that purpose, but could not prevail; for the *Hollanders* stood more upon point of honour than

any hurt they could receive from the thousand *Spaniards*.

Upon this answer, my lord of *Salisbury* sent for Sir *William Monson*, and imparted to him the state of the whole business, demanding of him, if it were possible to put over the *Spaniards* without using his majesty's authority or force, or hazarding to be intercepted by the *Hollanders*. Sir *William* told him it was a service of great importance, and the greater, because the honour of two kings was engaged in it; but if it pleased his majesty to have it done, and that his lordship would undertake his directions should be followed, he doubted not but to effect it, as his lordship had proposed.

Hereupon my lord of *Salisbury* imparted it to the king, and his majesty to the *Spanish* ambassador; for then was Don *Pedro de Sunisa* come to succeed the *Conde de Villa Mediana*. The king desiring the two ambassadors to deliberate and consider of it, shewing a willingness in him to farther it, the ambassadors took respite to give their resolutions, till they had acquainted and received an answer from the king their master; for those being his subjects whom it concerned, they could not dispose of them without his knowledge or approbation.

And thus it continued for the space of eight or nine weeks, when the ambassador Don *Pedro's* messenger return'd from *Spain*; and then he repaired to my lord of *Salisbury*, and acquainted him, that his master's friendly proposition was approved of, and thankfully accepted by the king his master.

Upon this my lord of *Salisbury* sent for Sir *William Monson* once again, requiring him to perform with care what he had formerly promised; for it was a service of extraordinary consequence.

The secrecy and policy that was used to contrive this stratagem, with the several passages that happened, is too tedious to set down; only I will say, that in spite of the fleet of *Holland*, that usually rid in the mouth of *Dover* peer, in the road of *Graveling* and *Dunkirk*, to impeach the *Spaniards* passage, yet they arrived safe in *Dunkirk* the same night design'd for them by Sir *William Monson* to be expected, without the help of his majesty's ships, or other assistance by his authority; which the *Hollanders* look'd upon as so great an affront, and to be thus prevented and derided, that it made them suspect, though they had no just ground to accuse him, that Sir *William Monson* was the director and

contriver of this stratagem; and therefore now they began to settle their hate upon him, and to urge and labour his removal out of the narrow seas, as in the following account will appear. This act of Sir *William's*, which he did by direction of the state, ever after procur'd him much hate and envy, not only from the *Hollanders*, but from their friends and factions in *England*.

The next service Sir *William* was employed in, concerned the towns of *Rye* and *Hastings*, which found themselves impoverished, and almost ruined, by the *French* incroaching upon their fishing on the *English* coast, contrary to the articles and agreement betwixt the two kings.

These towns, upon just cause, complain'd of it, and Sir *William* was sent down to redress it; which he carefully performed, though it cost the lives of some *Frenchmen*: for two years he was fain to use force, and brought the *French* to that submission, that the *English* enjoyed their usual privileges.

Many other accidents happen'd in the narrow seas, that need no remembrance; and yet I will conclude with the escape of the lady *Arabella*, twenty four hours before Sir *William Monson* had order to pursue her; which he did with that celerity, that she was taken within four miles of *Calais*, shipped in a *French* bark of that town, whither she was bound.

The manner is so commonly known, that no more needs be said, but that it was done; though the accident was so strange and unlook'd for, that few could be persuaded but that her escape was plotted, with an intent to take her again: and it was the rather believed, because Sir *William* was not rewarded according to the importance of that service. But it may be answered and imputed to his misfortune; for since the death of queen *Elizabeth*, who was both gracious and bountiful to him, he never tasted or received either recompence or preferment, more than his ordinary entertainment, according to the services he was employed in; for he began the wars with ten shillings per month pay; then with two shillings and sixpence per day; after with five shillings, with ten shillings, with fifteen shillings, with twenty shillings, and sixteen pages allowed him for his retinue; after with thirty shillings per day; and lastly, with forty shillings per day. He had served as a soldier, a private captain, a rear-admiral, a vice-admiral, a captain, under the general; and lastly, an absolute general.



*To the Right Honourable the Lord Elsmore, Lord Chancellor of England, and Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney and Counsellor, Sir William Monfon, after his Imprisonment in the Tower, Anno Domini 1616. concerning the Insolencies of the Dutch, and a Justification of Sir William Monfon.*

**I**DID greatly, and in a manner half promise myself, after I was examin'd by your honours, if ever God gave me liberty, to present you with some collections of the *Hollanders* insolencies on the narrow seas, from the time his majesty made peace with *Spain*, till the truce betwixt *Holland* and *Spain*; in which interim there arose many doubts and questions, which purchased me no small hate from that state of *Holland*.

The first of *July*, 1604. the then lord *Cecill* signified to me his majesty's pleasure, that I should take charge of his highness's ships serving on the narrow seas; and will'd me to make such provision for transporting the constable of *Castile*, who was then expected to conclude a peace, as should stand with the honour and reputation of his majesty.

After humble thanks to his majesty, and no less to his lordship, for doing me so high a favour, without either suit or seeking of mine, I was bold to tell him, That by my employment I was to enter into a labyrinth; for though the navigation was but short and easy, yet it was both difficult and dangerous; for I was to sail betwixt *Scilla* and *Caribdis*; the one I might call *Holland*, the other *Spain*; and seeking to avoid the displeasure of the one, I might as well fall into enmity of the other.

As for *Holland*, I consider'd, by the permission of our state heretofore, they might challenge a prerogative, where nothing was granted by us but of courtesy, their insolency was such; and therefore to curb them suddenly, that had their rein so long given them, could not be done without great envy, if not danger; for that their forces at sea did much exceed his majesty's, who had but one ship and pinnace to guard his coast.

On the other side, I weigh'd with myself, if I should give distaste to the *Spaniards* or archduke, I should incur the displeasure of two princes, who had their ambassadors resident near the king; and whose power, in respect of their masters, was able to crush me, if I should either willingly or ignorantly commit the least error. What his lordship's answer was to this, I omit, lest I should be charged with vain-glory, (a vice I ever detested.)

I departed from my lord with this resolution in myself, above all things to stand upon his majesty's honour and right, to carry myself like a neuter, to do justice in-

differently; and if there happen'd any question of ambiguity, to acquaint my lord admiral, and the lord *Cecill*, from whom I would be directed in all doubtful and difficult cases.

The first of *August* I received a warrant for my repair to *Graveling*, where the constable remain'd, expecting my coming. My care was to perform so much as my lord *Cecill* gave me in charge; and to add the more grace to this service, considering the greatness of the person that was to come, and the honourable occasion of his coming, I was accompanied with fifty knights and gentlemen of good account and quality. If my expence in that journey were valued, with the rest of my disbursements for the transportation of princes and ambassadors, for which as yet I have received no satisfaction, it is not the rewards or presents of ambassadors that would countervail the expence of their diet.

The day after my arrival at *Graveling*, I was desir'd by the constable to go to *Dunkirk*, to see his barks with provisions secur'd from the *Hollanders*, who did usually ride with a squadron of ships before the town of *Dunkirk*, to beleaguer it.

At my coming thither, I went on board the admiral of *Holland*, who had been my old and familiar acquaintance, by reason of many actions and services we had been in together: I told him, That after twenty years spent in the wars, I was now become a watchman, with a bill in my hand, to see peace kept, and no disorders committed in the narrow seas. And whereas many misdemeanors and outrages had been offered by ships that serv'd under him against his majesty's subjects since the death of the queen, I intreated him, that from thence forward things might be carried with more discretion and mildness; otherwise it would exasperate his majesty, and alienate the *English* hearts from them, whose love they had sufficiently made proof of. The admiral told me, That if the *English* did offer to trade into the archduke's ports of *Flanders*, his commission was to impeach them: I advis'd him, if it were so, to do it in a friendlier manner than had been; which he promised, but meant nothing less.

For the *Hollanders* continued rather more than less cruel, in taking and burning our *English* ships, and sometimes murdering our men; when at the same instant, and in view

view of our *English* barks taken, they would permit and suffer their own countrymen to have free access to the harbours of *Flanders*, without impeachment. I made many and sundry complaints of it to the lord *Cecill*, who, it seems out of policy, was willing to connive at it. I endeavour'd by all gentle and courteous means I could, to draw the admiral to a more loving proceeding, the particulars whereof I hold it not fit to relate; and yet one I will not omit.

A bark of *Yarmouth* was met and surpriz'd by a *Hollander*, in the road of *Calais*, under pretence that she was to go for *Dunkirk*. It was my hap to meet and rescue the said bark, and found fifteen *Hollanders*, mariners in her, whom I might have justly executed as pirates; but because I would oblige the admiral, after two or three days imprisonment, I dismissed them, with a letter to their admiral, expressing my mild proceedings, desiring him to follow my example to his majesty's subjects: but all in vain; for he desisted not from his former courses.

Their stubborn carriage at my first entrance into my place, in not striking their top-sails, and other rights I requir'd as due to his majesty's prerogative, I forbear to express, though your lordship may well think it could not be redress'd without much hazard and hatred to me.

The 4th of *October*, 1604. there arrived in the *Downs* a ship of war of *Dunkirk*; where she found three or four merchants ships of *Holland*, bound for *France*. I sent for the captain of *Dunkirk*, and forbid him offering violence to those of *Holland*, they being under my protection in his majesty's road. The captain obey'd me, and the merchants proceeded in their voyage.

Within three days after there arriv'd three ships of war of *Holland*, whom I forbid meddling with the *Dunkirker*, as I had done to the *Dunkirker* before. I advertised my lord admiral of this accident, and desired his lordship's directions for my proceeding in a case that was like to begin a precedent. I was bound to add my opinion, which was, to refer it to the captain of the *Dunkirker*, whether he would retire into the harbour of *Dover* or *Sandwich*, or abide in the *Downs* to take his fortune, if I should be commanded thence upon any service with his majesty's ship; for I fear'd if I quitted the road, they would little respect his majesty's authority; for I found they rather obeyed for fear and force, than out of duty of the place. My lord admiral liked well of my proposal, and committed the management of it to me; and to conclude, the *Dunkirker* retired to *Sandwich*. I consider'd that many questions were like to arise betwixt the *Hollanders*

and the others by example of this one, if his majesty did not declare himself how far he would protect ships on either side that should repair to his harbours for succour.

Therefore I dealt with my lord of *Cramborn*, that his majesty would express by proclamation such difficulties as were likely to arise, that all states might take notice thereof. Whereupon there was a proclamation, prohibiting all nations from offering violence one to another, within the compass of a line drawn from headland to headland, as it is to be seen by the same proclamation and map extant.

And in the same proclamation was signified his majesty's pleasure, That what ship, merchant, or other of the *Spaniards* or *Hollanders*, should first arrive in his majesty's harbour, the said ship first arriving, should have two tides to depart, before she should be pursued by the other.

This proclamation directed me from committing any error: now my charge was to see it executed accordingly.

I desir'd the lords, that besides the proclamation, which I held a sufficient authority for myself; yet because I was to deal with a people that would do no right, nor take no wrong, I desir'd it might be ratified by a warrant from their lordships: which they granted; and I have it yet to shew.

The 10th of *May*, 1605. I came to the *Downs*; where I found six *Holland* ships of war newly arriv'd, to impeach the *Dunkirkers* going out; whereupon I sent for the *Holland* captains, and acquainted them with my commission, requiring them to obey the tenure of his majesty's proclamation; which I caused to be translated into *Dutch* for them to peruse.

After many expostulations and disputes, they were contented to abide two tides after the *Dunkirkers*, so that I would signify under my hand to the states, that I compelled them to it by virtue of his majesty's proclamation; and so for that time they departed.

The next morning the *Hollanders* weigh'd, and went to an anchor in the mouth of the harbour of *Sandwich*, one excepted, which lay close to the *Dunkirkers*. The carriage of the *Hollanders* seem'd strange to me, considering their promise the day before; whereupon I immediately set sail, and anchored betwixt the admiral and the vice-admiral, that both my broad-sides might command them, expecting what they would do.

The tide drawing on for the *Dunkirker* to come out, she found that if she offer'd to move, the *Hollander* that lay by her was ready to board her; which the rest seeing, went to have done the like.

The

The captain of the *Dunkirker* sent me word of it; for that he had understood the intention of the *Hollanders*, and therefore refused to go out: whereupon I sent for the *Holland* captains, and charged them with breach of their words, and their contempt to his majesty's authority. They would no longer dissemble, but told me plainly, that they had better considered of it, and concluded they could not appear before their masters the states with safety, if they consented to the escape of the *Dunkirker*.

Upon their answer I was enraged, and told them, That hitherto I had treated with them in a friendly and courteous manner, and, in any reasonable man's conceit, had given them good satisfaction with my letter to the states: but seeing they dealt so indirectly, I put them on board their ships again, and willed them to stand upon their selves, and vowed, if one shot was made at the *Dunkirker*, I would sink them, or they me. When they thus saw I would believe no longer in words, they permitted the *Dunkirker* quietly to escape, and remain'd themselves two tides, according to the proclamation.

If your lordships had seen the dispositions and carriage of the people of *Sandwich*, you would have thought it strange, that subjects durst oppose themselves so openly against the state; thousands of people beholding me from the shore, look'd when the sword should make an end of the difference, and publickly wished the success to the *Hollanders*, cursing both me and his majesty's ship.

But it was no marvel; for most of the inhabitants are either born, bred, or descended from *Holland*, their religion truly *Dutch*, as two of the grave ministers of *Sandwich* have complain'd to me, protesting they think that town, and the country thereabouts, swarms as much with sects as *Amsterdam*.

Your lordships must give me leave a little to digress, and express the state of *Sandwich*, and the use *Holland* may make of it, if ever they become enemies to *England*; therefore it behoves us to prevent all dangerous advantages, which is the more in them, because they neglect no occasion wherein they may benefit themselves with the loss of others.

The first and principallest advantage all enemies have that invade a country by sea, is the safe harbour or road for the arriving of shipping; and though *Sandwich* be but a barred haven, and that ships cannot enter but upon a flood, and at no time any great vessels of burthen, yet is our *Downs* within two miles from thence, where thousands of ships may ride as safely as in any harbour of *Europe*; and if ever the *Hollanders*

be disposed to give an attempt, now that *Flushing* is in their possession, it is but one night's sailing from thence to *Sandwich*.

The town is more naturally seated for strength than any I know in this kingdom, and a place of little defence as it is used. An enemy having the command of an harbour, as I have shewed, approaching a town of no defence, which may be made impregnable, being sure of the hearts of the men within it, and to be reliev'd within twelve hours by sea, I refer the consideration thereof to your lordships, and return where I left off.

The 20th of *April*, 1605. I landed the earl of *Hertford* and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, in their embassy to the archduke: the one of them passed with me in the *Vanguard*, the other in the *Lyon's-Whelp*, a pinnace of his majesty. The pinnace falling a league astern, was saluted by two *Holland* ships of war, in which salutation they put a disgrace upon her, by the trumpeter's blurring with his trumpet, which is held a scorn at sea.

Sir *Thomas Edmonds* being much moved at this usage, caused a piece of ordnance to be shot off for my stay; at whose coming up he acquainted me with the wrong offered. I immediately commanded the *Holland* captains on board me, which if they refused, I threaten'd to compel them; but they seeing themselves over-matter'd, made no question to obey me.

I besought my lord of *Hertford*, with the rest of the gentlemen of his train, to be witnesses of my proceedings with the captains; and told my lord, if I carried myself otherwise than became me, he should have power to over-rule me.

Before I entered into capitulation, I requir'd their answer to one question, (which was,) whether they had command from their masters, the states, to impeach his majesty's ambassadors passage, or no? if they had, I requir'd to see their commission, the copy whereof I would take and send to his majesty, and let them depart without violence.

They answer'd, they had no such directions, neither was their intention so to do. Then I told them, that seeing the affront was offered as proceeding from themselves, and not from the states, I would right myself upon them, and after acquaint their state upon what reason I did it. But upon their vows and protestations to clear themselves, imputing it to the lewdness of their trumpeter, and submitting themselves to my censure, at the intreaty of my lord of *Hertford*, I dismissed them, they promising to punish the offenders severely. One of these captains was he who since that time committed a foul murder upon his majesty's

subjects in *Ireland*, that were under protection.

The next thing that comes to my mind, is a repetition of that I delivered to your lordships in the *Tower*, concerning the admiral of *Holland's* refusing to take in his flag: I deliver'd it not with those circumstances that were convenient for your lordship's understanding; and because I know your weightier occasions may very well make you forget what was said, I will presume to reiterate the same again.

In my return from *Calais* the first of *July*, 1605. with the emperor's ambassador, as I approach'd near *Dover* road, I perceived an increase of six ships to those I left there three days before, one of them being the admiral: their coming in shew was to beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were then at *Dover*, as you have heard.

As I drew near them, the admiral struck his flag thrice, and advanced it again: his coming from the other coast at such a time, caused me to make another construction than he pretended; and indeed it so fell out; for I conceived his arrival at that time was no other end, than to shew the ambassador, who he knew, would spread it abroad throughout all *Europe*, as also the *Spaniards*, that they might have the less esteem of his majesty's prerogative in the narrow seas, that by their wearing their flag, they might be imputed kings of the sea, as well as his majesty. I hastened the ambassador ashore, and dispatched a gentleman to the admiral to intreat his company the next day to dinner, which he willingly promised.

The gentleman told him, I required him to take in his flag; as a duty due to his majesty's ships. He answer'd, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought to be a sufficient acknowledgment; and it was no more than former admirals of the narrow seas had required at his hands.

The gentleman replied, That he expected such an answer from him; and therefore he was prepared what to say to that point. He told him the times were altered; for when no more but striking the flag was required, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in hostility with *Spain*, which caused her late majesty to tolerate divers things in them; as for instance, the admiral's wearing his flag in the expedition to *Cadiz* and the islands, where the lord admiral of *England*, and lord of *Essex*, went as generals; and that courtesy they could not challenge by right, but by permission; and the wars being now ceased, his majesty did require by me his minister, such rights and duties as have formerly belong'd to his progenitors.

The admiral refused to obey my command, saying, he expected more favour

from me than from other admirals, in respect of our long and loving acquaintance. But he was answer'd, that all obligation of private friendship must be laid aside, when the honour of one's king and country is at stake. The gentleman advised him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had commission to tell him, That I meant to weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the force of our ships should determine the question; for rather than I would suffer his flag to be worn in view of so many nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury myself in the sea.

The admiral, it seems, upon better advice, took in his flag, and stood immediately off to sea, firing a gun for the rest of the fleet to follow him. And thus I lost my guest the next day at dinner, as he had promised.

This passage betwixt the admiral and me was observed from the shore, people beholding us to see the event. Upon my landing, I met with *Siriago*, the general of the *Spaniards*, who in the time of queen *Elizabeth* was employ'd under *Mendoza*, the ambassador of *Spain*. He told me, That if the *Hollanders* had worn their flag, times had been strangely altered in *England*, since his old master king *Philip II.* was shot at by the lord admiral of *England*, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came to marry queen *Mary*.

I told him that he was mistaken; for neither the *Hollanders*, nor any other nation, durst contend with his majesty in his prerogative of the narrow seas; and the accident that then fell out, was by a boy's error, who thought he had been commanded to take in the flag, and to put it out again, when he was order'd to take it in for altogether; which when the admiral understood, he caused it to be taken in, and desir'd I would not impute it to him as an affront offer'd. Thus I excused their insolency, lest it should be divulged his majesty's prerogative had been questioned by the *Hollanders*. Had I yielded to a bare striking their flag, as other admirals had done, his majesty had not reconciled his right again without bloodshed.

Within few years after, an earl, who then came in company of the emperor's ambassador, passed the seas with me again, when I transported prince *Vaudemont*; to whom he recounted at large this passage of mine and the *Hollanders*, and ascribed great honour to his majesty, in maintaining his right and privileges on the seas, which he said the *Hollanders* went about to infringe.

The first of *September*, 1605. I received a warrant for transporting the *Spanish* ambassador Don *John de Taxes*, and all his train for *Flanders*, excepting the lord *Arundell*, who

who was to pass with him into the service of the archduke.

Though the lord *Arundell* was prohibited to go over in the company of the ambassador, because the *Hollanders* pretended the world would take notice his majesty maintained their enemies against them, which would much prejudice the reputation of their state, yet notwithstanding the ambassador was promised, that within ten days after his arrival, the lord *Arundell* should have a free and safe passage; which did as much satisfy the ambassador, as if he had gone with him.

Lest the lord *Arundell* should attempt to go, notwithstanding his prohibition, which I much feared, because he absented himself that he might not receive this command, I forbid all ships and barks, as they would answer it at their peril, to receive him aboard them; which he hearing, corrupted a captain of the king's, and in a disguise convey'd himself over in his ship: he did it more to gain reputation with the *Spaniards*, than out of any doubt he had not to pass; for he knew, though he desired not to take notice of it, that his going was secured within few days after.

When I saw him upon my arrival at *Gravelin*, and understood his practice with one of my captains, I spoke of it with some bitterness, and expostulated the matter with the ambassador, supposing he had known of his indirect proceeding: but the ambassador with many protestations disavowed it, and blamed my lord's indiscretion as much as myself, saying, he was as much wrong'd as the state; for he confessed by his humble suit he had obtained his safe passage within a few days after, which he accepted as a great favour from his majesty; and my lord behaving himself so unadvisedly, he feared might breed a jealousy against him.

My lord *Arundell* knowing I had spoken somewhat liberally of him, devised how to requite me, and took an opportunity upon the following occasion.

The same night, a little before supper, news was brought the ambassador, that the barks which carried his provisions were stay'd by the *Hollanders* as they were entering *Dunkirk*, and, as it was to be feared, they would not dismiss them.

My lord *Arundell* took advantage of this, and privately persuaded the ambassador I had betray'd them to the *Hollanders*. He could not carry his complaint so secretly, but I came to the knowledge of it: I might perceive a strangeness in the ambassador, as though he retained a kind of jealousy; and therefore the supper ended, and my leave taken of him for that night, I besought the governor of *Gravelin*, that the port might

be opened, and I provided of horses; for that I had occasion to go with some speed to *Dunkirk*; both which he courteously granted, and I immediately pass'd thither, where I arrived at the opening of the gates in the morning.

I found, as it was reported, the barks detained by the *Hollanders*, but upon what occasion, and how I caused their release, your honours shall understand hereafter: but I must return once more to *Sandwich*.

Whilst the ambassador stay'd at *Sandwich* to see his horses and baggage shipp'd, there arrived fourteen or fifteen ships of war from *Holland* in the *Downs*; a number not usually seen thereabout but upon a greater occasion than I could imagine; though I mistrusted they would have obstructed the ambassador's passage, and sent for the principal captains, of whom I required if they had commission to impeach his landing: they answered *No*; and seem'd to make a frivolous excuse for their coming.

Then I required them to stay in the *Downs* after I was gone, or to depart before me; for avoiding both rumour and suspicion. They made choice of the latter, and stood over for *Gravelin Road*, where I found them upon my arrival, and discovered that the cause of their coming to the *Downs* was to have an eye on the lord *Arundell's* passage.

During the time of the ambassador's stay at *Sandwich*, those of the town thought to have put an affront upon him; which, if I had not prevented, had more disgusted than all the favours he received in *England* had contented him.

His horses being shipped, and the bark ready to depart the harbour, an informer went aboard one of them, and made seizure of a fardel of bays, to the value of ten or twelve pounds, which belonged to one of the ambassador's servants; which he took for such a disgrace, knowing it, as he said, to be a practice of the offspring of the *Hollanders* within the town, that he resolved not to depart thence till he was righted by his majesty's own order.

I laboured to give the ambassador satisfaction, and as earnestly persuaded the informer to restore the fardel; but could prevail with neither; for the value was not so much looked upon, as the injury offered.

At last, by threatening the informer to complain to the lords, and persuading him how ill his majesty would take such a wrong done to an ambassador, he restored the fardel, but writ to the farmers of the custom, that I countenanced and carried over uncus-tomed goods under the colour of the ambassador's provisions.

When they of *Sandwich* saw they could not detain the fardel, they secretly practised with

with the *Dutch* fleet then at the *Downs*, that upon the arrival of the barks at *Dunkirk*, they should intercept the fardel, and gave intelligence in what bark, and what part of the bark it lay.

The *Hollanders* accordingly detained the vessel as they were directed, and took out the fardel; and upon this occasion was the stay made of the ambassadors goods, as I have shewed before.

At my arrival at *Dunkirk* from *Gravelin*, upon the news of the arrest of the ships, as your lordships have heard, I wrote to the admiral of the *Hollanders*, that he had exceeded his commission in intercepting the ambassador's provisions, having order from their state for a free passage; and that the injury was no less to his majesty; and therefore I required the discharge of the ships, and his answer to the contempt.

He answered in writing, that it was true, his directions from his masters the states did import so much, which he did willingly obey; but in his commission he was authorized to intercept any merchandize that should be transported under colour of the ambassador's furniture; and that in one of the barks he had found a fardel of bays, which he might justify the taking of, and so dismiss'd the bark.

I returned answer, that if he went to the strict letter of his commission, I confessed he might do it; but I told him the value was so small, and it having been questioned at *Sandwich*, that I would think myself beholding to him, if he would either restore it, or keep it in his custody fourteen days. To my latter request he consented; whereupon I gave assurance to the ambassador, who was then much enraged that a letter should be procured out of *England* that should compel the delivery of the fardel.

Within four or five days after I arrived in *England*, I acquainted the lord treasurer *Dorset* with the affront offered the ambassador at *Sandwich*, and the complaint made to the farmers of the custom against me. I informed my lord admiral and my lord of *Cranborne* with the lord *Arundell's* passage, and the contempt of the captain, whom I displaced and detained prisoner, as also of the fardel seized on by the *Hollander*.

My lord treasurer sent for the informer by a pursuivant, and committed him ten weeks prisoner in the *Gatehouse*, refusing to release him, till I became suitor for him. The captain was handled in the same manner, being long imprisoned, and the fardel restored to the governor of *Dunkirk* by a letter from Sir *Howell Caroone*.

I am the more tedious herein, to shew the genius of the men of *Sandwich*, who made more account of venting their spleen and revenge, than of his majesty's reputation

and honour; and did their best endeavour to make a breach betwixt the *Hollanders* and me. At that time they had thirty ships for two in the narrow seas.

I observed at all times that I was to transport a *Spanish* ambassador, the *Hollanders* labour'd to shew some point of insolency; as I remember at the return of the marquis of *St. Germain's*, I met a *Dutch* fleet in the midst of the channel, convoy'd by a man of war, who would not take in his flag, till I was forced to use violence. I could entertain your lordships with a volume of these discourses; but what I have said is sufficient to shew the arrogant and unmannerly carriage of the *Hollanders*, who ambitiously desire to in-croach upon his majesty's jurisdiction. Had I connived at them, I had purchased less hate of them, and their well-wishers. And not long before my commitment there fell out an accident, which, perhaps, might hasten my imprisonment. Sir *Howell Caroone*, their agent, coming over in a man of war, was shot at by a pinnace of the king's, for not striking his topsail to her, which I understood he took in ill part, and cast it upon me.

If I had transgressed, or given the least advantage to have excepted against me in the twelve years I served on the narrow seas, it is very likely his majesty or the state should have known it; but seeing I was never questioned for any action, publick or private, I did no more than became a subject and a servant to his majesty, to defend the honour and reputation of him and his kingdoms, though it had been with the loss of my life.

And since I have made my apology for twelve years, I will add eighteen more to it, and begin with the wars of *Spain*, where I was an actor in the first ship, and general of the last fleet queen *Elizabeth* ever employ'd.

If it shall appear by records in the admiral's court, or by petition in the council chamber, that ever I was questioned for any unlawful act, or so much as my name used for a witness, I will willingly receive my due punishment; or let it be proved in all my employments by sea, which has been more than any *English* gentleman, that either directly or indirectly I deceived either of my two sovereigns, and I will desire the reward of a traitor.

I well remember the first time I was examined by the chief justice *Cooke*, and secretary *Winwood*, at *Hatton-House*, I besought them, That they would be pleased to enquire into my behaviour, and the course of my life from my infancy, and I hoped it would prove loyal, honest, and spotless.

Now I humbly desire, as a second suit, that either they, or any other, would examine the service I have done to the state in the time of the late queen, when there was greatest occasions for men to shew their abilities and deserts; as also what imprisonment I have endured in *Spain*; what famine, hurts, and other casualties I suffer'd; what wealth has been brought into *England* by my means; with what hazard and fortunate success I have obtained both wealth and victory; as in particular, and which is freshest in memory, the last carrack, valued at almost two hundred thousand pounds, and disposed of by his majesty at his accession to the crown.

When all these things shall be consider'd, and my rewards valued, the integrity of my heart will appear, and how much I prefer'd the service to my prince and country above my private or particular interest.

I must confess my folly and misfortune: the one made me too forward in complaining, and wishing a reformation of his majesty's navy, which has purchas'd me much envy: the other procur'd me as much hate in taking the lady *Arabella*: and then perhaps the cause of my imprisonment will more plainly appear.

Some have obtain'd their desires in ruining my estate, made me infamous to the world, taken from me my employment, seized by way of forfeiture upon my land, denying to account with me, which they have long practis'd; and, above all, cast such an aspersion upon my children, as all hope of preferment is taken from them: but my comfort is in the saying of *David*, *That my defence is in God, who saveth the upright in heart.*

Thus have I briefly run over some particulars that happened in my employment; wherein I have shew'd in what condition I found the narrow seas, how with envy and hate I reduced it, and in what form and condition I left it.

*A Voyage by Sir William Monson during the Time he served as Admiral in the Narrow Seas about England, Scotland, and Ireland. Anno Dom. 1614.*

**H**IS majesty being earnestly importuned by his *Scottish* subjects to have the assistance of some of his ships to redress the spoils committed by the pirates on their coast, out of care to them, and honour to himself, he dispatched *Sir William Monson* and *Sir Francis Howard* in great haste upon that service, commanding such victuals and other things as they stood in need of to be sent after them.

They departed from *Margate-Road* the 14th of *May*, and arrived at *Leith* in *Scotland* on the 23d of the same; thence he

And as I have given an account of twelve years employment on the narrow seas, I can as well derive myself from the year 1585. when the war with *Spain* began; for then made I the seas my profession, being led to it by the wildness of my youth. And because the two barks in which I then served, had the fortune to take the first *Spanish* prize that ever saw the *English* shore, and the rareness of the fight in taking her considered, I thought it not unworthy of repetition.

In the month of *September* 1585. and about eight a-clock in the evening, being upon the coast of *Spain* with two small ships aforesaid, we met and boarded a *Spanish* vessel of three hundred tuns burden, well manned and armed; all our men with one consent and courage entered her, and we left fighting aboard her all night, the seas being so grown that our barks were forced to ungrapple and fall off.

The *Spaniards* betook themselves to their close fights, and gave two attempts by trains of powder, to blow up their decks on which we were; but we happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued the fight till seven in the morning, when the *Spaniards* found they had so many men killed and disabled, that they were forced to yield.

When we came to take a view of our people, we found few left alive but could shew a wound or shot through their cloaths in that fight: we were a woeful spectacle, as well as the *Spaniards*; and I dare say, that in the whole time of the war, there was not so rare a manner of fight, or so great a slaughter of men on both sides.

I confess it exceeds the bounds of good manners to trouble your honours with this impertinent discourse; but I do it, that it may appear I had no thought but to employ my pains and travel to serve my prince and country; and so I humbly take my leave.

immediately went to *Edinburgh*, and presented himself to the lords of that realm, acquainting them with the cause of his coming, and the charge he had from his majesty to defend that coast from pirates; and therefore desired to be informed by their lordships concerning their strength, their number, and place of abode. He desired to be furnished with able pilots; for his majesty's ships were of greater burden and value than usually had been employ'd on those coasts; and besides, that the navigation to the northward of that place was

not frequented by our nation, and therefore unknown to us.

It pleased their lordships to recommend the care thereof to the *Trinity-House* of *Leith*, expressly commanding them to appoint the ablest pilots that could be chosen amongst them. This command of theirs was accordingly obey'd, and their pilots repaired aboard the next morning. Sir *William* immediately set sail, leaving instructions for his victuals to follow him to the islands of *Orkney*; which the lords of *Scotland* took into their provident care, and performed it accordingly.

The first of *June* Sir *William* arrived at *Sinclare-Castle*, the house of the earl of *Catbness*, the utmost promontory of *Great Britain*. Here he found neither the number nor the danger of pirates so terrible as report made them; from twenty they were vanished to two, and both of them men of base condition; the one of them not long before my boatswain's mate in the narrow seas; the other of as mean quality and rank, and first made a seaman by Sir *William*: neither can this man be properly called a pirate; for being amongst them, and misliking their damnable courses, he, with three others, left their society, and in an *English* bark they had taken, stole from them, and put himself into the hands of the earl of *Catbness*; where I found both him and the bark, which I brought away with me.

The day before I came to *Catbness*, I was disappointed of meeting the boatswain's mate, the pyrate, *Clarke* by name, who had been ashore with the earl, and friendly entertained, because his house and tenants lay open to his spoil.

That day there arrived a *Scottish* bark from the *Frith*, which gave an account of Sir *William's* coming to *Leith*, with an intent to pursue such pirates as he could hear of. This news made *Clarke* quit that coast, and fly into the island, where he refreshed himself amongst the fishermen.

But Sir *William* being now out of hope of him, and out of doubt of any others thereabout, stay'd not at *Catbness*, but the same night passed to the island of *Orkney*, where he found more civil, kind, and friendly usage, than could be expected from such kind of creatures in shew. Here he left Sir *Francis Howard* for guard of the coast, and prosecuted his intentions against *Clarke*, not sparing any place to seek him in, where there was a possibility to find him. After some time spent at sea, he put into the island of *Shuiland*, and from thence to those of *Hybrides*, where he design'd Sir *Francis Howard* should meet him.

The brutishness and uncivility of those people of the *Hybrides* exceeds the savages

of *America*; and it may be well said of them, that education is a second nature; for there cannot be greater difference betwixt day and night, than betwixt the conversation of those of *Orkney*, and those of the *Hybrides*.

Being out of hopes of meeting with *Clarke*, Sir *William* directed his course for *Broad-Haven* in *Ireland*, a harbour frequented by pirates, in respect of the security thereof, and the remoteness, few knowing it, and the relief such people find by a gentleman there dwelling, who spared not his own daughters to bid them welcome.

The danger Sir *William* ran into was great; and worse to think, that two ships of his majesty's of that consequence should be hazarded on so slender an occasion, as the pursuit of so few petty pirates.

Betwixt those islands and *Ireland* he met with so great a storm and ground-seas, that it were fit only for a poet to describe. Of four vessels he had in company, one was swallowed up in the seas; the other three were separated, and saw one another no more till they met in *England*.

When the seas had spent their fury, the storm began to abate, and the 28th he arrived at *Broad-Haven*, a place unknown to any one in his ship but the pirate he had taken from the earl of *Catbness*, as you have heard, of whom he made use to execute this stratagem.

Being now come to the well-head of all pirates, and desirous to be fully informed of the condition of those people of *Broad-Haven*, as soon as he came to an anchor he made choice of such persons of his company as formerly had been pirates, to give the less suspicion of his purpose.

These men he sent in his boat to the gentleman of that place, and took upon him to be a pirate, and the name of captain *Manwaring*. The man he trusted in this service, extolled the wealth he had on board him; his royal disposition and liberality to those that shew'd him courtesy. This hope of wealth and reward set their hearts on fire.

He used the commendations and names of sundry pirates, their acquaintance; and feigned messages to the women from their sweethearts, who he made believe had sent them tokens, which he had on board for them.

The silly women conceived so great a joy at it, that it took away all suspicion of deceit.

The gentleman of that place, like a wily fox, absented himself, and left his wife and hackney daughters to entertain the new welcome guests, till he beheld the coast clear; and when he saw his time, he returned



turned; and to make his credit and reputation seem the greater with captain *Manwaring*, expressed the favours he had done to sundry pirates, though it was to his eminent peril, which he did not esteem, if he might do captain *Manwaring* any service; so much he was devoted to his person, when he heard the report of his wealth; and to endear him the more, he promised to send two gentlemen of trust the next morning on board him, to give him the better assurance of his fidelity; and in the mean time, because he should not be unfurnished of victuals, he directed him to send his men ashore armed, and in a warlike manner, that it might appear their cattle were taken by violence, which he would appoint in a place with their ears slit, to be distinguished from other beasts.

The messenger being fully satisfied, and having executed his stratagem, return'd aboard that night. At the dawning of the day the play began, for that was the hour appointed for the wolf to seek his prey; and captain *Chester*, with fifty armed men, in a disorderly manner, like pirates, went on shore, and acted so much as was agreed on; and the cattle being kill'd, he was, in a secret manner, invited to the house of the gentleman; but at his intreaty was to make it appear publickly, that he came not by invitation, but of his own accord.

Here he was welcomed, and friendly entertained by the daughters, whose desire was to hear of their sweet-hearts, and to receive their tokens; but all in general coveted to see captain *Manwaring*, who they confidently believed would enrich them all. The gentleman, Mr. *Cormat* by name, was punctual in all his undertaking, and the two ambassadors he promised came aboard, and delivered a friendly (though in a rude manner, like their country) message of their love, and assurance of their service to captain *Manwaring*.

Their message ended, Sir *William* wished them to observe and consider, whether they thought that ship and company to be pirates; for they could well judge of pirates, because of their familiarity and acquaintance with them.

It was a folly to dissemble any longer; for though they would, yet they could not betray Sir *William's* design; and therefore in as rough and rude a manner as they delivered their message, he told them how they had transgressed, and the next thing they were to expect was death, and commanded them to be put in irons, in dark and several places, being careful to permit neither boat nor man to go ashore until his own landing.

The time approached Sir *William* promised to visit them; and for his greater honour they had drawn down four or five

hundred people to attend on the shore side, which he perceiving, and seeming to be jealous of their number, pretended to be shy of going ashore, for fear of treachery: but if oaths, vows, or any kind of protestations would serve him, he had them; and when they saw him thus convinced of their sincerity, and that he put himself upon them, three of their principal men run up to the arm-pits in water, striving who should have the credit to carry him ashore.

One of these three was an *Englishman*, a late tradesman in *London*, and attended the arrival of pirates. The second had been a schoolmaster, and a man attended like another *Apollo* amongst those rude people. The third a merchant of *Galloway*, but his chiefest trade was to buy and sell with pirates.

These three gallants, like gentlemen-ushers, conducted Sir *William* to Mr. *Cormat's* house, and the meaner sort followed with acclamations of joy. At his landing, happy was he to whom he would lend his ear. Falling into discourse, one told him they knew his friends, and though his name had not discovered it, yet his face did shew him to be a *Manwaring*. In short, they made him believe he might command them and their country, and that no man was ever so welcome as captain *Manwaring*.

Entering into the house of Mr. *Cormat*, his three hackney daughters rose to entertain him, and conducted him to the hall newly strewn with rushes, as the richest decking their abilities, or the meanness of the place could afford. In the corner was a harper, who played merrily, to make his welcome the greater.

After some discourse, and several questions asked by the three daughters concerning their acquaintance and friends; but above all, being desirous to handle the tokens promised, and laughing and jeering at their two messengers aboard, who they did not suspect were detained prisoners, but drinking and frolicking in the ship, as the use was upon the arrival of pirates. After these passages the women offered to dance; one chose Sir *William*, which he excused, but gave free liberty for the rest of his company. The *Englishman* was so pleasant and merry, that he seemed to have new life infused into him: he told Sir *William*, the heavens did foresee he was born to serve him, and to relieve him: he shewed him a pass procured upon false pretences from the sheriff of that county, authorizing him to travel from place to place to make inquisition of his goods, which he falsely pretended he was robbed of at sea: he laughed at the cheat he had put upon the sheriff in getting his pass, and urged the advantage that might be made of it, in sending to and fro in the country without suspicion.

He proffered Sir *William* the service of ten mariners of his acquaintance, that lay lurking thereabouts, expecting the coming in of men of war, which seafaring men he had power to command.

His antick behaviour was enough to put the melancholiest man in good humour; sometimes he played the part of a commanding sheriff; then he acted his own, with many witty passages how he deceived the sheriff. Sir *William* embraced his offer of ten mariners, with a promise of reward, and caused him to write effectually for them, as may appear by this that follows:

*Honest brother Dick, and the rest, we are all made men, for valiant captain Manwaring, and all his gallant crew are arrived in this place. Make haste, for he flourisheth in wealth, and is most kind to all men. Farewel; and once again make haste.*

This letter being writ, and the pafs inclosed in it, Sir *William* took it into his own hand, offering to hire a messenger to carry it; but night drawing on, which required his return on board, and having drawn from the country all the secret he desired, he caused the harp to cease playing, and commanded silence, because he was to speak.

He told them, That hitherto they had played their part, and he had no part in the comedy; but though his was last, and might be termed the epilogue, yet it would prove more tragical than theirs. He put them out of doubt that he was no pirate, but a scourge to such, and was sent from his majesty to discover, suppress, and punish them and their abettors, whom his majesty did not think worthy the name of subjects: he told them that he had received sufficient information of the protection given to pirates in that harbour, and by *Cormat*; and that he could find no better expedient to confirm what had been told him, than by taking upon him the habit of a pirate, and one of their associates; and that they had made themselves guilty in the law, without farther accusations: and now there remain'd nothing but to proceed to their execution, by virtue of his commission; and to that purpose, he had brought a gallows ready framed, which he caused to be set up, meaning to begin the mournful dance with the two men they thought had been merry, dancing aboard the ship.

He told the *Englishman* he should be the next, because his offence did surpass the rest, being an *Englishman*, who should be a pattern of good life to those people we have sought to reduce to civility, since we first possessed that country; and seeing man naturally is rather apt to follow evil example than good, he should be hanged for example.

He told the schoolmaster he was a fit tutor for the children of the devil, and that he had apt scholars to follow his damnable instructions; and that as the members are governed by the head, the way to make his members found, was to shorten him by the head, and therefore willed him to admonish his scholars from the top of the gallows, which should be a pulpit prepared for him. He asked the merchant, whether he imagined there could be thieves, if there were no receivers? And as the contriver and plotter of evil is worse than he that executes it, so is the abettor and a receiver to be condemned before the thief. He told him that pirates could no more live by their occupation, were it not for buyers, than a poor labourer work without wages; that the offence in a merchant was more heinous than in another man, because his trade must be maintained and upheld by peace: his time he told him was not long, and wished him to make his account with God, that he might be found a good merchant and factor to him, though he had been a malefactor to the law.

Here was seen the mutability of the world; their mirth was turned into mourning, and their dancing into lamenting, each bewailing and repenting, as is the custom of offenders. The night calling Sir *William* away, he appointed their guard to a boat, and left the carpenter ashore to finish the gallows; which was done by morning, and the prisoners ready to receive their doom; but being sued to by the whole country, with a promise never to connive again at pirates, after four and twenty hours fright in irons he pardoned them.

The *Englishman* was banished, not only from that coast, but from the sea side, throughout *Ireland*; and a copy of his pafs sent to the sheriff, with advice to be more cautious for the future in granting his safe conduct. Here the master died; and all that country could not afford a pilot; so little use those people make of God's blessings in those parts; for were they industrious, as in other countries, both land and sea would afford them as great plenty of trade and commodities as any part in *Europe*.

The next morning as Sir *William* was at anchor in *Broad-Haven*, he espied a ship bearing into that harbour; which seeing him sprung her luff, and came to an anchor under the weather-shore: by her working he judged her to be a pirate; and though it blew much wind, he put himself into his boat, having the opportunity of a great fog, thinking to steal upon her at unawares; but finding the fog, like other weather at sea, unconstant, when he came within falcon shot of her, it clear'd up; which she perceiving, cut cable, and stood off to sea, where he pursued

fued her with great danger of drowning in his boat.

Six days she kept the sea in foul weather, and the seventh arrived at the island of *Enefcey*, seven leagues to the southward of *Broad-Haven*, where she was out of fear of any attempt to be made upon her, by reason of the wind.

In the dark of the night, when there was least danger of discovery, the pirate found means to have a letter secretly conveyed to *Cormat*, their agent and trustiest friend; but *Cormat* being lately burnt, did dread the fire; and no sooner received the letter, but he brought it to Sir *William*, which was to this effect:

Dear friend,

**I** WAS bearing into *Broad-Haven* to give you corn for ballast, but that I was frighted by the king's ship, I supposed to be there. I pray you, send me word what ship it is; for we stand in great fear. I pray you, provide me two kine; for we are in great want of victuals: whensoever you shall make a fire on shore, I will send my boat to you.

This letter pleased Sir *William*, hoping to make good use of it, as he did. The first thing was to conjure *Cormat* to keep secrecy, charging him, upon pain of life, to follow his directions. He writ an answer, which he caused *Cormat* to sign as from himself: the purport of it was,

“That he rejoiced to hear of his health,  
“and desir'd to see him: he bid him be  
“confident this ship could not endanger  
“him; for she was not the king's, as he  
“imagin'd, but one of *London* that came  
“from the *Indies* with her men sick, and  
“many dead. He promised him two  
“oxen and a calf; to observe his directions  
“by making a fire; and gave him hope to  
“see him within two nights.”

A man could not be too cautious among the people of the country, who in their hearts were piratically given; and therefore he cloathed three or four of his company in *Irish* habits, to accompany the messenger, commanding them to lie in ambush not far off, as well to take a view of the bearer, as to defend him from any violence of the pirates, fearing they might surprize him, if they mistrusted any deceit.

The pirates kept as good a watch to observe the fire, as the country doth a beacon upon suspicion of an enemy, and espying it, were not long a rowing to shore, and as

little a while on shore; for it was the letter only at that time they coveted; and having it, they hastened aboard to read it.

The letter gave them great content, because they found themselves free from danger of the ship they took to be the king's; as also because they were promised relief in their extremity, by the two oxen to be sent them.

This day they were frolick and merry, to make amends for the six before spent in foul weather at sea. In the mean time Sir *William* contrived a stratagem the pirates neither dreaded nor dreamed of: for understanding that at the end of the river where they lay, and not above seven miles from him, there was a nook of land two miles in breadth, that parted it from another river, which opened it self into the sea over against *Enefcey*, where the pirates lay: Sir *William* kept his design secret from the *Irish*, who he knew would not much further his design against pirates, and on a sudden took so many of those *Irish*, with the help of his own company, as drew his boat and another over land; and having recover'd the next river, with no little astonishment to the *Irish*, they were to row thirty miles to the place design'd for the fire to be made.

Having pulled hard to be at the place by midnight, as soon as the boat arrived they kindled a fire; and by the time they conjectured the pirates boat might be ashore, who, they made account, would weaken the ship of so many men as she should carry, they row'd off with speed, and came within sight of, and surpriz'd her before they could be suspected, which did so much amaze the pirates, that they had not power to resist, but yielded like so many wolves caught in their own snares.

Being thus circumvented and apprehended, they were brought to *Broad-Haven*, where Sir *William* executed the chief of them, shewing mercy to the rest so far as he durst; for he was commanded in his instructions to execute justice with some vigour. Examining the behaviour of all the pirates, of many he picked out the worst, who had tasted twice before of his majesty's gracious pardon. This severe justice gave a terror to the people of that country, and no less satisfaction to the owner of the ship, whom they kept prisoner aboard them, and who might see his majesty spared not his own subjects if they offended.

The pirates ever after became strangers to that harbour of *Broad-Haven*, and in a little time wholly abandon'd *Ireland*; which was attributed to the execution of that

man; for before that time they were in those parts rather connived at than punished.

From hence Sir *William* went groping along the coast, the country, as was said, not being able to afford him a pilot. On the 12th of *July* he came to the *Vintry*, a place that had twice reliev'd him before.

Coming from sea in great extremity, on the 28th to *Bear Haven*, the 1st of *August* to *Plimouth*, the 8th to the *Isle of Wight*, and the 10th to the *Downs*, after fetching a circuit round his majesty's three kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

And here he bid farewell to the sea, this being the last voyage Sir *William* made in

king *James's* time, and the last year but one he served on the narrow seas, which wanted not much of twelve years; in which I will boldly and truly say, there was never service neglected, omitted, or unperformed, that he was commanded upon; which I look upon as strange, and not to be paralleled by any that enjoyed his employment before; and if the time be considered, six years of them twelve bred many doubts and differences, how an *English* admiral should carry himself betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, the wars continuing between them, yet such was his hap and care, that he committed no error for the one or the other, justly to except against him.

*The Names of such Ships of the Queen's, King James's, and King Charles's, as I served in, besides divers others not mentioned.*

|                                                                                              |           |                           |      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|------|
| IN the <i>Charles</i> , whereof I had no command                                             | Anno 1588 | In the <i>Mere-honour</i> | 1602 |
| In the <i>Victory</i> , in which voyage I was vice-admiral to my lord of <i>Cumberland</i> , | } 1589    | In the <i>Mere-honour</i> | 1603 |
| In the <i>Garland</i>                                                                        |           | In the <i>Vanguard</i>    | 1604 |
| In the <i>Lion</i>                                                                           | 1591      | In the <i>Rainbow</i>     | 1605 |
| In the <i>Rainbow</i>                                                                        | 1593      | In the <i>Affurance</i>   | 1606 |
| In the <i>Repulse</i>                                                                        | 1595      | In the <i>Rainbow</i>     | 1607 |
| In the <i>Rainbow</i>                                                                        | 1596      | In the <i>Vanguard</i>    | 1609 |
| In the <i>Defiance</i>                                                                       | 1597      | In the <i>Affurance</i>   | 1610 |
| In the <i>Garland</i>                                                                        | 1599      | In the <i>Rainbow</i>     | 1611 |
| In the <i>Nonpareille</i>                                                                    | 1600      | In the <i>Adventure</i>   | 1612 |
| In the <i>Swiftsure</i>                                                                      | 1601      | In the <i>Affurance</i>   | 1613 |
| In the <i>Mary Rose</i>                                                                      | 1602      | In the <i>Lion</i>        | 1614 |
|                                                                                              |           | In the <i>Nonsuch</i>     | 1615 |
|                                                                                              |           | In the <i>James</i>       | 1635 |

A Note of such Princes, Ambassadors, and others, whom Sir William Monfon transported from the 20th of July 1604, till the 13th of January, 1616, with the Number of their Followers and their Meals, at his own Charges, aboard His Majesty's Ships, for which he is as yet unsatisfy'd, and which did amount to the Sum of 1500 l.

| Year | Month     | Day | Princes, Ambassadors, &c.                                                                                                | Followers | Meals |
|------|-----------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 1604 | August    | 4   | The constable of <i>Castile</i> at his coming over                                                                       | 200       | 3     |
| 1604 | August    | 31  | The constable at his return                                                                                              | 300       | 3     |
| 1604 | November  | 7   | The duke of <i>Holstein</i>                                                                                              | 40        | 2     |
| 1604 | December  | 23  | The duke of <i>Lenox</i> at his going into <i>France</i>                                                                 | 110       | 4     |
| 1604 | February  | 28  | Two gentlemen of the archduke's chamber                                                                                  | 10        | 3     |
| 1604 | March     | 13  | The duke of <i>Lenox</i> at his return out of <i>France</i>                                                              | 300       | 4     |
| 1605 | April     | 19  | The earl of <i>Hertford</i> going into <i>Flanders</i>                                                                   | 300       | 4     |
| 1605 | May       | 16  | The earl at his return from <i>Flushing</i>                                                                              | 300       | 4     |
| 1605 | June      | 30  | The emperor's ambassador                                                                                                 | 70        | 4     |
| 1605 | July      | 25  | The emperor's ambassador at his return                                                                                   | 70        | 4     |
| 1605 | September | 1   | The earl of <i>Villa Mediana</i> aboard five days in foul weather                                                        | 200       | 10    |
| 1606 | April     | 21  | The marquis of <i>St. Germain's</i> coming                                                                               | 50        | 4     |
| 1606 | May       | 3   | The same marquis at his return                                                                                           | 74        | 4     |
| 1606 | September | 14  | Count <i>Vaudemont</i> at his coming over                                                                                | 300       | 3     |
| 1606 | October   | 13  | In his return                                                                                                            | 250       | 3     |
| 1607 | May       | 5   | Prince <i>Jarville</i> at his coming over                                                                                | 40        | 4     |
| 1607 | June      | 1   | At his return                                                                                                            | 40        | 4     |
| 1607 | November  | 27  | The landgrave of <i>Hesse</i>                                                                                            | 30        | 4     |
| 1608 | October   | 1   | The ambassador in ordinary of <i>Venice</i>                                                                              | 40        | 4     |
| 1608 | February  | 5   | The Spanish ambassador <i>Don Hernando Jeron</i> at his return                                                           | 30        | 3     |
| 1610 | March     | 25  | The duke of <i>Brunswick</i> coming over                                                                                 | 38        | 5     |
| 1610 | May       | 6   | Sir <i>Tho. Edmonds</i> , and the duke of <i>Wirtemberg's</i> ambassador                                                 | 50        | 3     |
| 1610 | June      | 3   | <i>Don Pedro de Cuniga</i> at his return                                                                                 | 35        | 5     |
| 1610 | June      | 18  | The duke of <i>Brunswick</i> at his return                                                                               | 35        | 5     |
| 1610 | August    | 20  | The lord <i>Wotton</i> going over                                                                                        | 46        | 1     |
| 1611 | September | 5   | The Spanish ladies coming over                                                                                           | 28        | 2     |
| 1611 | February  | 11  | The marshal <i>Laverdin</i> at his return                                                                                | 200       | 2     |
| 1612 | April     | 23  | The duke of <i>Bologne</i> coming over                                                                                   | 200       | 2     |
| 1612 | June      | 27  | <i>Don Pedro de Cuniga</i> coming over                                                                                   | 50        | 3     |
| 1612 | August    | 24  | The Spanish ladies returning                                                                                             | 25        | 2     |
| 1612 | October   | 16  | <i>Don Pedro de Cuniga</i> at his return                                                                                 | 53        | 3     |
| 1613 | April     | 25  | The earl of <i>Arundel</i> and his lady going over with the lady <i>Elizabeth Grace</i> , for which I receiv'd allowance |           |       |

A Consultation before the Lords of the Council in 1617, to which I was called, and a Proposition made, How the Pirates of Algiers might be suppress'd, and the Town attempted. My Advice to it was as follows:

1. First, because an expedition against the pirates could not be the employment of one fleet for the space of six months only, but that it is rather like to prove a work of years, it is necessary that all the maritime towns of *Europe* do contribute towards the expence and charge: for considering the profit will be universal, if the pirates be destroy'd, there is no reason but the charge should be as general.

2. Because every nation is not provided with swift ships and strength alike for such an action, which are the two principal things, it is fit the fleets that must second one another, consist of *English, Spaniards,*

and *Hollanders*, as most able to perform the service, in respect of their strength and swift sailing, as aforesaid; and all other towns and countries bordering upon the seas, that cannot furnish able ships, to pay their quota in money.

3. This being agreed upon, it must be likewise resolv'd, That as the charge is general, so the gains may be equally shared and divided, which must arise from the sale of such *Turks* and *Moors* as shall be taken for slaves, and of such goods as shall be recovered out of the pirates hands, where no proprietor can challenge it.

4. The ships employ'd to be rated after the proportion of men and tonnage: As for example; so many ships of his majesty's as will carry three thousand tons burthen, and twelve hundred men, *Spain* and *Holland* sending ships proportionably, will be a force sufficient to encounter the whole number of the the *Turkish* pirates.

5. It is not convenient to employ any ships under two hundred and fifty tons, nor above three hundred, the king's ships excepted; because a lesser ship losing company, will be a prey to an enemy; and if bigger than three hundred, it will fill up the quantity of tonnage and number of men, and be able to do little more service than the lesser ship; for the more number of ships there are of three hundred tons, they will be the abler to pursue the pirates, if they be forced to scatter; for every ship must undertake a pirate; and if there be more pirates than ships of ours, the overplus in number to ours will escape for want of ships to follow them.

6. The generals to execute martial law, and to determine their authority before they meet, to avoid questions and differences that otherwise may happen.

7. To have safe-conducts to all christian ports, and authority to be supply'd with necessaries they shall want; as also provision for the sick and hurt men; and such ships or prizes as they shall take from the pirates, to be left in safe custody in the said ports.

8. To carry money or commodities to revictual, and all manner of provisions to trim and careen their ships, with one master-carpenter to have the overlooking and ordering the state of the shipping. It is better to carry commodities than money for their occasions, because of the loss between our money and theirs; and besides, it will be a gain to exchange commodities.

9. To have a treasurer to look to the payment of money, and a stock for the disbursement of all necessaries for the voyage.

10. To be extraordinary well provided with muskets and ammunition, and especially with chain-shot for the ordnance; because, where there are many people, as commonly in pirates, chain-shot will make a great slaughter amongst them, and such confusion withal, where there are so few failors to tackle their ships, that they will be taken upon the stays, or lie upon the sea at our mercy.

11. To make the ships musket-proof, which will be done with little charge, and no burden to the ships, and to have all the spare decks and other things of weight taken down, and only put up; which will be a great ease to the ships sailing.

12. Forasmuch as the chiefeft care in a sea-action consists in keeping the designs secret, this voyage requires special secrecy; for there being several *Englishmen*, who have been too busy in trading with pirates, and furnishing them with powder and other necessaries, it is to be fear'd those same *Englishmen* will endeavour to give the pirates intelligence, lest their being taken, their wicked practices should be discovered: for prevention whereof, it is necessary that our ships be provided under another pretence than pirates, and the captains themselves not to know of it till they are at sea.

13. That the *French* king do prohibit his subjects, and especially those of *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, to trade with pirates, who now make it a common and daily course, and from whom they will have notice of our preparations, if they be not prevented.

14. The place of rendezvous to be at the islands of *Bayon*, the hithermost part of *Spain*, as most convenient for all squadrons to meet without suspicion. *England* and *Holland* may pretend several enterprizes, without knowledge of one another till their meeting. The squadron of *Spain* coming thither from *St. Lucar*, *Cadiz*, or *Lisbon*, will make the pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis* think the preparations cannot be against them, the *Spanish* squadron being furnished in the nighest part of *Spain* to them, and carry'd to the furthest from them.

15. The time of the year to be in *August* or *September*; for in those months the pirates usually put to sea, because of the vintage, and other great trades: commonly in those months the fleets from the *Indies* return into *Spain*; as also in those months the *Spanish* gallies retire into harbour, so that they need not fear them.

16. Our fleet not to appear within the streights until they hear of the pirates being at sea; for having intelligence of it, they dare not put out.

17. One great advantage we shall have, is, That if they are at sea, we shall still know where they are, by ships we shall meet that have seen them: and observing the winds, can conjecture where we shall have them: or, if we shall hear that they are scattered, we will do the like, and have signs to know one another.

18. Another advantage we shall have, is, That no harbour can entertain or defend them from their going out till they return home; for all christian shores are their enemies; and they will have none but *Tunis* and *Algiers* within the streights, and *Sally* and *Santa Cruz* without the streights, which are wide and open roads, and apt to be surpris'd or burnt.

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19. If we happen to miss them at sea, they cannot escape at their return, if we spread two squadrons ten or twelve leagues from *Algiers*; for they can have no intelligence of us from the shore, because we cannot be descry'd from thence.

20. That no mariner or sailor be ransom'd or set at liberty after they are taken; for taking away their sailors, they cannot set a ship to sea; and we know their numbers cannot be great, because it is not above twelve years since the *English* taught them the use of navigation.

21. Such renegadoes as shall be taken, or such christians as have willingly serv'd the *Turks*, to be executed immediately, for the terror of others; for if christians sailors can be kept from them, their piracy will cease, which otherwise will prove a great detriment to the christian commonwealth.

22. That such an *English* general be appointed, and the ships with that care fitted, that may give reputation to the action; for considering the reputation we have had in sea affairs, it behoves us, upon such an occasion as this, because we shall join with other nations, to carry it with honour.

23. That such a general be appointed as shall have more care to perform the service, than to his own ease, pleasure, or ostentation: That he keep the sea, and avoid seeking harbour, unless necessity compels him, and then not to let it be to the leeward of *Algiers*; for so pirates may go in and out at their pleasure: and moreover, That he enter no harbour but such as have good outlets, lest the service be neglected, and he not able to get out.

24. And lastly, as the ships shall grow foul, and be forced into harbour to trim, that he do it with this consideration, That he keep a squadron out at sea, whilst the others are fitting in harbour; and upon the return of the clean squadron to sea, whilst the other squadron is in trimming, to put himself into one of those ships; for it is not the part of a general upon any occasion to leave his fleet, tho' for a time he may leave his ship.

*The Danger and Uncertainty in surprizing Algiers, or taking it by Siege, or otherwise.*

Whoever knows *Algiers*, cannot be ignorant of the strength of it: the inhabitants consist principally of desperate rogues and renegadoes, that live by rapine, theft, and spoil, having renounced God and all virtue, and become reprobates to all the christian world. This town is, and has been, of so great annoyance to the christians lying over-against it, that they have been oftentimes forced to attempt it by surprize; but still have fail'd of their

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designs, either by intelligence the town has had, or by their carefulness to defend it; for no man but must think that a town which depends on its own strength, being in continual danger of stratagems, and sudden surprizes from the bordering enemies, both *Moors* and *Turks*, who have the conveniency of galleys to transport and land an army at pleasure, will be extraordinary watchful and circumspect to fortify it self, and withstand all dangers that can befall it.

And if those christian countries that lie open to the places aforesaid, could never prevail in theirundry attempts, being nigh them, and having conveniency to embark and transport an army without suspicion or rumour, and to be succoured by the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, if necessity requir'd, but especially having intelligence with some of the town for the delivery of it, as about fourteen years since it happened, by the practice of a renegado, called *Spinola*, which failed; what hope have we then to prevail, who cannot so secretly furnish an army and fleet, but that all the world must ring of it in gazettes and other intelligences? Or if it be once known in *Marseilles*, it cannot be conceal'd many hours from *Algiers*, there being a settled trade and correspondence between those two cities.

But allowing our designs to be kept secret till the very time we arrive upon that coast, yet the warning will be sufficient for a garrison town of less force, and fewer men than *Algiers*, to prevent a surprize.

In such a case as this the time and wind is principally to be regarded; for a large wind that is good to carry a fleet into a landing place in an open bay, will be dangerous if it overblow upon a lee shore; and it will make so great a sea, that it will be impossible for men with their furnitures and arms to land without apparent danger; and what resistance a few men are able to make, I refer to consideration.

On the other side, if we ply into the bay with a scant wind, and it gives us a good entrance to land, by reason of the smoothness of the sea, yet the defendants shall have these advntages; They will descry us from the shore a long time before we can draw near, and consequently have time sufficient to withstand our landing. With their galleys they may cut off our boats with our men, if ships ride not within command of the shore; besides many other casualties the sea and weather afford. Besides, our boats can land but the third part of our men at once; by which means we shall attempt to land but with the third part of our army; and if we do it near the town, they will still have warning enough; or if it be

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far off, the march will be inconvenient, and they warned by fires.

But if we fail of surprizing *Algiers*, and attempt it by siege, we have neither necessaries to land our ordnance, nor to draw it to a place fit to raise a battery, wanting engines, cattle, and other conveniencies for that purpose. It must be considered how to relieve our siege, and defend our besiegers against the sallies of the town, which have ten men to one of ours. We must likewise forecast, if we fail of the attempt, to bring off our men with safety, as a point of great providence in a commander.

Whosoever shall enterprize *Algiers*, his greatest strength by sea must be in galleys, which can run near the shore, and command the landing-place with their ordnance: or if an enemy draw down his forces there to withstand him, he may soon bring about his galleys, quit that place, and land where he shall see no danger: ships cannot do so when they are at anchor, but must have wind and tide for their purpose.

But all I can say is nothing to what follows; for you must understand the *Algerines* are a sort of outlaws, or miscreants, that live in enmity with all the world, acknowledging the great *Turk* in some measure for their sovereign, but no farther than they please themselves. Now that part of *Barbary* where *Algiers* is seated, is a spacious and fruitful country, and abounds in numbers of people; and though the king of it be a Mahometan, as well as the *Algerines*, yet they live in perpetual hatred and war; but so, that if either of them is attacked by Christians, they will presently join as partners in mischief; and we shall no sooner land, but be welcomed by three-score or four-score thousand of those ungodly people.

Having shewed the impossibility of taking *Algiers*, either by surprize or siege; now shall follow the little use we can make of it, either to annoy the king of *Spain*, or any other potentate; as also the small profit we shall make of it; no, not so much as to defray the tenth part of the garrison, or any hope to go farther with a conquest.

If it be conceived to lie conveniently to annoy the king of *Spain*, or any other enemy, it will prove otherwise, considering the distance from *England* to be relieved, and the many casualties we shall undergo at sea, having neither the Christian nor *Turkish* shore to friend, and yet we must sail in the *Mediterranean*, where we cannot pass unseen or unmet, because of its narrowness.

The harbour of *Algiers*, which must entertain us, is of so small a compass, that it will not receive above twenty ships; which number, and no more, we must allow both

to annoy and defend ourselves from all enemies, either Christians or *Turks*.

The place affords neither victuals, powder, masts, sails, ropes, or other necessaries that belong to ships; and if there be but a want of the least of them, *England* alone must supply them. Then consider the charge and danger that is like to follow to this little purpose; for the expence is certain, and less than five thousand men cannot be allowed for garrison, and the twenty sail of ships aforesaid. The profit and advantage that can be made of it, must be by theft and rapine at sea, which the *Turks* cannot afford us, they having little or no trade in shipping. The princes of *Italy* are in the same condition; and therefore our only hope must depend on the spoils of *Spain*, which we cannot expect in the *Streights*, they having no trade of importance upon those coasts; and what we shall take without the *Streights*, we shall sooner do it from *England* than *Algiers*; and prizes so taken will be sooner and safer brought for *England*, than carried to *Algiers*, where they must pass so many dangers, as I have said before.

When this following action against the *Turkish* pirates was in agitation, it was solicited by the late lord admiral of *England*, the earl of *Nottingham*, who not long after resign'd his office to the duke of *Buckingham*, who being young, and infected with the disease of youth, to hearken to base flattery, gave ear to those that thought to make use of his favour with the king, and advised him to promote this voyage, promising it should redound to his everlasting honour at the first entrance into his place: but the event of it shall appear to be caused by the ill management of it; for no doubt but the intention was to be commended, and the management was to be blamed.

Besides this, there were two other ill undertakings, and as ill managed, which fell out in the following years, 1625, and 1628. whereof I design to give an account one after another; the one was to *Cadiz*, the other to the isle of *Ré*: wherein our rashness appear'd greater than our discretion, in bidding defiance to the two mighty and potent princes of *Europe*, *Spain* and *France*, both at one time, without help or assistance from abroad, and under the uncertainty of money, the then parliament opposing his majesty's demands.

To the *Spaniards* we only shewed our teeth, with a desire to bite: *France* provided for us, and plucked out our teeth before we could bite, as is to be seen by the unfortunate and unadvised expedition to the isle of *Ré*, which left such a mark of dishonour upon our nation, as former times could never be taxed with.

The



*The ill managed Enterprize upon Algiers in the Reign of King James, and the Errors committed in it.*

**B**EING to treat of the two unfortunate undertakings in the reign of king *Charles*, occasioned by ill advice and counsel, I must observe our dishonour at sea began the way to future misfortunes in the enterprize against the pirates of *Algiers*, in the reign of king *James*; though I must say it was really undertaken by his majesty with a noble, gracious, and religious intention; but through ill management it prov'd no better than those that ensued.

His majesty considering the daily complaints, not only of his own subjects, but of all other christian people in *Europe*, many thousands of whom groaned under barbarous slavery, and were most cruelly treated by the *Turkish* pirates, ranging abroad without any opposition, was moved to compassionate their calamities, and out of a true christian tenderness resolved to endeavour to redress this publick grievance, as appear'd by the chargeable fleet he set out to suppress the insolencies of those miscreants, who were the ruin and bane of the christian commonwealth by sea.

This fleet, by contract, was to receive some assistance from the king of *Spain*, when it once appear'd on his coast. But such was the misgovernment of those ships, and the negligence and vain-glorious humours of some to feast and banquet in harbour, when their duty was to clear and scour the seas, (for indeed they carried themselves more like amorous courtiers, than resolute soldiers,) that they lost the opportunity which offered itself, of destroying those hellish pirates; as may be collected out of a pamphlet published at their return, to which I refer you, but with this observation, That besides their going and coming, they spent not twenty days at sea whilst they continued in the *Streights*, but retired into harbour, where the pirates might find them, but not they the pirates.

This ill-carried action was a sufficient subject of scorn for all nations to laugh at, considering the reputation this realm had gained in their former expeditions by sea. And yet the chief actors in that voyage, like men naturally given to excuse their errors, gave out to justify themselves, and it was afterwards believ'd by all men, That the want of authority, and their limited commission, was the cause of their ill success.

This report was so universally credited, that I have often wondered with myself, that the state did not except against it for their own honours and reputation, if it had

not been really so; for commonly, in such cases, if a state do err in their directions, they will cast it upon those that had the execution, rather than that the imputation should light upon them; and, indeed, this was the reason that carried me into the general error of believing as others did, until I reflected upon the following reasons.

The first was, That a fleet of his majesty's could not depart *England* without a commission under the great seal. Secondly, I know that all generals of fleets have special directions and instructions to guide them: I know the managing of such great affairs by land or sea is committed to one man alone. Thirdly, I considered that there were but two ends of this imployment, (*viz.*) either peace or war; if peace, I marvel that so great a fleet should make an overture of peace, when a pinnace and a letter from the king was as authentick as the greatest person, or the greatest fleet his majesty could send to treat. Fourthly, I saw, that notwithstanding this friendly overture of peace, ships used hostility, took and destroyed some prizes, made an attempt to destroy their ships with fire in harbour, which failed; and whilst our fleet remain'd upon that coast, they carried themselves as enemies.

And seeing, as I have said before, that either peace or war must be the ground of their imployment, that they attempted both, and prevailed in neither, I know not how they can lay the blame on their want of commission, but rather on their unprovident, negligent, and unconstant behaviour. But too true it is, that since that time, our poor *English*, and especially the people of the west country, who trade that way daily, fall into the hands of those pirates. It is too lamentable to hear the complaints; and too intolerable to suffer the misery that has befallen them; and all occasioned, as they suppose, by the miscarriage of this unlucky voyage of 1620.

This making up three unfortunate voyages, as you shall soon hear, as many more were performed with no better success, two of them under the command of the lord *Willoughby*, and the third under the lord of *Denbigh*. These three had no advantage of one another; for there was nothing done worth remembering; and therefore I can say no more, than to join with others, who desire, that the subject may have satisfaction what the defects, ignorance, and errors of this voyage were, that upon examination all may appear, and every man receive his reward as he justly deserves.

His majesty and state could not have been more honoured, nor all in general better pleased; for people are persuaded that the realm never enjoyed braver and more war-like

like ships than now, commanders of greater antiquity and valour, seamen of greater experience and skill, more abundance and choice of ammunition and arms, greater quantity of victuals, and all things else to furnish such an action; as I shall have occasion to make out hereafter.

Then would have appeared the weakness of a great person in authority, when being spoken to by one of greater blood than himself, who friendly told him, he did not see a man of experience employed in the fleet to *Cadiz*, which made him doubt

of the good success thereof; he answered, not like one that thinks example of more weight than conceit, but rudely, rashly, and disrespectfully, That they were all fools who commanded in the queen's time, in comparison of those now employed. But it might have been more truly told him, That men in authority, who govern more by will and chance, than by reason and advice, are dangerous in a state; for nothing is so great a weakness, as for a man to think he knows much, when in effect he knows nothing at all.

*A Resolution of War with Spain; and what followed upon the second Expedition to Cadiz in 1625. and in the Reign of King Charles I.*

**K**ING James dying on the 25th of March, 1625. left his kingdom doubtful, whether peace or war should be embraced, having just occasion of unkindness offered, which was likely to turn to hostility. For the noble prince his son, then our blessed king, was disgusted at the dilatory courses *Spain* used to defer the marriage then in treaty with his sister; and his highness's journey into *Spain*, gave him not the satisfaction he expected; wherefore, being sensible of the injury done him, he could do no less in return to it, but let *Spain* see its error in the ill usage given him; and accordingly in the year 1625. sent a fleet to sea to revenge himself upon them. But the winter season approaching, (an ill time taken for such an enterprize, besides some other miscarriages, which may be imputed to the want of experience in the commanders, as is to be seen in the answer to a book published by the general at his return,) it had no better success than the author hereof foretold before their going from hence.

*The Author's Opinion of that Expedition, which he writ to a noble Friend of his before the Fleet sailed; as also what he conceived of the first News brought of the taking of the Fort of Cadiz, with Hopes to possess the Town, and keep it.*

Noble S I R,

**I**HAVE addressed to you my opinion of this secret and concealed fleet, whose design and unknown orders, give cause of admiration, and consequently of censure; every man judging as his fancy leads him, but all concluding of victory to us, and ruin to *Spain*, whither it is conceived to be intended by the rendezvous of ships and men in the western parts; some threatening *Portugal*, some the islands, others the bay of *Cadiz*, and city of *Seville*; others the

state of *Genoa*, and islands adjacent; some the *West Indies*, and the fleet from thence expected.

I will begin with *Portugal*, as the country nearest us, and upon which most mens opinions are settled, having experience of the force of that kingdom by an attempt formerly made in the year 1589.

You must conceive that *Portugal* fronts upon the heart of *Spain*; and that *Spain* hath sundry entrances into it, as namely by the south and west sea upon the east *Castile*, upon the north *Galicia*, and towards the south *Andaluzia*. *Portugal* is far inferior to those countries in strength; and a means not only to keep the people in obedience, but to give present aid and assistance against foreign invasions. I confess, if our actions in 1589. had been well carried, we had spoiled and ruined the city of *Lisbon*, where they had been surpris'd before we had been suspected. But we could expect no other advantage besides taking and destroying the city; for though the merchandize in it was of an estimable value, yet neither could we transport them to our ships, nor our ships repair to receive them, the passage being stopped by the castle of *St. Julian* and *Belem*.

Our hope was as little to settle *Don Antony* for king, the *Portuguese* being a multitude of poor-spirited people, without arms or hearts, that further than in their tongues and wishes, would not afford a finger to fight.

And besides, the barrenness of the country is such, that it affords not corn enough, nor other provisions, were it not for the help of the sea. And I dare boldly aver, the kingdom had better fail of their trade to the *East-Indies*, than of their fishing for pilchers upon their coast: and let this be the first consideration, How an army can subsist in that country; and the rather, by the proof we had of it in 1689.

More-

Moreover, by possessing *Lisbon* and the northern part of *Portugal*, we were nothing nearer enjoying the south part, which yields greatest plenty of food, cities, and nobility; for from *Lisbon* we were to begin, as it were, a new conquest, and to pass three leagues to the *Alenjeto* side, over-against *Lisbon*, where the *Spanish* galleys, which were then there, would have been our destruction in landing.

*The State of Portugal in the Year 1625. compared with the Year 1589.*

**I**N our enterprize of 1589. we had no cause to complain of fortune; for she gave us a happy entrance into the kingdom by the surprize of *Peniche-Castle*, that afforded us a landing; and after a peaceable march to *Lisbon*, where we found the city unarmed and unprovided, the castle excepted; but yet our success proved miserable and unhappy.

We can scarce hope for the like fortune now, their forts being better armed, and their forces better order'd by the late warning they have had.

I perceive, the river of *Tagus* excepted, there are but two places which advantage us in landing, which if we fail of, our enterprizes are frustrated. The one is *Peniche*, the other *Cascais*. The ports to the northward of *Peniche* are in the bottom of the bay of *Portugal*, a place all ships will shun and avoid, and too far distant from *Lisbon* to march. Those to the southward of *Cascais* are on the other side of *Lisbon*, and the river *Tagus*, which I have shewed the impossibility to pass over; and had not the duke of *Alva* provided to pass his army in galleys upon his taking of *Portugal*, he might at that time have possessed the south parts of *Portugal*, and have left the north part to the *Portuguese* themselves.

*Peniche* has a small harbour only capable of barks and fishermen; the other two are open roads, and not secure from a southerly or westerly wind. Our landing must be in one of these two open bays, where ships lie subject to southerly winds, which will hazard the destruction of them, if they come with violence.

The nature of the shore is disadvantageous to the invader in landing, and advantageous to the enemy in resisting.

Our means to land must be in our own boats, that cannot contain the number of our soldiers at thrice ferrying, and thereby we shall not bring the third part of our men to fight at the time of our greatest need.

A fleet coming to an anchor that distance from the shore, that ships cannot command their landing with their ordnance, the gal-

leys will cut off our boats, and utterly defeat us, as they had done at *St. Sebastian's-Point*, in our journey to *Cadiz*, if we had attempted it as it was directed.

We neither having castle nor harbour, our field-pieces cannot be landed, which must be the strength to force the castle; the want whereof was our loss of *Lisbon* in 1589. All these reasons have I given in the instance of our landing at *Algiers*.

My second observation is the state of *Portugal* since the year 1589. when we attempted it. The *Portuguese* nation in their nature are better reconciled to the *Spaniard* than they have been, and not without reason grounded upon necessity; for they have no hope ever to recover their loss in the *East Indies* or *Brazil*, or to enjoy what they possess, but by the help and force of *Spain*.

Secondly, The nobility, gentry, and others in *Portugal*, that were most discontented with the managing of things in those days, are consumed and dead; and their descendants, who never knew other times, have framed themselves up to it, and obtain favour of the king in their employments; nor does the king himself make any difference betwixt them and his other subjects.

Thirdly, The *Portuguese* are more exasperated against the *English* than they have been, by the spoils done them at sea, and the ill usage of them in the *East Indies*.

Fourthly, Many *Portuguese* in those days were transported by their love to Don *Antony*: others believed in his title; but the most disliked to be under the *Spanish* government. Since which Don *Antony* is dead, his issue gives little hope for them to rely on; but especially the children of the now pretended prince; and the father himself, since this was written, is repaired to the archduke; which takes away all comfort from the discontented *Portuguese*.

Fifthly, It is worth observation, that in our voyage to *Portugal* in 1589. our army consisted of fourteen thousand brave soldiers, four thousand choice seamen, our design being to settle that king, who had been formerly crowned in that kingdom; and yet such was the condition of the people of that country, that there was neither duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, knight, or gentleman, repaired to him, or shew'd himself of his party, except only a mean knight in calling, named *Duarte Pais*, with whom I was after fellow-prisoner in *Lisbon*, his commitment being for that offence, (*viz.*) for flying to Don *Antonio*: he would often complain to me of his folly, and commend the king's mercy.

*The Islands.*

FROM *Portugal* I will shape my course for the islands, as well the *Canaries* as *Terceras*, though I will say little of the *Canaries*, it being an action fitter for ten ships and a thousand soldiers to attempt, than so glorious an army as is now intended. I may say less for the island of *Azores*, the impregnable isle of *Tercera* excepted, which giveth reputation to the rest.

All these islands, as well the one as the other, cannot boast of one harbour to entertain ships, but open bays, subject to all dangers, and outerly winds, which many vessels of great value have felt, that have there perished.

The island of *Tercera*, by nature and situation, exceeds all other islands in the *Streights*, being encompassed about with mighty high cliffs, a few bays excepted, which are fortified by art, to prevent an enemy's landing.

As well that island as the rest are shore deep, and no possibility of anchoring, but close on board the land; the ground rocky, that if it fret the cable, the waves of the sea will force a ship on shore; or being near the land, and a gale of wind coming off from sea, that a ship cannot claw it off, but must of necessity be wrecked; both which my lord of *Cumberland* had proof of in the *Victory*, a ship royal of the queen's, which being at an anchor at *Flores*, and the weather calm, his cable was cut with the rocks; and had it not been for the help of his boat and mine that towed him off, he had been forced to shore.

After that, being at an anchor at *Fayall*, which island he took, one day, many of the principal men on shore being at dinner with him, suddenly the wind chopp'd up southerly, which forced him from his anchor, and with great and apparent peril he doubled the point of the land, or else he had perished.

No man that knows those seas will advance an enterprize upon the islands now towards winter; for in *August* begin their storms, and commonly last nine months with great violence; for which cause they are held the most unconstant seas in the world; and I say nothing that I will not aver by proof and precedent.

*Don Pedro de Valdes*, who was taken prisoner in the action of 1588 for *England*, was commanded with certain ships and six hundred soldiers, to repair to the islands, before *Tercera* had yielded to the king of *Spain*, there to guard and defend all the ships coming from either of the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brasil*: his commission gave

him no absolute authority to land; but yet finding an opportunity to put his soldiers ashore, with a determination to fortify a landing place, which seem'd to lie open for his advantage, immediately thereupon the wind shifted, and forced him to sea, leaving his men to the mercy of the islanders. As the wind rose, the surges did the like on shore, that his boats durst not put in with the land, nor he approach so nigh it with his ships, as to give succour to his men with his ordnance, by means whereof they were pitifully massacred, not one of them returning.

In my lord of *Essex's* voyage to those islands, he landed and took *Villa Franca*, a town in the island of *St. Michael*, which afforded him not so much as his trouble was to land. But when he came to embark his men again, the wind began to blow; which if it had done but three hours sooner, it would have forced his ships to sea, and left his troops ashore, both he and they being slenderly provided of victuals, and uncertain of the ships return, the weather being so unconstant and outrageous at that time of the year. My self was witness of this, as well as of that of my lord of *Cumberland's* in 1589.

The marquis of *Sancta Cruz* had failed of taking *Tercera*, if he had not had more help by his galleys in landing his men, than by his ships and boats. But to speak the truth, *June* and *July* proved extraordinary fair, to his great advantage.

The twelve galleys he carried from *Spain*, were the first vessels of that kind ever seen so far in the ocean; the prows of those galleys dismounted a piece of ordnance on shore, that secured their landing, and were ready upon that accident with celerity to land their men, which was the first step to their victory that followed.

The town of *Angra*, which is the head and principal of all the rest, by help of the point of *Brasil*, is made the most impregnable situation in the world; then what hope have we, if we were ashore, to surprise it, or by siege to take it, the seas being, as I said before, so unconstant, our ships keeping so far off that should yield a supply? especially the *Spaniards* having the road of *Angra*, they may always relieve the town in despite of us, or any force we can make by sea.

*The Coast of Spain.*

LEAVING the islands, I will repair once more to the main land of *Spain*, and arrive at the bay of *Cadiz*, a place fatal to the *Spaniards*, and fortunate to us, by two attempts made upon it, the one in 1587. by Sir

Sir *Francis Drake*, the other in 1596. by the two lords generals, the earl of *Essex* and the lord admiral.

These two expeditions alone, did twenty times more prejudice, and impoverish'd the *Spaniards* more than all other attempts of ours in our wars: *Drake* had the spoil, sack- ing, and burning of thirteen thousand ton of shipping, most of them laden with provision for an intended fleet against *England*; which being this year by Sir *Francis Drake's* good fortune diverted, was the following year, 1588. attempted.

In the second, the lords had the destroy- ing of fifty five great ships, the galleons of war excepted; all the rest were richly laden, and ready in two days to sail to the *Indies*.

I love not to tax dead men, though, in truth I must say, there was great negligence, that those ships were not as well possessed and enjoy'd by us, as destroy'd by the enemy.

But I must tell this pretended fleet of ours, that though no place gives us better advantage to annoy the king of *Spain*, than the bay of *Cadiz*, because of the breadth thereof, which cannot be fortified to impeach our entrance; yet shall we now vainly undertake an attempt upon it, the ships of the *Indies* being long before they can arrive departed; for commonly they let not *Midsummer-Day* pass before they set sail.

I must a little digress, and shew how much our two great lords were abused in their attempt upon *Cadiz* in 1596.

They were made believe the taking of it was feasible, the honour great, the wealth inestimable, and the damage of the enemy beyond all the rest; never dreaming of that which gave glory to the enterprize, which was the shipping we there found; for had it not been for our destroying the fleet, though otherwise no profit to us, the lords had returned with the bare taking of *Cadiz*, which had given them no reputation, but rather have brought their judgment into question for so mean a design.

As for the feasibility of taking it, if we had landed at *St. Sebastian's*, where our projectors of the voyage directed, not a man had returned; for besides the strong fortifications made against us, four galleys were appointed to have cut off our boats and men, as we should have landed, our ships lying without command of them or their shore.

The wealth found in *Cadiz* was so small, considering it was carry'd away the day before in the galleys, (the two galleons we brought from thence excepted,) the queen saw not one penny towards her charge;

I dare be bold to aver, the meanest of twenty ships there burnt, was of more value than the whole town, and by us neglected, as I have said before; for upon my reputation I avow, that I advised my lord of *Essex*, the same morning he arrived at *Cadiz*, to seek rather to possess himself of the ships than town, alledging that it was the ships afforded both wealth and honour; for that riches in ships could not be concealed, as in towns it might; and that ships being brought for *England*, they were always in the eyes of the people to behold them, and put them in remembrance of the exploit in gaining them; as perhaps the town soon won, would not be long enjoy'd, and quickly forgotten. All this I have declared where I treated of the voyage to *Cadiz*, 1596. in the former book.

#### Andalusia and Seville.

IF an invasion upon the continent of *Spain* be intended, and especially upon *Andalusia* and *Seville*, as the country of all *Spain*, that flows with milk and honey, in respect of the soil and trade, there ought to be consideration of the place of landing; the distance and wearisomeness of the march in an unsufferable parching sun, which our unexperienced soldiers can never endure: besides, the provisions of victuals, of carriages, and all other necessaries, must be thought of, which we are wholly unprovided of.

I will not much insist upon the attempt, because I think it is much less reasonable than any of the rest; first, in seeking to invade a country where we have neither friend nor faction, but shall find their hands and hearts all join to repulse us; a country populous, and the more for their mighty and continual trade, fronting upon their enemies in *Barbary*, which makes them ready to receive every alarm, and put themselves under arms. If we believe history, and not above a hundred years before *Spain* was grown great by their *Indies*, the moors of *Granada* had often more men by five degrees to invade *Andalusia*, out of their bordering territories, than we carry, and could not prevail; then what hope can we expect, *Spain* being since that time so mightily increased in greatness and wealth?

It seems we make less account of the strength of *Spain*, than of any other country of *Europe*; for I am persuaded no kingdom having warning of the approach of an enemy, is so unprovided, that they will suffer twelve or fourteen thousand men to march quietly forty or fifty leagues into their country.

*The Streights.*

From hence I will sail into the *Streights* towards the port of *Genoa*, which it is suppos'd the *French*, we, and the rest of the league, will possess our selves of, and give a further entrance into *Italy*.

If this be intended, as indeed it is not probable, the invader ought to have two principal considerations, without which a fleet and army goes in perpetual peril: The one is to be defended by a safe port to entertain their ships; the other, that it be not far from home, but with care to be continually supply'd and reliev'd; for where soldiers are transported far by sea, ships cannot contain victuals to maintain them; and to hope for succour in the country invaded, were too desperate a thought.

The service I conceive the ships could perform, our soldiers being landed, is to beleaguer *Genoa* by sea, riding with our ships in the face of the town. This, as all things else, I refer to consideration, my drift being no more than to relate the true state of things, for men of better capacity than my own to judge of.

Whereas I advis'd, as a main thing of providence, not to attempt the invasion of a country, without gaining a port for the safety of shipping; therefore I must say our design upon *Genoa* is not without great hazard and danger, being hopeless of a harbour nearer than *Marseilles* in *France*, one hundred leagues distant from thence.

In anchoring before *Genoa* to beleaguer it, we shall lie open to the sea and a southerly wind, which makes the hazard no less than the two attempts upon *Algiers*, opposite to it, the one by *Hugo de Moncada*, the other by *Charles V.* both which were overthrown by storms at sea; and there is no difference betwixt the two actions, but that the southerly winds are death upon the christian shore, as the northerly upon the coast of *Barbary*; and the greatest conflict our fleet is to endure, is against the rage of the sea.

I do not conceive we shall either hurt or damnify the city of *Genoa* by this adventure of ours; for in anchoring near the shore, the lanthorn of *Genoa* will beat us from the road; if further off, we cannot hinder the galleys going in and out, but they will be able to relieve the town in spite of us; besides, other stratagems may be us'd by galleys to fire us: I confess, if *Corfica* or *Sardinia* could be surpriz'd, they would yield us relief and refreshment, with good harbours for our safety.

We have found by our unlucky and unadvised voyage to *Algiers*, how unable our

bodies are to endure that coast, by the sickness we found, though we had the help of the main land of *Spain*, and the bordering islands, to give us relief, which now we shall fail of: the excessive heat ashore, the change of the air, and the alteration of food, will cause a most lamentable mortality and sickness.

And if the king of *Spain*, in the mean time, upon the return of his fleet from *Brazil*, shall arm to sea, and take advantage of our weakness and want, and in such narrow seas as the *Streights*, which are like a pond, where fleets meeting cannot be avoided; or if with that navy, or any other, the *Spaniard* shall send to attempt *Ireland* in the absence of our ships, I hold it dangerous, and worthy to be had in consideration.

*The West Indies.*

I Will not leave my voyage till I have visited the *West Indies*, that I may relate my opinion of those parts, as well as of the rest that went before: Many are ignorantly carried away with the name of *India*, and the spoil we shall there commit; thinking it will afford wealth and riches to the king and kingdom to maintain a war, and preferment and gain to the undertakers, not valuing nor fearing the king of *Spain's* force in those parts to resist us.

But for the better satisfaction of the ignorant, who are thus vainly carried away with the conceit of our actions, I will shew the true state of the *Indies*, and the *Spaniards* inhabiting; thereby comparing times past, when we had wars, with the time present, when we covet wars.

I confess that in the year 1585, when the war began, and Sir *Francis Drake* possessed himself of *Santo Domingo*, *Caribagena*, and *St. Jago*, her majesty had a notable opportunity, by keeping those places to annoy the *Spaniards*, and encroach upon their *Indian* territories.

First, In respect her majesty in those days was rich, and her subjects no less able than willing to contribute to what she proposed, they were so much devoted to her in their hearts.

Secondly, In point of reputation, as well as profit, it behoved them to maintain those places after they were taken, as a motive to encourage them to go on with a victory thus begun.

Thirdly, Her majesty in those days might have drawn such conditions as she pleased from the states of *Holland*, who were then at her mercy; for presently ensued the earl of *Leicester's* going over to protect them; so that she might have bound them to her with their own enterprizes upon the *Spaniards*; whereas from that time till the

the year 1602, when the queen died, we see, that notwithstanding we were drawn into the war by them, yet they traded peaceably into the king of *Spain's* dominions, and never offer'd to annoy the *Spaniards* by any acts of hostility at sea, but supply'd them with ships and intelligence against us.

*Fourthly*, If we had kept footing in the *Indies*, it would have shaken the fidelity of the *Portuguese* in the *East Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brasil*, which countries were lately become obedient and subject to *Spain*; but withal, so discontented in each placé, that it had been an easy thing to have made a combustion in these several countries, whilst the *Spaniards* had been taken up in the *Indies* and *Holland*.

*Fifthly*, The king of *Spain* in those days was altogether unfurnish'd with ships and mariners; for till we awak'd him, by the daily spoils we committed upon his subjects and coasts, he never fought to increase his forces by sea.

*Sixthly*, He thought himself so secure in his *Indies*, no enemy having ever appear'd in those seas before, and thought them so far from any hostile enterprize, that he little fear'd what would be there offered.

But leaving our opportunities and advantages as negligences or ignorances of times past, let us enter into the state and condition of our attempts as they are now to be undertaken and followed.

Whosoever makes an enterprize on a town in *America*, with an intention not to keep it, will do no more than a malicious person, that seeks the destruction of his neighbour, in setting his house a fire, without any other prospect in so doing, but mischief and revenge.

I confess we shall damnify the inhabitants of the town so sacked and spoiled, as the owner of a house burnt will be damnify'd; but it is no more loss or prejudice to the king of *Spain*, or to the bordering countries, than to the neighbour of the man that shall have his house burnt; for every one bears his own particular loss. And whereas the master of the house and people in it, are often so suddenly surpriz'd, that they have not time or leisure to save any part of their goods, after the fire is kindled, it is otherwise in a town that is to be surprized by sea; for the inhabitants will destroy ships, before they approach the shore, and either provide to withstand them that land, or to leave and quit the town, and bury or carry away their wealth; for notwithstanding the several towns taken by us in time of war, as well in the *Indies* as other places, I dare be bold to say the wealth found in them did not counter-vail the twentieth part of the charge of the voyage; as I have shewed in the first book.

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The state of the towns in the *West Indies* near the sea, is as follows: If they be of strength, they arm and fortify themselves so, that they do not fear a sudden assault of an enemy; and for a long siege, they well know the invaders cannot be provided, because it is so far from home, where victuals and all things else will quickly waste and be consumed.

Or suppose, upon their first landing they possessed themselves of some cattle, which is all the victuals they can expect in those parts, you must understand that no flesh in the *Indies* will take salt, or continue man's meat above three or four hours, so that our present relief will be little; and in the mean time we shall spend our store on board, and become miserable for want of sustenance.

Such towns as are weakly provided for defence in those parts, they never trust with wealth of value, but are ready to quit them, and carry or bury their goods; so that if the town be taken, their loss will only be of a few slight houses, which are soon re-edify'd again.

If we think to inhabit and dwell in such towns as shall be surprized, we ought to consider the following mischiefs and inconveniencies.

1. The first is the distance from *England*, and to compute the time they may be supply'd and succoured from thence.

2. The casualty of the sea, and the danger of sickness, which northern bodies are subject to in hot countries.

3. The number of *Spaniards* in those places, their strength, and in what time they may be drawn together.

4. The keeping us from victuals, and driving their cattle up the country, where it will be in vain for us to pursue them.

5. The building of sconces, and keeping us in towns like prisoners, that we shall not be able to make any sallies upon them; or to pass into the country to annoy them.

6. The small distance from *Spain* to give them succours, and the certainty of the winds from thence to the *Indies*, which many times makes the journey shorter and easier than from *Dover* to *Plimouth*.

7. The country, the streights, and the byways, all known to the *Spaniards*, and not to us, will much advantage them.

8. But perhaps all men will not be satisfied with truth or reason; for some are of such a nature as to rely more upon opinion and fortune, than upon proof. But for the better satisfaction of such, I will collect and repeat the success of our enterprizes upon towns in time of war, as well in the *Indies* as other places, and make them judges of their future hopes, by looking back upon times past.

And I will begin with *Santo Domingo*, *Caribagena*, and *St. Augustin*, surprized by Sir Francis Drake before they could be warned or armed, and yet (the ordnance excepted) the wealth of them did not counter-vail the fortieth part of the charge of the fleet.

*Puerto Rico*, taken by my lord of *Cumberland*, proved so poor, that the adventurers had good cause to repent their designs upon towns; for it afforded them little in comparison of their expence.

There was a town surprized in the island *Trinidad* by Sir John Burrowes; and another in the *Margarita* by Sir Walter Raleigh. *Comenagota* was taken by captain Preston; and *Vera Cruz* by captain Parker; all which did not afford so much wealth as would reimburse the adventurers.

*Porto Bello* and *Nombre de Dios* were taken by Sir Francis Drake that voyage when he died. Instead of riches, they afforded him a most miserable and infectious sickness; but for wealth they yielded none: the same town of *Porto Bello* was after taken by captain Parker, with as little profit to him as the other; the same captain also took *Campechy* in *New Spain*, which afforded him no more wealth than the rest.

There were divers towns taken at *Cape Verde* in several voyages, and in the *West Indies*, *Rio de la Hacha*, *Capeia*, *Santa Maria*, *Puerto Santo*, *St. John Bellona*, *Tapuecco*, *Vera*, and several houses and farms burnt or ransomed.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in his unfortunate attempt upon *St. Tome* and *Guiana*, which was his own ruin, and his son's death; and yielded only stinking tobacco, a commodity that could not be convey'd away, because of the bulk; and his voyage proved much less than smoke.

And if we fail further, and through the streights of *Magellan*, and pass into *Peru*, thinking there to find silver and gold, as the well-head, from whence it springs, let us ask Mr. Candich, if he were now living, what wealth *Marmaramo*, *Areca*, *Santa Maria*, *Pisca*, *Perruca*, *Cherepa*, *Paita*, the island of *Pona*, *Acaralca*, the port of *Navidad*, the port of *St. Jago*, and the island of *St. Andrea*, and other places yielded him, which he burnt, because they would not be ransom'd, though he required not much more than victuals for their redemption: which proves my former discourse, that the Spaniards little esteem'd their houses, and may easily convey away their wealth upon the approach of an enemy.

And if we come nearer home: I pray you, what did the sack of *Cadiz* afford the queen? or the *Canary Islands*? or *St. Tome* the *Hollanders*? or the island of *Fayal* my lord of *Cumberland*? and after the earl of *Essex*? for it was twice taken: or *Villa*

*Franca*, or *Faro* by him taken? or two or three forts taken upon cape *St. Vincent*? or cape *Sacre* by Drake? or *Peniche*, and other towns in Sir John Norris his march to *Lisbon*, and the suburbs thereof? And in the same voyage Drake with his few forces took *Cascais*: I omit *Lancarote*, and many other places, seiz'd upon by private ships: and we may conclude that our actions proved the ruin of some, without any great advantage to our selves. And this shall suffice for our attempts upon towns in the queen's time.

But indeed, if ever *England* will annoy the states of *Spain*, and make them feel the smart of a war with us, it must be by obstructing their trade by sea; for all other spoils are nothing in comparison of it, as I have before shew'd: for wealth in ships can neither be conceal'd nor imbezell'd, as we have had proof by three several carracks by us taken, the wealth of each of which was equal to the value of all the towns, putting them together: and how to effect it, you will find in my first book; to which I refer you.

Thus much I writ to an honourable friend of mine, as I formerly said, before the setting out of the unhappy fleet to *Cadiz*, in 1625; which friend of mine is ready to justify and produce, if need require. The copy of this I have here inserted word by word.

*Upon the News of the arrival of our Ships at Cadiz, with the taking a Fort, and afterwards the Town, intending to keep it, I added this as follows:*

THE fort I conceive to be *Puntal*, the place where we landed when we formerly took *Cadiz*, above three miles distant from it by land.

I should be glad to hear they had taken the bridge of *Swazo*, which passes between the main land and the island where *Cadiz* stands; for by that bridge succour must come to relieve the island and town, or obstruct any such relief, if an enemy get possession of it; and therefore we having no news of the surprize of that bridge, I doubt the truth of the taking the town.

We know *Cadiz* is strongly fortify'd since we enjoy'd it, and the rather out of a fear they conceive of the *Turkish* pirates; who, since they have learnt the art of navigation, which before they were ignorant in, have of late made many attempts upon the continent of *Spain*, to the great hurt and spoil of the inhabitants.

And if the Spaniards have not carefully fortify'd *Cadiz*, which lies near and more open to the *Turks* than all other towns in *Spain*, they deserve all the mischief that can befall them.



If we fail of surprizing *Cadiz*, and be forced to besiege it, these dangers following may ensue :

1. The force of *Andalusia*, and all the bordering countries, which yield more good men and horses than all the other parts of *Spain*, will come down upon us.

2. Secondly, the *Spaniards* keeping the bridge of *Swazo*, will bring multitudes of people to besiege us; and with their horse cut off all succours sent from our ships, which must only afford us relief; for the island yields nothing of itself.

3. If we so begirt the town by land, that we permit no entrance into it that way, yet we cannot do the like by water; for with their galleys they will daily relieve it in despite of us, port *St. Mary* in the continent lying opposite to it, which makes me hopeless of taking it by siege, if we fail of a surprize.

4. One other reason I have to mistrust it is not taken, which is, That the news of taking the town and fort would have come all together; for if all were not done at one instant, I much fear the success, for the reasons aforesaid, and by the example of us in 1596.

*The second rumour was, of keeping Cadiz when taken.*

THE question of keeping *Cadiz* in 1596. was long debated by the two lords generals, and the most experienced soldiers of that time, whom I think all men will allow this age doth not equal. The manner how to supply it out of *Barbary* and *England* was thought of, and Sir *Edward Hobby* was to undertake an embassy to the king of *Morocco* to that purpose.

But to use the words of the author who writ that voyage, as it is set down in the chronicle, he says, There was a great dispute about the keeping of *Cadiz*, and the opinion of all old soldiers and seamen asked; but because it appeared not how it might at all times be relieved with men, ammunition, and victuals, and other causes best known to the generals, it took not effect.

It was then discussed and disputed by men of experience, as I have said, and concluded upon mature deliberation, That it was not possible to keep the town. I would gladly know what reason men have to induce them to it more now than at that time, but especially when I see never a man called upon for advice, whose opinion was thought worthy to be taken at that time.

If it was then held impossible to relieve it, I now compare and collect the reasons

of times past we had to hold it, with the time present, if we had it.

1. Our army was then stronger, in that most of our men were old soldiers, and better experienced than those that are in this action.

2. They were healthful in body, and victorious in taking the town and bridge with little loss, which is a great encouragement to people that undertake an enterprise.

3. The bridge of *Swazo* was taken, and possessed by us; so that we might keep the town from relief by land, as we had done with our fleet by sea.

4. We knew the king of *Spain* was unfurnished with shipping to hinder our designs, we having burnt and taken nine and fifty vessels of his and his subjects in that harbour.

5. The kingdom of *Barbary* was then in peace amongst themselves, and would have rejoiced at the occasion to have aided us against *Spain*; and since there have mortal wars continued betwixt the succeeding kings of that kingdom, to the wasting the most part of their people and food the earth affords.

6. In those days the king of *Barbary* had three maritime fronting towns upon *Cadiz*, as namely, *Alarache*, *Salley*, and *Momor*; since which time two of them are possessed by the *Spaniards*, and only *Salley* remains to that king, forty or fifty miles further from *Cadiz* than the other two, and has a harbour only for small vessels, with a dangerous bar at the entrance of it.

I must now say, as I said to the earl of *Essex*, when himself, Sir *Francis Vere*, and I, stood upon the castle of *Cadiz*, and saw the galleys in their flight to *Rota*, after their escape through the bridge of *Swazo*. I told him he had lost his opportunity of keeping *Cadiz*, shewing how much the galleys would have availed him, if he had kept the town, and the annoyance he would find by their escape; for with these galleys he might have transported all necessaries from *Barbary*, whereas they would now be able to cut off such single and small ships, as should be sent thither for relief.

In the year 1596. and many years before, the *French* king and we were in war with *Spain*, and aided one another; and if the king of *France* had seen us have footing in *Spain*, it would have been a motive to have diverted him from his peace with *Spain*, which in less than two years after he concluded. Our design was to keep *Cadiz*, to exchange for *Calais* in *Picardy*, not long before taken by the *Spaniards*; and no doubt but the king of *Spain* would willingly have consented to it; as thinking it better policy that *England* should enjoy *Calais* than *France*; for they well knew they could

could no longer hold it, than the wars continued between them and *France*, and that peace would cause the restitution of it.

They likewise knew, that if *England* possessed it, there would be a perpetual jealousy and dislike between *France* and *England*, which would prove their security.

Besides, a treaty being set on foot, though but to exchange those two towns, yet it might be an introduction to a peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*; which if it had taken good effect, her majesty had not needed to have reliev'd *Ireland* with so great hazard and charge, as afterwards she did, by reason of the aid *Tyrone* had from *Spain*, when he was ready to sink, and almost forc'd to yield to her majesty's mercy; which enterprise from *Spain* brought the queen into such a strait before her death, that she was compell'd to pardon him, though much against her will.

And this shall suffice by way of comparison betwixt our holding *Cadiz* in times past with the present, and the advantages that might have ensued by keeping it.

I doubt not, but as the keeping of *Cadiz* was thought of before the departure of our fleet, (if it should be taken,) so the reasons for keeping it were no less discuss'd; for it is a maxim, That no place in another country far from home, is worth keeping, that will not defray the charges of maintaining it, unless it be for security, or to give a farther entrance into a country.

In my discourse, where I treat of our attempt upon *Genoa*, I advis'd, as the principal thing in an invader, to possess himself of a harbour for the safety of his shipping; wherein I mean not only from the weather, but for securing themselves from an enemy.

I will therefore distinguish betwixt an harbour that is to be fortify'd on both sides by him that possesses it, and an open bay, such as *Cadiz*, that is ten or twelve miles in breadth; so that whosoever is master, and strongest in shipping, has the command of it, and the ships within it.

If we intend to keep *Cadiz*, we must be sure in our supplies to master the *Spaniards* in ships, by reason of the breadth of the bay, which cannot be fortify'd.

The relief we give *Cadiz* must either be from *Barbary* or *England*; and the distance from *England* is four hundred leagues at the least; a long navigation, subject to storms, the uncertainty of winds, loss of company, the danger of the enemy, being separated, and many other casualties the sea is subject to: as on the contrary, the *Spanish* fleet that shall oppose us, is furnished nearer home, and runs no such hazard.

We are to expect no other help or succour after our departure out of *England*, till our return, but what we carry with us; and on the contrary, the *Spaniards* will be supply'd from their own shore, and that with speed.

Suppose, as we ride in the bay of *Cadiz*, the *Spaniards* attempt us with a fleet, and that by accident or force they drive part of us ashore; then are we out of hope to recover either ship or man: whereas, if the *Spaniards* run ashore, their danger will not be great, it being their own country where it happens, which will afford them present succour.

I have shewed, where I treated of galleys, how easy a thing it is to endanger us, by towing fireships amongst us; because those vessels have a great advantage over us, and will either burn or force us ashore; as our fireships did among theirs in eighty eight, when we had done them more hurt, had we been assisted by galleys.

If the *Spaniards* assault us with a fleet in the road of *Cadiz*, it will be with a large wind, and a leeward tide, to keep themselves to windward of us, and consequently in their power to board us, and we not to board them.

Whereas our advantage over the *Spaniard* is in our excellent sailing in open sea, where we may take and leave at our pleasure; the only advantage in sea service: here our sailing will not avail us, we lying in the channel of a bay, where there is no space to fail in.

If you will enter into the true state and strength betwixt the king of *Spain's* ships and ours, laying aside the advantage of swift sailing, and according to the old phrase, They are bound to fight, *Fight Dog fight Bear*, till one side be overcome; which cannot be better decided than at the anchor in a harbour. Let us judge the difference of ships: the *Spaniards* are bigger in burthen, and by consequence have the advantage to board; more spacious within board, and therefore contain more men; more decks, and therefore carry more ordnance: then consider that the greatness of vessels, the number of men and ordnance, makes the strength of ships. I refer it to consideration, and will conclude,

That if we do not relieve *Cadiz* from time to time with a stronger fleet than *Spain* can make, we shall undergo great hazards, dangers, and disgraces; which ought to have been well consider'd and argu'd before undertaking the last enterprise upon it. And this shall suffice for our attempt upon *Andalusia*, or the city of *Cadiz*; and so I will proceed to the answer of the pamphlet.

*The Voyage ended, there was published a Book of the Proceedings of that Expedition; which Book was not long after answer'd, as appears by what follows:*

*Author.* THE 8th of October, 1625, they departed from *Plimouth*, and the 9th fell in with my lord of *Essex*, the vice-admiral, who had put into *Falmouth*.

*Answer.* That month and day had been fitter (if the action had been carried with reason and discretion) to have fought *England* after a voyage, winter approaching, than to have put themselves and ships to the fortune of a merciless sea, that yields nothing but boisterous and cruel storms, uncomfortable and long nights, toil and travel, to the endless labour of the poor mariners; and what was no less than the rest, I fear, an unexperienced general, by his phrase in saying, He fell in with my lord of *Essex* the 9th day; when the proper word of falling in was with the land, and not with ships: he should rather have said, We met my lord, or, We and my lord met together: and the reason is, the land is a steadfast thing, and a ship is ever moving, not certain to be fallen in withal, but accidentally to be met with.

*Author.* The 11th he called a council, and settled the instructions for a sea-fight; as appear'd in the 7th and 10th articles, viz. If the enemy's approach be in such sort, as the admiral of the *Dutch* and his squadron, or my vice-admiral of our fleet and his squadron, may have opportunity to begin the fight, it shall be lawful for them so to do till I come, using the form, method, and care, as aforesaid.

*Answer.* This instruction in my opinion was unadvis'd, and should have been conditionally, (as thus;) If the enemy had offered to fly, then not to lose any opportunity, but to assail him; but if they meant to abide it, presuming upon their force, it was great folly to hazard part of the fleet to all the enemy's, but rather to have staid for the admiral and the rest of the ships, to observe the working of the enemy, and then to have directed every squadron accordingly how to have ordered themselves; for it were a madness in a single combat of six to six, or more, for two of them to charge their opposites before the approach of the rest.

*Author.* If any ships of the enemy do break out and fly, the admiral of any squadron that shall happen to be next, and in the most convenient place for that purpose, shall send out a competent number of the fittest ships of his squadron, to chase, assault, and take such ship or ships so break-

ing out; but no ship shall undertake such a chase without the command of the admiral, or at least an admiral of the squadron.

*Answer.* The general's want of experience shall appear in this article; for if no ship shall undertake the chase without order of the admiral, or admiral of the squadron, what if a ship that is chas'd be near some of your fleet, and a good distance from your self, shall your ship or ships lose the opportunity of chasing, and repair to you for orders? by that time the ship chas'd will be out of sight, or so far off, that it will be a folly to follow her.

For your instruction another time, these are the directions you ought to have given in such a case; If there shall happen a chase, the next ship to her to follow her; and if there be more than one chas'd, the rest of our ships next to her to single themselves as they shall think themselves able to overcome them; and if you be brought to leeward by that chase, then to ply into your height again. This article contains as much as the admiral or vice-admiral of a squadron can give, after the loss of so much time as by a ship's coming to him for his directions: and time in such case is the principal thing.

In your article there was no provision how far such a ship should be chased, when to leave the chase, or whither to repair after the chase; but confusedly, and to the loss of the advantage aforesaid.

*Author.* The 12th day the wind north-north-west, the seas grown so high, that the long-boats were lost, and many other damages sustained.

*Answer.* At that time of the year you are sure to find that weather, and to look for such disasters; and therefore it is a folly to undertake a sea journey towards winter, as I have said. If in that storm the wind had been southerly, you would have returned into the harbours of *England*, where would have been found such defects in ships, that you had seen the end of your voyage; and amongst wise men it is a great question, whether your going or staying would have proved more honourable to the kingdom.

*Author.* The 18th a council was called, and Sir *William St. Leger* writ a letter, that he suspected the plague in his ship; but it proved not so: and here the general gave special order for the ships to come near together, and hail their admiral every morning, reproving their former negligence, and gave them their instructions, which should have been done before, but was hindered by storm.

*Answer.* Sir *William St. Leger* did ill to suspect the plague in his ship upon such uncertainties, which was enough to put the

rest of the fleet in fear, and a means to make them quit one another, and separate the fleet.

If the ships were negligent in keeping near together, they deserved blame, but no punishment, as not having received their instructions: the blame was worthy to light upon the general, when in winter, and the weather so uncertain, he delay'd giving his orders, which should have been done in harbour, and sealed up, until occasion of foul weather at sea, or loss of one another.

I will let pass many trivial things not worth answering or excepting against; as namely, the defects of ships, the losing company and meeting again; the winds, victuals, sickness, and other things of that nature.

*Author.* The 20th he called a council, to debate how he should put into *St. Lucar*, according to an intention of the council held at *Plimouth*; when his majesty was present; where the matter being very doubtful, it was referred to be decided upon the spot when we should be arrived; but upon better enquiry of the inconveniencies and disadvantage for going into the harbour, and landing our army, it was quite laid aside.

Then follows a long circumstance, of the impossibility of going into *St. Lucar*.

*Answer.* I dare undertake, never enterprize at sea was set out with such doubtful directions, as to take their resolutions when they should come to the place. The port of *St. Lucar*, and the danger of the bar, being as well known to the masters before their going from home, as after they came thither: and if they did not inform his majesty with it at the council held at *Plimouth*, they deserved to be hanged there; for no man that had heard of the bar of *St. Lucar*, but knew the danger expressed in the pamphlet.

*Author.* The general demanded both of the captains and masters, why they did not speak of these difficulties before his majesty: they answered, *It was now the depth of winter, and stormy.*

*Answer.* If the masters knew no more than the captains, I think they knew little; for I am informed few of the captains had any experience and skill in sea affairs: and the masters answer was as ridiculous to the general's demand, why they acquainted not his majesty with the difficulty at *Plimouth*; for, say they, *It was the depth of winter, and stormy.*

What was this in answer to the impossibility of going to *St. Lucar*? could the summer remove the bar, and give them a safe entrance? could the summer season give them more knowledge of pilotship than they had before their coming thither?

or did they not know that winter was approaching, when they were called to the council at *Plimouth*, for it could not be above twenty days more winter, than it was when they were at *Plimouth*? *I could say no more to them*, says the author, *being I was no great seaman.* And in the 16th Leaf, he says, he made no account but the ships were ours; for speaking of seamen, (he says,) they knew more than he did how to set upon them.

Would any man thus confess his ignorance in a command he undertook? or would any man ever take upon him the charge of a general by sea, that had never past further than betwixt *England* and *Holland*? It were good to know, whether he sought the employment, or, whether it was put upon him against his will: if he was led unto it by ambition, let him answer his error, and that with severity: if it was procured by others, they ought to have the same chastisement he deserved. Betwixt the one and the other, it is pity the kingdom should bear the dishonour, which in truth cannot be justly taxed; for *England* affords as good ships as ever it has done; men of as great experience and valour, if they had been employed; and no reason therefore, but that every horse should bear his own burthen; and that the defect be not laid upon ships and men, but upon those that should be found culpable.

*Author.* In the same council it was determined, that the whole fleet should bear into the bay of *Cadiz*, and anchor before port *St. Mary*: it was appointed how every ship should anchor, (*viz.*) that the general and *Dutch* admiral should anchor together, and give directions to the vice-admiral and rear-admiral.

*Answer.* It was a most ridiculous resolution, to anchor and land at port *St. Mary*; first, in respect of the danger of the road, if the wind came southerly or westerly; secondly, their galleys would have cut off our boats and men, if we had attempted to land; thirdly, such *Spanish* ships as were in the road of *Cadiz*, would have had leisure to have saved themselves, and convey away their wealth; fourthly, the town of *Cadiz* had space to prepare for its defence, and the country would quickly have given relief to it, as well as the place where they pretended to land.

My next observation is the place they chose to anchor in, that he might give directions; and yet before he excus'd himself as unexperienced, and by consequence unfit to direct. He that shall read this little pamphlet to *Cadiz*, shall find more directions, more councils, more letters writ, and more absurdities committed, than in any action a man shall read of.

*Author.*

*Author.* The general gave orders for every ship to break down their cabbins, to be ready to fight.

*Answer.* This every ship would have done without directions: still directions to little purpose, and nothing came of it.

*Author.* I writ to my lord of *Essex*, to make all the haste he could; and that I would command his squadron to follow him, (which I did;) but I must confess they went the most untowardly way I ever saw men; for they did not hoist up their sails as they were commanded.

*Answer.* This was not a time to write, and I marvel your leisure would admit of it; for what you were to act was now or never; and if you had not directed before you came to the port what ships should go in, and what ships should second one another, you were very unfit for the command you had; for this did the two lord generals, in their expeditions to *Cadiz*: they consulted and resolved what ships should attempt the enemy the next morning; and when it came to be executed, never greyhounds strove to overcome, or outstretch one another in a course, as those ships did to draw near to the *Spaniards*; and if you had had but one man that had known the affairs of that voyage, you needed not but to have walked in the path they had trodden out before you.

You urge, you could not learn by all the seamen in your ship, who were those that were so backward: And in the 13th Leaf you say, *Because I would lose no time, I went from ship to ship, crying out, Advance for shame; but I found them not very hasty to do it.*

Shall a general say men were backward to fight, when he had authority to compel them? or that he was not obey'd, having martial law to execute upon them? No, no; but they knew who they had in hand, when they refused to tell what ships were backward to fight; for a general that had known the sea, would have known every ship of his fleet, being so nigh them.

But indeed, if all your directions had been converted into this one direction following, you had saved your self from writing, sending, or your labour in going to give the command, (that is to say,) if before your coming to *Cadiz* you had appointed, if you would not have been the leader your self, as my lord of *Essex* was in his voyage to *Cadiz*, I say, if you had commanded an admiral, and all the ships of his squadron to follow him, and they had not obey'd you, then you knew who was backward, and whom to have punished; but your direction and execution was all of a sudden, without form or deliberation;

then what could you expect but confusion?

*Author.* When all the fleet came to an anchor, and I saw the *Spanish* ships fly before me, I immediately called a general council to lose no time; and the opinion of seamen was, to clear the two forts for securing the fleet. Then I demanded, what kind of forts they were. They told me, that twenty of the colliers, and some of the *Dutch*, would beat them to dust by the morning. Whereupon I commanded, the ships warned should go up to the fort, and that they should receive directions from my lord of *Essex*, who had orders from me.

*Answer.* If my lord of *Essex* had orders from you, what need was there to call a council, and lose time? or why should you give order to my lord of *Essex* beforehand, and not to the ships that should second him till the very instant: still writing, directing, but no acting.

But for the advice in clearing the forts: surely the advisors were not well advised therein; and in this case you should have enquired what my lord of *Essex* did upon the same occasion, when he attempted the shipping: and it would have appeared to you, that he followed the *Spanish* galleons, fighting with them six or seven hours, and overcame them before he landed or took the fort. He made *Puntal* no impediment to his design; he would not lose his opportunity for fear of a fort, nor refer his enterprise to a farther council, but acted what was resolved on before.

*Author.* I commanded that upon sight of my billet, they should be ready to assault the fort of *Puntal* in the morning, and to pursue the ships: I advis'd with the most experienced captains and masters to conduct the ships to *Port Royal*, which was difficult, for want of water; and at three of the clock in the morning, I arose, and received the communion aboard the *Ark Royal*: after which I commanded the master to carry up the ship to *Puntal*; but he excused it, for want of water.

*Answer.* Here is still direction, writing, and communion, when there should be fighting; and because he speaks of the communion, it is not improper to set down what queen *Elizabeth* said upon the like success in 1590. Sir *John Hawkins* being sent general of a fleet to sea, spent seven months without taking one *Spanish* ship. At his return he writ a long apology to the queen; and for his conclusion, told her, That *Paul planteth, Apollo watereth, and God giveth the increase. God's death, (said the queen, upon reading his letter,) this fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine.*

But

But now in answer to the excuse, in not carrying up the ship for want of water; it serv'd not my lord of *Effex* for a reason in his voyage in 1596; for he found water, though his master and others made the like allegation: he would not trust mariners in that case, but appointed a sufficient captain at the helm, and the captain of his ship to stand aloft, as he saw other ships go afore him, having his lead on both sides continually heaving.

But had the general been experienced, he might have answered the excuse of want of water, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was answered in the same place, and upon the same occasion. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being ordered over-night to lead the van, and Sir *Francis Vere* to second him, Sir *Walter* came to an anchor at such a distance from the galleons, that he could not reach them with his ordnance: he returned aboard my lord of *Effex*, excusing it for want of water; a gentleman well known standing by, said, *It was strange that the Spaniards, who drew much more water, and had no more advantage of the tide than he, could pass where his ships could not follow.* I protest Sir *Walter* was much abashed at this speech, and thereupon went aboard his ship, causing his master to weigh again and go higher, where he perform'd the part of a noble and valiant gentleman.

This answer from the general had stopp'd the mouths of the masters exceptions; and they would have found this channel as deep for their ships, as the *Spaniards* did, going up before them, and the same channel my lord of *Effex* did when he was there.

I will leave taking *Puntal* by the land forces, with which he fills two or three leaves, directing and ordering things, my intention being only to prosecute the enterprizes by sea.

*Autor.* The 24th I went by six a clock in the morning to my lord of *Denbigh*, and spake thus to him: *You are no old seaman, and therefore I would desire you make all the haste, and get all the seamen together to council; and I desire you to think upon the best way how to burn and destroy the enemies ships.* He went upon it without delay, which he did very earnestly and punctually.

*Answer.* Though the general wanted experience himself, yet he made choice of one of sufficiency, who performed it carefully and punctually; (but what did he perform?) for hitherto nothing was performed, and yet there was commendations of a lord for his punctual performance, that did nothing punctually at *Puntal*, or the ships in *Cadiz*.

If any men deserve honour for this voyage, it is those that dissuaded it at

that time of the year; for indeed they had saved a great deal of dishonour this kingdom now undergoes; they had enriched this kingdom with much money, thus unadvisedly spent; they had preserved many a brave man's life, that might have lived to have done their country service; and lastly, the *Spaniards* had not been heartned and imboldened as now they are.

But for all the general, council, and directions, or the careful and punctual carriage of the other lord, the ships escaped without firing or sinking. The general's design, it seems, was not to take *Cadiz*, as he confess'd in the 16th Leaf; for the king before he went was acquainted, that it was extraordinarily fortify'd; and so he found when he came to view it.

I hold up my hands and eyes to heaven, when I consider the poor design and weak carriage of this last voyage to *Cadiz*; for now it appears it was intended for *St. Lucar*, though the impossibility of it was known before their going from home. He likewise confessed the strength of *Cadiz* to be impregnable; and yet notwithstanding they were both enterprized. They could not have a design upon ships, because they knew not of any being there, or those that were, to be so few, as they were not worthy of such an expedition: Then what man can excuse it? or the absurd carriage of it?

Most men, I confess, had an ill opinion of the voyage before their going, a worse after their return, but worst of all upon publishing the pamphlet; for it has stopp'd the mouths of all those that could force arguments to excuse it: some out of charity and good nature forbore to think the worse of it; some out of judgment did no more condemn it than an action that failed by fortune in the execution; some that would seem wiser than others, said, there was a greater mystery in it than the ordinary people conceived; some said, they had intelligence with *Cadiz*, or other places of importance, but took no success. But this book has discovered all; for they find the project was as ridiculous as the execution of it.

*Autor.* The 25th there was a motion to march four or five miles to recover some boats, to serve instead of their long-boats they had lost at sea; and so they marched forward and back again, brought away their boats, spoiled the fisherman's nets, masts, and other provisions they there found.

*Answer.* Here was marching forward and backward, which we may properly call a fet dance. These boats, I confess, saved your honour; for something you did upon them, though

though you did nothing upon the ships; and for your attempt upon the fishermens nets, you made the enemy have a feeling of it, they being tied to observe fasting days from fish, which now they must want.

*Author.* The 26th the colonels met at *Puntal*: and here it was resolved, that nothing could be done upon the ships, because of the wind and tide, and for that the *Spaniards* had sunk themselves, and the channel was so narrow, which was the reason my lord of *Essex* in his journey, 1596. could send no ships to do the enemy harm.

*Answer.* I confess, that if my lord of *Essex* had followed your example, to be talking three or four days of what he performed almost in as many hours, he had done the enemy no more harm than you; but what he did, and by the good advice he did it, I have shewed before; and if you call it no harm to the enemy, to have the best ships *Spain* ever enjoyed burnt and taken, to the number of nine and fifty sail, with a mass of wealth in them; and this to be done in despite of your fort, which takes up three leaves of paper in your book of difficulties; I say, if this be no harm, and your taking of fishermens boats and nets be a spoil and harm, I confess yours was the honourable action, and that of my lord of *Essex* of small consequence in respect of yours.

*Author.* The council of war did consider, that going to the bridge of *Swazo* was no great design, but to meet with the enemy, and spoil the country; and that when my lord of *Essex* took *Cadiz*, *Sir Coniers Clifford* was taxed by *Sir Francis Vere* for mistaking his directions, which were to go no farther than within shot of the town, where he might be seconded and relieved; but *Clifford* went to the bridge; so in regard there was no such necessity, he returned back again.

*Answer.* Here was a strange consultation, a strange consideration, and as strange a council of war, to conclude the taking of the bridge to be nothing more than to meet the enemy, and spoil the country.

I must tell you, That in that journey of my lord of *Essex*, which you say did the *Spaniards* no harm, there was a consultation, and a resolution before their landing, to possess the bridge, as a prime service to be executed: whereupon, at my lord's landing, he divided his army; three regiments he sent to the bridge, the rest he led himself to the town. Both these directions had good success; the bridge was possessed, and the town surpris'd; and yourself abused by him that told you *Sir Coniers Clifford* had no order to go the bridge, or that *Sir Francis Vere* was angry with him for so doing.

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I confess it was not *Sir Francis Vere* alone, but my lord of *Essex*, and all in general were angry for quitting the bridge, as they had reason; for the main business of the service depended on it: but it seems they wanted reason in comparison of you and your council of war; for by that bridge all succours was to pass from the main land to the relief of *Cadiz*; by that bridge we were to attempt other parts of the country, as we intended; by that bridge the galleys were to pass and escape us, which otherwise they could not have done: and if this be no great design, let you and your council consider it.

But that you may the better understand it, I will lay before you a comparison that may be made to concur with it. Suppose an enemy should land in *Surrey*, with a design to take *Wimbleton*, and that there were a bridge to pass the *Thames* at his barony of *Putney*: do not you think that a council of war would advise to take that bridge, to hinder the succours that might be sent from *Middlesex*, or the counties thereunto adjacent, to the aid of *Wimbleton*? If this advice would not have been followed, the council of war were fit for you, and not for my lord of *Essex*.

*Author.* And I have been so long in the wars, (leaf 19.) that I dare undertake they who think *Cadiz* was to be taken, cannot tell how to come at it with cannon, if there were none but women in it.

*Answer.* When you speak truth, I will concur with you; for I believe there was little reason to attempt it: but, indeed, your want of experience in sea-affairs, your frequent councils, which lost time and opportunity; your multitude of directions to no purpose, and the carefulness of your captains to disobey your command, was your blemish and shame; but more especially your want of expert men to advise what had been practis'd in fleets; for every man that can manage a small bark, is not capable to direct a fleet: you should not have relied upon sailors put into the habit of gentlemen, and made knights before they knew what belonged to gentility, nor were ever expert but in poor petty barks. This was the bane of you and your reputation.

*Author.* The one and twentieth I imbarcked again, thinking to have landed at port *St. Mary*, if the wind should not serve the fleet to go out of the bay of *Cadiz*; but as ill luck would have it, the wind came good even as we were in council; and if we had not taken that wind in the instant, perhaps we had not come out in a long time.

*Answer.* That which was good for your coming out, had not been ill for your landing at port *St. Mary*, though I confess it had been a rash attempt, as I said before.

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*Author.*

*Author.* Monday the last, the wind came westerly, and we could not come out of the bay.

*Answer.* And yet you said before the contrary: no wind, no counsel, no directions, would answer your expectation after your loss through your delays, negligence, and carelessness of the opportunity upon the ships.

*Author.* The third day, by general consent, we were to stay, and expect the fleet from the *Indies*, till the 20th of *November*; but it pleased God such sickness came, that we had not men enough to handle our sails.

*Answer.* You must know it was strange to hear of a fleet from the *Indies* at that time of the year: but suppose it had been so, and you had taken them, what would you have done with them, not having sailors enough to bring home your own ships, as yourself confess'd?

*Author.* The sixth day (and twenty fourth leaf) we took a man of war of *Algiers*, who had taken two prizes; one of them *John Isack*, a *Scotchman*, that dwelt at *Dover*, laden with wood and iron from *Biscay* for *St. Lucar*, by the king of *Spain's* subjects; which shews the great want that king has of timber and ships to carry it.

*Answer.* This was as wise an observation, as if a *Dunkirker* had taken a *Frenchman* freighted with coals by an *Englisman* from *Newcastle* to *London*, and should say, the king has great want of coals and shipping to carry them: I should have made another construction, That it shewed the *Spanish* ships were employed upon better voyages, than upon such base commodities.

*Author.* On the tenth Sir *Michael Geere*, who had been five days wilfully wanting, came again to the fleet: his master told him of it, and he beat him with a cudgel: his master had bore better command than ever he did; and in the twenty fifth leaf he says, he sent aboard the *Dreadnought* for ten tuns of beer that was left in her for the use of the *Anne Royal*; but the company mutinied, and would not deliver it; neither would the captain nor master confess who were the mutineers.

*Answer.* Would ever general set down the contempt and abuses, and not shew the punishment inflicted upon them? It is no marvel you were no better obeyed in weightier things, that could digest these petty disgraces; surely *Geere* might have come home a knight, though the strangest that ever was made; but he should not have come home a captain, nor made capable ever to bear office in any employment.

Honour was wont to be conferred on men of desert; for services done by them

before they received it; but this knight and others were made knights so unworthily, that it bred not only an admiration, but a contempt to that order.

As backward as you were in the affairs of *Cadiz*, you were as much too forward and liberal in giving and taking honour: to delay it before your going, had been to some purpose; for a noble mind would not have received it, till the world had taken notice he had deserved it.

As there was great difference in the management of sea affairs, betwixt the queen's time and these, so there was in the bestowing of honour; for though my lord admiral was the son of a baron, and the grandson of a duke, though he had the office of lord high-admiral of *England*, and many other dignities and preferments, though he had gained so great a victory in 1588. by repulsing an enemy that might have endangered the kingdom, though he spoiled, beat, sunk ships, and destroyed cities of the enemies in their own countries, yet had he obtained and performed all these exploits, before he could be admitted to the degree of an earl.

*Author.* In the twenty seventh leaf. The defects of the ships were such, that he called a council for going into the islands of *Bayona*; and here he sets down the losing of company, breaking masts, splitting sails, and shifting of winds, &c.

*Answer.* These things were impertinent for a general to relate: such observations are only proper to mariners; and he might as well have set down the seething of the kettle, the companies dining, or the setting of the watch.

*Author.* Now was I arrived at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*. On the nineteenth of *January* came in a *Dutchman* from *Lisbon*, who reported he saw letters from *Cadiz*, that the plate fleet came home within three days after my coming away, and that an hundred carvels were sent to stop them, but none of them could meet the said fleet, for they came upon the coast of *Barbary*; inasmuch, that if any of these accidents following had happened, we had been masters of the plate fleet.

The first was, if the council had consented with me to keep *Punta* fourteen days. The second, if the wind had not changed as it did. The third, if the plate fleet had but kept the same course they have for this forty years; for they had no manner of news of us: But man proposes, and God disposes. And moreover, the *Dutchman* said, that on the last of *July* there were not four barrels of powder in *Lisbon*.

*Answer.* Could the plate fleet arrive in *Cadiz*, and not be vulgarly spoke of in *Lisbon*, but by some few letters, the arrival of that



that fleet being of such consequence, that not only *Lisbon*, but all *Spain* would ring of it? And unless you had better assurance of their arrival than by this poor *Dutchman*, that was in your custody prisoner, you were ill-advised to print it; because every merchant upon the *Exchange* was able to contradict you; wherefore you should have first considered it, as thus:

Was it likely that a hundred carvels should be sent to meet the fleet? a number of carvels never employed, nor to be found in all *Spain*. Could they be so improvident as to hazard so many vessels, the taking of one of which would discover the height the fleet came home in? or could the fleet be met and stopped at sea, that was both foul, weak, heavily laden, wanted victuals, and must be compelled out of necessity to seek a harbour? or could a hundred carvels spread themselves at sea, and your fleet not see any part of them? or could the fleet come home in four days after your being at *Cadiz*? and computing the time, you could not be above twenty leagues west from thence, and to have no news of them? or could the *Spaniards* be so mad at that time of the year, to venture to keep the coast of *Barbary*, being subject to northerly winds, and to fall in upon *Cadiz* road, just at your quitting it? To wise men these things seem improbable.

And moreover, for the satisfaction of the reader, you should have set down your reasons, why you advised the keeping of *Puntal* fourteen days: all the reasons you had would not have given satisfaction to a reasonable man; for it is to be imagined, you must have one of these reasons in it; as namely, That you had correspondence with *Cadiz* for the surrendering it; or that you expected a revolt in the country; or that you hoped for supplies in fourteen days; or that you knew of the *Indies* fleets repair thither in that time. One of these I conceive to be the end of your persuasions.

Then on the other side, I think with myself the mischief that might have ensued upon it in the space of them fourteen days; your victuals would have been much wasted, for it seems then you began to want; your people being sick, as they were, it is probable they would rather grow worse than recover health. In that fourteen days the *Spaniards* would have had leisure to prepare fresh ships and men to encounter your feeble and weak army. Your supposed hundred carvels might have met in those fourteen days with the imagined plate fleet, and have conducted them to *Lisbon*, whilst you were propping up of *Puntal*. You had proof what the lingering of fourteen days might have brought you and the fleet to, by the misery you found in your return.

It was no less ridiculous, that you should believe the *Dutchman's* report, that at the last of *July* there should be but four barrels of powder in *Lisbon*; for whosoever knows *Lisbon* and the castle, knows the great quantity of powder there is still kept in it.

*Author.* I put to sea three times against the seamen's opinion: they desired to see the winds settled before we should set out; but I did not hearken to them.

*Answer.* It will appear by this rashness of yours, how unfit you are to take charge of such a fleet. In the sixteenth leaf you confess your ignorance in sea affairs, and refer yourself to men of experience, in an attempt of much less consequence than this, that concerns the safety of his majesty's ships, to venture them to no end but a desire you had to be at home. This was a rash hazard of your own, against the approbation of mariners, who could only judge what was convenient in such a case.

I confess, nothing in your discourse doth make it appear to be writ by a soldier at land or sea, but a plain and absurd stile, the improper terms used by sea and in ships, and the often repetition of some words, which is not proper in oratory. From soldiers, neither eloquent words nor forms is requir'd; their actions must give matter for scholars to amplify upon; and though this may excuse the writing of the pamphlet, yet it can no more clear you of blame in your carriage of the action, than the projector of it; it being hard to judge whether of you two deserved the most shame, the one in advising, or the other in executing.

But if this journey had been undertaken by men of experience, understanding, and reason, it had more annoyed the state of *Spain*, than any enterprize of ours heretofore, either in the queen's, or king *Charles's* reign, as it shall appear by what follows.

*How to have ruined Spain by the Fleet of 1625.*

**S**PLEEN, passion, and envy to some they love not, and the want of knowledge in themselves, are the bane and destroyers of all warlike actions, either by sea or land, which could not be better verified than in this last unfortunate fleet to *Cadiz* I have spoken of; for I must say, that in many ages (or rather in no age) we shall have the like opportunity again to annoy the state of *Spain*, as was then offered us, if the enterprize had been well projected and directed, as it was rashly begun and prosecuted, as may appear by what follows.

If our land forces had been discharged at the beginning of summer, when they were first raised, and the fleet employed upon a  
sea

sea action only; for take it for a maxim, That sea and land enterprizes together, are the bane of one another, as experience has made it appear.

At this time that the expedition was undertaken, we well knew the *Spanish* fleet had dispossest the *Hollanders* of the town of *Baye* in *Brazil*, a little before taken by them; we likewise knew they were to return to *Spain* with a million of pounds in wealth; which after proved true.

And yet this was not all, and the worst that *Spain* was to receive from us: this happen'd when they had no suspicion of us as enemies, nor any shew of hostility made, to give them warning or distrust.

If therefore we had employ'd our fleet then in readines to the *Tercera* islands,

where we assuredly knew the *Spaniards* would touch in their return, as indeed they did, all scatter'd and ill provided, we had without all doubt or question intercepted them, and possess'd so much wealth of theirs, as would have maintain'd a royal war against them, till his majesty had been reveng'd of the affronts offered him, as was conceived at his being in *Spain*.

Besides this wealth, we had cut off his fleet, which consisted of fifty or sixty of his best galleons, which in an age could not be restored, whereby he would have been unable to undertake any action against us. This was discover'd to some, before the fleet's going out; but either neglected or not believed.

### *The Errors committed in the Expedition to the Isle of Ree.*

IN my examination of the voyages in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, I make often reflection, without fear or flattery, upon the errors then committed, as well by us, as by the *Spaniards* our enemies; which kind of proceeding, I follow in these two last expeditions, the one to *Cadiz* in 1625. which I have treated of; the other to *St. Martins* in 1627. which I am to treat of, as well in number and goodness of ships, as in proportion and quantity of men.

Though I was no actor myself in the two last expeditions, there being no relation that can give a more true account of them than those publish'd by the authority of state, I have, upon view of these pamphlets, collected such errors as the actions themselves have given just cause to except against.

Let it not be imputed to me that I do it out of a carping or detracting humour, or a malignant disposition, or an evil or contesting nature, or out of a vain or phantastical curiosity, or pride, or arrogance, to make small errors seem greater than they are; for I have no other end than what I have often expressed, *viz.* by discovering the faults and oversights past, to make them serve as a warning for time to come.

I would not be so bold and presumptuous as to examine the grounds of this last design upon the island of *St. Martin's*, or the carriage of it upon their arriving and landing; for I never doubted, but that a matter of such great consequence, as the breach of peace between princes, and wherein his majesty's honour was to be engaged, and the reputation of the chief commander considered, was not only discuss'd and argued by the grave and wise senators of the state, but advice taken of the most experienced captains both by land and sea. this kingdom could afford; which being so, the success must be referred to him who is the giver of all victories: for I am like the *Carthagi-*

*nian*, who did not esteem the loss of the general that lost a battle, but of such as fought against reason; for success is the measure of fools; whereas conduct proceeds from judgment.

This expedition to the island of *St. Martin's* was begun from *Portsmouth* on the 17th of *June* 1627. a place design'd for the rendezvous; and to that end the ships of provisions that attended the resort of the army to *Plimouth*, were drawn together at *Portsmouth*, though with ill success: First, in respect one of those ships miscarried, and others were in danger to have done the like. Secondly, I must make the rendezvous at *Portsmouth* the ground of my argument, to except against the carriage of the action, and the chief cause of the mischief that ensued.

You must understand that *Stokes Bay*, where our ships rode, is forty leagues from *Plimouth*, by the way of *St. Helen's Point*; and the course of the channel is east north-east, and west south-west: *Ushant*, which is the head-land of *France*, and by which you must pass either from *Plimouth* or *Portsmouth*, if you will sail to *St. Martin's*, is twenty six leagues from *Plimouth* south-westerly; so that there was forty leagues run to fetch those ships which could have brought themselves; and a ship lost, which had not so happen'd but by their going to fetch them.

Now should they have held a grave consultation, if they had done well, how to proceed afterwards, which should have consisted of three propositions: The one, whether to keep the sea with that easterly wind, or no; which in little space would bring them to leeward of all. The second, whether to land in *Conquet Road*, or some part of *France*. The third and last, was, whether to return to *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, there to attend a better opportunity of wind. But, to

be short, unadvisedly they took the worst of the three, and kept the sea till they were to leeward of all *French* shores; in which space they had pursuit of certain *Dunkirkers*, whom indiscreetly they chased a whole day, when in two hours they might have discerned whether they could fetch them up, or no.

If they had anchored in *France*, or any part of that coast, notice would have been taken of it by the *French*; and it would have given a sudden alarm, and been a cause to arm all places they might suspect we would attempt.

If they had repair'd to *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, it would have put a doubtfulness in the *French*, whether our design had been against them, or no; and they would have made the less preparations to resist us. *Spain* would also have taken the alarm, being in as great a doubt and danger of us as *France*; but drawing the ships from *Plimouth* to *Portsmouth*, *Spain* could not conceive that it was intended against them; and *France* was in as great assurance that it was design'd upon them.

Thus you see from *Portsmouth* they were to attend the uncertainty of two winds, and give warning to *France* to provide for themselves; whereas from either of the two ports of *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, one wind would have carried them directly to *St. Martin's*, which might have been run in two or three days, without fear of scattering, or other disaster. These inconveniencies should not have been only foreseen, but prevented, if experience and discretion had guided the action.

Now follows the mischief that ensued upon keeping the sea. The first is, That they were brought so far to leeward, that if they would, yet they could not recover either *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*. Secondly, they were subject to foul weather, which they afterwards found. Thirdly, their men

not being accustom'd to the sea, and pestered in ships, brought a great inconveniency amongst them. But the greatest was the foul weather which parted them, and was the chief cause of the misfortune that followed: for above sixty of the ships being scattered, came to the island of *St. Martin's* the 10th of *July*, and the rest the day following.

The sixty ships first arriving put the *French* out of doubt, but that was the place we intended, and gave them opportunity to do as much as the time would permit.

And here you may observe the true overthrow of the expedition to the isle of *Ree*; whereas if our fleet had come together from *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, and landed together, they had suddenly surpriz'd the island, and possessed all the victuals in it, which in that short time we gave them, they carried into the castle, being before but ill provided either of victuals, or any thing else.

Thus have I run over such errors as I have briefly collected out of the ill-carry'd action to the island of *St. Martin's*, wishing that generals may not only see, but foresee, that they may with judgment determine what they shall put in execution, before they attempt it with force and courage; for great actions ought to be resolv'd on by leisure, and perform'd with speed: they should not say and stay, but say and do: they must consider, that the first enterprize in war gets the best reputation; and a thing well begun, is half ended.

*As I have set down the Names of the Ships the Queen left at her Death in my first Book, now shall follow the Names of those that were built by King James and King Charles; and the present Rates for Seamen's Wages, according to the Ranks of Ships and Officers, increased Anno Dom. 1626.*

| <i>Ships built by King James.</i> |                 |             | <i>Ships built by King Charles.</i> |                 |             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Ships.                            | Men in Harbour. | Men at Sea. | Ships.                              | Men in Harbour. | Men at Sea. |
| <i>Reformation,</i>               | 9               | 250         | <i>Ten Whelps,</i>                  | 3               | 60 some 70  |
| <i>Happy Entrance,</i>            | 7               | 160         | <i>Henrietta Pinnace,</i>           | 3               | 25          |
| <i>Garland,</i>                   | 7               | 160         | <i>Mary Pinnace,</i>                | 3               | 25          |
| <i>St. George,</i>                | 9               | 250         | <i>Charles,</i>                     | 9               | 250         |
| <i>Mary Rose,</i>                 | 6               | 120         | <i>Henrietta Maria,</i>             | 9               | 250         |
| <i>Triumph,</i>                   | 12              | 300         | <i>The James,</i>                   | 9               | 260         |
| <i>Swiftsure,</i>                 | 9               | 250         | <i>Victory,</i>                     | 9               | 250         |
| <i>Bonaventure,</i>               | 7               | 160         | <i>The Leopard,</i>                 | 7               | 170         |
| <i>St. Andrew,</i>                | 9               | 250         | <i>The Swallow,</i>                 | 6               | 150         |
|                                   |                 |             | <i>The Sovereign,</i>               |                 |             |

The New Rates for Seamens Wages, confirmed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, according to his Majesty's several Rates of Ships and Degrees of Officers, Monthly, Anno Dom. 1626.

| Ranks.                                                                   | 1         |           | 2         |           | 3         |           | 4         |           | 5         |           | 6         |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Number of Men.                                                           | 500       | 400       | 300       | 250       | 200       | 160       | 120       | 100       | 70        | 60        | 50        | 40        |
|                                                                          | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> |
| Capt. Ordinary                                                           | 14        | 00        | 11        | 04        | 09        | 06        |           |           | 06        | 12        | 00        | 04        |
| Lieutenant                                                               | 03        | 10        | 03        | 10        | 02        | 16        |           |           |           |           |           | 08        |
| Master                                                                   | 04        | 13        | 04        | 10        | 03        | 15        | 03        | 07        | 03        | 00        | 02        | 06        |
| Pilot                                                                    | 02        | 05        | 02        | 00        | 01        | 17        | 01        | 13        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 03        |
| Master's Mates 3                                                         | 02        | 05        | 2         | 02        | 01        | 17        | 01        | 13        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 03        |
| Boatwain                                                                 | 02        | 05        | 02        | 00        | 01        | 17        | 01        | 13        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 03        |
| Boatwain's Mate                                                          | 01        | 06        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        |
| Quarter Maf-<br>ters } 4                                                 | 01        | 10        | 4         | 01        | 4         | 01        | 4         | 01        | 2         | 01        | 2         | 01        |
| Quarter Maf-<br>ter's Mates } 4                                          | 01        | 05        | 4         | 01        | 2         | 01        | 2         | 01        | 2         | 01        | 2         | 00        |
| Yeo-<br>men } 4                                                          | 01        | 05        | 4         | 01        | 2         | 01        | 2         | 01        | 2         | 01        |           |           |
| Haly <sup>ds</sup>                                                       |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Sheet                                                                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Tacks                                                                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Jears                                                                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Corporal                                                                 | 01        | 10        | 01        | 08        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 00        | 00        | 18        |
| Mr. Carpenter                                                            | 01        | 17        | 01        | 17        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 06        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 01        |
| Carpenter's Mate                                                         | 01        | 05        | 01        | 04        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 01        | 00        | 19        | 00        | 18        |
| Other Car-<br>penters and } 9                                            | 01        | 00        | 6         | 01        | 4         | 01        | 3         | 01        |           |           |           |           |
| Calkers                                                                  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Purfer                                                                   | 02        | 00        | 01        | 16        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 06        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 03        |
| Steward and }<br>Cook                                                    | 01        | 05        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 03        | 00        | 17        |
| Surgeon                                                                  | 01        | 10        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 10        |
| Surgeon's Mate.                                                          | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        |           |           |           |           |
| Mr. Trumpeter                                                            | 01        | 10        | 01        | 06        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 01        |
| Other Trump. 4                                                           | 01        | 03        | 01        | 03        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Drum and Fife                                                            | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        |
| Coxfwain                                                                 | 01        | 05        | 01        | 05        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        |
| Coxfwain's Mate                                                          | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 00        | 19        | 02        |           |           |           |           |           |
| Skiffswain                                                               | 01        | 00        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Skiffswain's Mate                                                        | 00        | 17        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Two fwabbers                                                             | 01        | 08        | 1         | 01        | 00        | 18        | 00        | 17        | 00        | 17        | 00        | 17        |
| Swabber's Mate                                                           |           |           |           | 00        | 00        | 16        | 00        | 16        |           |           |           |           |
| Armourer                                                                 | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 01        |
| Mr. Gunner                                                               | 02        | 00        | 01        | 16        | 01        | 10        | 01        | 06        | 01        | 03        | 01        | 03        |
| Gunner's Mates                                                           | 01        | 02        | 01        | 01        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 01        | 00        | 00        | 18        |
| Quarter Gun-<br>ners } 4                                                 | 01        | 00        | 4         | 00        | 00        | 18        | 00        | 18        | 00        | 17        | 00        | 17        |
| Quarter Gun-<br>ners Mates } 4                                           | 00        | 18        | 4         | 00        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Yeoman of the }<br>Powder Room                                           | 01        | 00        |           | 00        | 00        | 18        | 00        | 18        | 00        | 18        | 00        | 18        |
| Mr. Cooper                                                               | 00        | 16        |           | 00        | 00        | 16        | 00        | 16        | 00        | 16        | 00        | 16        |
| Grumetts 6                                                               | 00        | 11        | 5         | 00        | 4         | 00        | 3         | 00        | 00        | 11        | 00        | 11        |
| Common Men }<br>360. 4 out of<br>each 100 are<br>the Captains<br>Retinue | 00        | 15        | 204       | 00        | 146       | 00        | 65        | 00        | 41        | 00        | 23        | 00        |
| Boys                                                                     | 00        | 07        | 4         | 00        | 3         | 00        | 3         | 00        |           | 07        |           | 07        |
| Gunmaker                                                                 | 01        | 01        |           | 01        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |

If I were worthy to advife his majesty, he should follow the precedent of the earl of *Lincoln*, late lord high-admiral of *England*, who two years before he died, and in the year 1582. caused a general muster to be taken of all ships, their burthen and mariners, belonging to the ports of *England*, as here follows.

And withal, I wish there were a computation made from the year 1582. till the end of queen *Elizabeth's* reign in 1602. all which being compared with the increase of ships and mariners since that time, and their greatness in burthen, it will seem wonderful to all his majesty's subjects, who shall understand it, that since the first year of

king *James's* reign, till this, which is the 13th of king *Charles*, the navy of *England* is so much increased and augmented; and thereby they may conjecture what wealth hath been imported and transported since that time, to the infinite enriching of all people in general, which will make them repine the less at paying ship money; for they must truly confess, how much the kingdom is, since the year 1582. strengthened and fortified by sea, and the commonwealth enriched by trade; for though the merchant only runs the hazard of ships and goods that go to sea, yet the whole kingdom receives benefit and profit by it, from the handicraftsman to the labourer.

*A Muster of Ships and Mariners throughout England, taken two Years before the Death of the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admiral.*

*Somersetshire.*

**T**HIRTY seven ships, whereof ten above eighty tons.  
 Mariners, masters, and fishermen at home, 462  
 Abroad, 40  
 In all 502

*Chester.*

Fourteen ships.  
 Mariners, masters, and seamen, 113

*Lancaster.*

Fifty three ships, whereof ten above eighty tons,  
 Masters and mariners, 163  
 Fishermen, 36  
 In all 199

*Essex.*

Twelve ships above eighty tons.  
 Hoys, crays, and other small vessels, 107  
 Masters and seamen, 517

*Cornwall.*

Five ships above eighty tons.  
 Threescore and seven other small ships.  
 Masters, 108  
 Mariners, 606  
 Other seamen, 204  
 In all 918

*Lincolnshire.*

One ship of eighty tons burden.  
 Twenty small ships.  
 Masters, 20  
 Mariners, 190  
 Fishermen, 134  
 In all 344

*London.*

Sixty two ships above an hundred tons.  
 Twenty three ships of eighty ton and above.  
 Forty four small ships.  
 Masters, 142  
 Mariners, 868  
 Watermen, or ferrymen, 957  
 Fishermen, 195  
 In all 2162

*Hampshire.*

Eighty nine ships and boats, whereof ten above eighty ton.  
 Masters, 46  
 Mariners, 244  
 Fishermen, 180  
 In all 470

*Yorkshire.*

Fifty four ships, whereof eighteen above eighty ton.  
 Masters and sailors, 375  
 Fishermen, 507  
 In all 880

*The Cinque Ports.*

Two hundred and twenty three ships and boats, none above eighty ton.  
 Masters and sailors, 853  
 Fishermen, 139  
 In all 992

*Kent.*

|                                                             |                   |                                          |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Kent.</i>                                                |                   | <i>Norfolk.</i>                          |              |
| One hundred and six ships and boats, none above eighty ton. |                   | Twenty two ships above eighty ton.       |              |
| Masters and failors,                                        | 221               | One hundred and forty eight small ships. |              |
|                                                             |                   | Seamen of all forts,                     | 1890         |
| <i>Suffex.</i>                                              |                   | <i>Suffolk.</i>                          |              |
| Sixty six small ships under eighty ton.                     |                   | Twenty six ships above one hundred ton.  |              |
| Masters,                                                    | 28                | Seventy six small ships.                 |              |
| Sailors,                                                    | 222               | Seamen of all forts,                     | 1286         |
| Fishermen,                                                  | 122               |                                          |              |
|                                                             | <u>In all 370</u> |                                          |              |
| <i>Dorset.</i>                                              |                   | <i>Gloucestershire.</i>                  |              |
| Eight ships, above eighty ton.                              |                   | Twenty nine ships under eighty ton.      |              |
| Seventy two small ships.                                    |                   | Masters, seamen, and fishermen,          | 219          |
| Masters and mariners,                                       | 605               |                                          |              |
| Fishermen,                                                  | 34                |                                          |              |
|                                                             | <u>In all 639</u> |                                          |              |
| <i>Devonshire.</i>                                          |                   | <i>Cumberland.</i>                       |              |
| Eight ships above eighty ton.                               |                   | Twelve small ships under eighty ton.     |              |
| One hundred and thirteen small ships.                       |                   | Mariners and fishermen,                  | 195          |
| Masters, mariners, and fishermen,                           | 2176              |                                          |              |
|                                                             |                   | The total of all vessels,                | <u>1232</u>  |
|                                                             |                   | Above eighty ton,                        | <u>217</u>   |
|                                                             |                   | Mariners of all forts,                   | <u>14295</u> |

The particular Number of Ships and Mariners in the Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, in the Days of King Edward III. with the Names of the Cinque Ports, viz. Hastings, Rumney, Heth, Dover, and Sandwich.

|                         |          |                   |          |     |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|-----|
| <i>The South Fleet.</i> |          | <i>Lyme</i>       | Ships    | 4   |
|                         |          |                   | Mariners | 62  |
| <i>The King's</i>       | Ships    | <i>Seaton</i>     | Ships    | 2   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 25  |
| <i>London</i>           | Ships    | <i>Sidboth</i>    | Ships    | 3   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 62  |
| <i>Alford</i>           | Ships    | <i>Exmouth</i>    | Ships    | 10  |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 193 |
| <i>Hoo</i>              | Ships    | <i>Tegmouth</i>   | Ships    | 7   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 120 |
| <i>Maidstone</i>        | Ships    | <i>Dartmouth</i>  | Ships    | 32  |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 283 |
| <i>Newbith</i>          | Ships    | <i>Portsmouth</i> | Ships    | 5   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 96  |
| <i>Margate</i>          | Ships    | <i>Plimouth</i>   | Ships    | 26  |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 603 |
| <i>Marten</i>           | Ships    | <i>Valme</i>      | Ships    | 2   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 47  |
| <i>Feversham</i>        | Ships    | <i>Foy</i>        | Ships    | 47  |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 770 |
| <i>Sandwich</i>         | Ships    | <i>Bristol</i>    | Ships    | 22  |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 608 |
| <i>Dover</i>            | Ships    | <i>Tinmouth</i>   | Ships    | 2   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 52  |
| <i>Wight</i>            | Ships    | <i>Hastings</i>   | Ships    | 5   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 96  |
| <i>Winchelsey</i>       | Ships    | <i>Rumney</i>     | Ships    | 4   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 63  |
| <i>Weymouth</i>         | Ships    | <i>Rye</i>        | Ships    | 9   |
|                         | Mariners |                   | Mariners | 156 |

*Heth*

|                        |          |     |                      |                                                           |     |
|------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Heth</i>            | Ships    | 6   | <i>Woodhouse</i>     | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 122 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 22  |
| <i>Shoreham</i>        | Ships    | 20  | <i>Strookeeth</i>    | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 329 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 16  |
| <i>Sofford</i>         | Ships    | 5   | <i>Burton</i>        | Ships                                                     | 3   |
|                        | Mariners | 80  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 30  |
| <i>Newmouth</i>        | Ships    | 2   | <i>Swinfleet</i>     | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 18  |                      | Mariner                                                   | 10  |
| <i>Hambook</i>         | Ships    | 7   | <i>Saltfleet</i>     | Ships                                                     | 2   |
|                        | Mariners | 117 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 49  |
| <i>Hoke</i>            | Ships    | 11  | <i>Grimby</i>        | Ships                                                     | 12  |
|                        | Mariners | 208 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 170 |
| <i>Southampton</i>     | Ships    | 21  | <i>Wainfleet</i>     | Ships                                                     | 2   |
|                        | Mariners | 576 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 40  |
| <i>Lymington</i>       | Ships    | 5   | <i>Wrangle</i>       | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 159 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 8   |
| <i>Poole</i>           | Ships    | 4   | <i>Lenn, or</i>      | Ships                                                     | 16  |
|                        | Mariners | 94  | <i>Lynn</i>          | Mariners                                                  | 382 |
| <i>Warham</i>          | Ships    | 3   | <i>Blackney</i>      | Ships                                                     | 2   |
|                        | Mariners | 59  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 38  |
| <i>Swansey</i>         | Ships    | 1   | <i>Scarborough</i>   | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 29  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 19  |
| <i>Ilfordcomb</i>      | Ships    | 6   | <i>Yarmouth</i>      | Ships                                                     | 43  |
|                        | Mariners | 79  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 950 |
| <i>Patricks</i>        | Ships    | 2   | <i>Dunwich</i>       | Ships                                                     | 6   |
| <i>town</i>            | Mariners | 27  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 102 |
| <i>Polerwan</i>        | Ships    | 1   | <i>Orford</i>        | Ships                                                     | 3   |
|                        | Mariners | 60  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 62  |
| <i>Wadworth</i>        | Ships    | 1   | <i>Goford</i>        | Ships                                                     | 13  |
|                        | Mariners | 14  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 303 |
| <i>Cardiff</i>         | Ships    | 1   | <i>Harwich</i>       | Ships                                                     | 14  |
|                        | Mariners | 51  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 283 |
| <i>Bridgewater</i>     | Ships    | 1   | <i>Ipswich</i>       | Ships                                                     | 12  |
|                        | Mariners | 14  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 239 |
| <i>Carmarthen</i>      | Ships    | 1   | <i>Mersey</i>        | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 16  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 6   |
| <i>Carlchef-</i>       | Ships.   | 1   | <i>Bricklesey</i>    | Ships                                                     | 5   |
| <i>worth.</i>          | Mariners | 12  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 61  |
| <i>Malbrook</i>        | Ships    | 1   | <i>Colchester</i>    | Ships                                                     | 5   |
|                        | Mariners | 12  |                      | Mariners                                                  | 90  |
| <i>The North East.</i> |          |     | <i>Whitbanes</i>     | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        |          |     |                      | Mariners                                                  | 17  |
| <i>Bamburgb</i>        | Ships    | 1   | <i>Malden</i>        | Ships                                                     | 2   |
|                        | Mariners | 9   |                      | Mariners                                                  | 32  |
| <i>Newcastle</i>       | Ships    | 17  | <i>Derwin</i>        | Ships                                                     | 1   |
|                        | Mariners | 140 |                      | Mariners                                                  | 15  |
| <i>Walcrick</i>        | Ships    | 1   | <i>Cinque Ports.</i> |                                                           |     |
|                        | Mariners | 12  | <i>Hastings</i>      | Twenty one ships with twenty one men each, and a grummet. |     |
| <i>Hartipoole</i>      | Ships    | 5   | <i>Romney</i>        | Twenty one ships, each twenty one men, and a grummet.     |     |
|                        | Mariners | 145 | <i>Heth</i>          | Five ships.                                               |     |
| <i>Hull</i>            | Ships    | 16  | <i>Dover</i>         | Twenty one ships.                                         |     |
|                        | Mariners | 466 | <i>Sandwich</i>      | Five ships, to be raised out of goods, and not of land.   |     |
| <i>York</i>            | Ships    | 1   |                      |                                                           |     |
|                        | Mariners | 9   |                      |                                                           |     |
| <i>Ravenfer</i>        | Ships    | 1   |                      |                                                           |     |
|                        | Mariners | 17  |                      |                                                           |     |

They were, upon forty days warning, to furnish these ships for fifteen days, upon their own charge, after setting sail; and to do it every year, if they were demanded; the rest of the time the king to pay them.

The privilege of the cinque ports was first granted by St. *Edward the Confessor*, and *William the Conqueror*, and continued by the succeeding kings.

*Of the Sovereignty of the Seas of England, and of the Right belonging to Admirals in the same, as is to be seen in the Records in the Tower.*

**T**O you lords auditors, deputed by the kings of *England* and of *France*, to redress the wrongs done to the people of their kingdoms, and of their territories subject to their dominions by sea and by land, in the time of peace, and in truce, the procurators of the prelates, nobles, and admirals of *England*, and of the commonalties of cities and towns, and of merchants, mariners, merchant strangers, and of all others of the said kingdom of *England*, and the territories subject to the dominion of the said king of *England*, and other places, as of the coast of *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Almany*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, and of divers other places of the empire, doth shew ;

That whereas the kings of *England*, by reason of the said kingdom, from times whereof there is no memory to the contrary, that it had been in peaceable possession of the sovereign dominions of the sea of *England*, and of the isles in the same, in making and establishing laws and restraints of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished, as ships of merchandize to be, and in taking surety, and affording safe-guard in all cases, where need shall be, and in ordering all other things necessary for maintaining of peace, right, and equity, between all manner of people, as well of other dominions as of their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof; and in doing justice to high and low, according to the said laws, statutes, ordinances, and restraints, and in all other things may appertain to the exercise of sovereign dominion, in the places aforesaid. And *A. de B.* admiral of the said sea, deputed by the king of *England*, and all other admirals ordained by the said king of *England*, had been in peaceable possession of the said sovereign guard, with the cognizance of justice, and all other appurtenances, except in case of appeal, and of complaint made of them to their sovereigns the kings of *England*, in default of justice, and for evil judgment; and especially for making of stay, doing of justice, and taking surety of the peace of all ships aforesaid, otherwise furnished, and set forth otherwise than appertains to a merchant's ship; and in all other points, where a man may have reasonable cause to suspect them of robbery, or any other misdemeanor. And whereas the ships of the said kingdom of *England*, in the absence of the said admirals, have been in peaceable pos-

session of taking cognizance, and judging of all actions done in the said sea, between all manner of people, according to the said laws, statutes, restraints, and customs: And whereas in the first article of alliance lately made between the said kings, in their treaties upon the last peace of *Paris*, are comprized the words following in a schedule annexed to these presents.

“ First, It is treated and agreed, betwixt  
 “ us and the messengers and procurators  
 “ aforesaid, in the names of the said  
 “ kings, That the said kings should from  
 “ this time forward be, one to the other,  
 “ good, true, and loyal friends, in aiding  
 “ and assisting against all men, save the  
 “ church of *Rome*, in such manner, That  
 “ if any one or more, whatsoever they be,  
 “ would disinheret, hinder, or molest the  
 “ said kings, in the franchises, liberties,  
 “ privileges, rights, duties, or customs of  
 “ them, and of their kingdoms, they shall  
 “ be good and loyal friends, in aiding a-  
 “ gainst all men that may live or die, to  
 “ defend, keep, or maintain the franchises,  
 “ liberties, privileges, rights, duties, and  
 “ customs aforesaid, (except the king of  
 “ *England*, monsieur *John* duke of *Bra-*  
 “ *bant*, and his heirs descending of him,  
 “ and of the daughter of the king of *Eng-*  
 “ *land*, and except to our aforesaid lord  
 “ the king of *France*, the excellent prince  
 “ *John* earl of *Hainault*;) and that the one  
 “ should not be of council, or aiding,  
 “ where the other may lose life, member,  
 “ estate, or temporal honour.”

Monsieur *Reynault Grimbault*, who stiles himself admiral of the sea aforesaid, deputed by his lord the king of *France* in his war against the *Flemmings*, contrary to the said alliance, and the intention of him that made it, wrongfully assumed the office of admiralty in the said sea of *England*, by the commission of the said king of *France*, and used the same one year and more, taking the people and the merchants of the kingdom of *England*, and of other places, passing through the said sea, with their goods; and delivered the people so taken to the prisons of his said lord the king of *France*, and caused their goods and merchandize, by his judgment and award, to be brought to the receivers deputed by the said king of *France* in the ports of his said kingdom, as to him forfeited and accruing; and the taking and determining of the said people with their said goods and merchandize, as also his said judgment and award, hath justify'd before you lords auditors in writing, by virtue and authority of his said commission of the admiralty aforesaid, by him usurped, and during a restraint so generally made by the king of



of *England*, by reason of his power, and according to the form of the third article of the alliance aforesaid, which contains the words underwritten, requiring that he might be acquitted and absolved of the same, to the great damage and prejudice of the said king of *England*, the prelates, nobles, and others above named.

Wherefore the said procurators, in the names of the said lords, do pray you lords auditors aforesaid, That you cause due and speedy delivery of their said people, of their goods and merchandize so taken and detained, to be made to the admiral of the said king of *England*, and to whom the cognizance of the same of right appertains, as is before expres'd; for that without the disturbance of you, or any other, he may take cognizance thereof, and do that which appertains to his office aforesaid.

And that the said Monsieur *Reynault Grimbault* be condemned, and constrained to make due satisfaction to all the parties damnify'd, so far forth as he shall be able; and in his default, his said lord the king of *France*, by whom he was deputed to the said office; and that after due satisfaction made to the parties damnify'd, the said Monsieur *Grimbault* be so duly punished, for the violation of the said alliance, that his punishment may be an example to others in time to come.

Thus much for *England's* authentick proofs of her sovereignty on the seas in these latter times.

*A more ancient Proof of the Sovereignty of the Seas.*

**B**UT *England* may plead a more ancient sovereignty o'er the seas; and not only the narrow seas that divide *France* and her, but also all other seas that encompass her, as well east and west, as north and south.

*Julius Agricola* was the first that sail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and subdued the islands of *Orkney*, when *England* was called *Britain*.

King *Edgar* made his summers progress, as appears upon record, by sailing about the whole island of *Albion*, and was guarded with a navy of four thousand sail, which he divided into four squadrons, and appointed one thousand ships to every squadron.

King *Arthur* subdued *Ireland*, *Izeland*, *Norway*, *Gotbland*, and many other kingdoms; which he could not have done, if he had not been master of all the then known world by sea, and in shipping.

And if we speak of our *English* conquests since *William* of *Normandy*, we shall find

that *Richard* I. in his expedition to *Jerusalem*, in 1090. had with him two hundred and fifty four tall ships, and sixty galleys.

Prince *Edward*, son to *Henry* III. in his voyage to *Asia* in 1270. had a gallant navy of ships, which God blessed above other princes that joined with him in that expedition; for he lost never a ship by tempest, when the others had one hundred and twenty sail cast away.

*Edward* III. had a fleet at one time of one thousand one hundred vessels; and because it shall the better appear, I have set down the particular numbers of them and their men, with the names of their ports from whence they were furnished, immediately before these two discourses of the sovereignty of the narrow seas.

And as for the time of queen *Elizabeth*, I have set down her offensive and defensive fleets in the said first book: and comparing the strength at sea in the days of king *James* and king *Charles*, we may very well say and conclude, that they are treble to those in the queen's time, both for the number, greatness, and goodness of ships.

The rustical people that go about to impugn the prerogative due to *England* by sea, are the *Hollanders*, not only by calumnations and malicious practises, but by scandalous pamphlets, which they divulge to prove the liberty of the sea.

But the nature of those base people ought to be considered, who turn all things topsy-turvy, and make it their business to alter and change the course of the world, and the laws antiently settled in it: They withstand the rightful power of kings, established by God himself, and cast it upon beer-brewers and basket-makers, whom they obey as kings: they make the chiefest offenders judges, and the justest judges delinquents; and therefore it is no marvel, if they use his majesty malepertly at sea, that treat their natural prince rebelliously on land: but mark the end of such actions, wherein they offend God more than man; and commonly such injuries never escape without cruel revenge in the end.

*Presidents, known to the Author, of Princes, as well Turks as Christians, standing up for Prerogatives in their Seas and Ports.*

**T**HE prerogative of princes, within their own dominions, is without limit, and ever received and practised by consent of all kings and monarchs; for which reason, princes are bound to maintain one another's rights in that point.

And to put the case in the accident lately happened in the *Downs*, through the insolvency

insolency of the *Hollanders* surprizing certain ships of *Dunkirk*, I confess, though the injury and loss be great to the king of *Spain's* subjects, whose ships were taken, yet the indignity is much more to his majesty than to the others, because they were forced away from under his protection and safeguard.

All ports and harbours of princes are called their chambers, and as dutifully to be observed and revered by strangers resorting to them, as the others are; and therefore the *Hollanders* might as well have seized on the person of a *Dunkirker* within his majesty's chamber and presence, as have offered this inexcusable contempt within any of his majesty's ports.

And because examples and precedents are the rules, in such cases, to make good princes rights, and uphold their honours, I will collect some accidents that happened in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, of famous memory, and *Henry III.* then king of *France*; I will prosecute the like cases in the time of king *James*; and lastly, of the king of *Barbary*, a *Mabometan*, who yet stands as much upon the prerogative of his ports, as though he had power to maintain them by shipping.

In the year 1588. when the *Spanish* fleet was put from its anchor by our fireships in the road of *Calais*, the admiral of the four galleasses, *Don Hugo de Moncado* was forced ashore, and there wreck'd: whereupon my lord admiral commanded her to be attempted with some ship-boats manned out of his fleet; and making an attempt upon her, the governor of *Calais*, *monsieur Gurdon*, thought it such an indignity to his master, that he shot at the *English*, and defended the galleass, which otherwise had been in our power to have burnt.

That same year, and in the same action of 1588. one of the galleons of *Spain* put into *Newhaven* in *Normandy*; which queen *Elizabeth* understanding, sent some of her ships to surprize her in the harbour; and as her ships were bearing into the said port, they were forbidden to meddle with her, with shot from the castle; which we obey'd, though it is well known, that in those days the *French* king did much more favour the queen and her proceedings, than the king of *Spain*: but it is true, that princes are always more jealous of their honours, than private persons.

King *James*, after his accession to the crown, finding that many occasions of controversy were like to arise betwixt the *Dunkirkers* and *Hollanders*, who were then at war, and the king a friend to both, he directed by his proclamation, how far he would protect either of them that should

first arrive under his protection, commanding such ships as should arrive first in any of his ports, that they should have liberty of two tides to depart before they should be pursued by the enemy: and because he would have the extents of his chamber declared, for all nations to take notice of its limits expressed therein, he caused it to be drawn by a line from headland to headland, by the advice of the *Trinity House*, who could best determine it. This act of his was duly observed during the time of the wars betwixt *Spain* and *Holland*; though at the beginning the *Hollanders* found themselves much grieved at this decree of the king's, when they could not have their wills upon several ships of *Dunkirk* that arrived in the *Downs*; for *Sir William Monson* was very careful and watchful to observe and obey his majesty's commands, without regard or respect to either of them.

And whereas a ship of *Dunkirk* arriving at *Portsmouth*, through some defect the captain sold her, reserving her tackling, ordnance, and rigging, which he shipped in an *English* barque for *Dunkirk*, but by contrary winds the barque put into the *Downs* at a time when none of his majesty's ships were there riding, an *Holland* ship, having intelligence of it, against the honour of the king he seized upon her, and carry'd her into *Holland*: but this affront being made known to his majesty by *monsieur Habuck*, then ambassador for the archduke, his majesty caused restitution of ship and goods to be made; and the states seemed offended with the captain that did it.

Lastly, For as much as concerns the king of *Morocco*, all such *Englishmen* as trade into *Barbary* can testify, That if any ship, abiding in any of his ports, be assailed by any strange nation, (as I will make comparison betwixt an *Englishman* and a *Spaniard*;) If an *Englishman* shall offer to surprize a *Spaniard* in any of his said ports, the best revenge he can take, and as I have known him offer to do, in a case of my own, *Anno 1587.* he will instantly seize upon the persons and goods of all those *English* that are resident and trading in his country, and confiscate both lives and merchandize; so much regard he has to the reputation and state of monarchy.

And besides these precedents of prerogatives of princes aforesaid, the civil law which is universal, and decides all controversies at sea, has adjudged this case *amicus soli*, (*viz.*) If a ship taken by an enemy, be brought into the port of a friend to both, the prize not having been at home with him that took her before arrival in a friend's

friend's country, she is as free as if she had not been taken. And if this be a resolution in the law; how much more is a prince injured by the case aforefaid, and

therefore punishable, I refer to consideration; for harbours and ports of princes are sacred things; and not to be disturbed or questioned.

*A Discourse directed to the Subjects, exhorting them to pay Ship-Money, and contribute with their Fortunes and Persons to punish the Insolencies of the Dutch.*

CUSTOM becomes law, which can plead no ancients right, especially where that custom is maintained by force and power; for it is an old saying, That custom has taught nations, reason men, and nature beasts. Tyrants will not admit of custom, nor submit to the justice of their cause, but to their own proper power and will: but, God be thanked, this kingdom never admitted of tyrants titles, but of their true inheritors, descending from their ancestors; and if this descent were at any time impugned by usurpers, the violence lasted not long, but right took place, like the true religion, which pestiferous heresies could never darken or suppress.

And as antiquity, descent, and justice, have crowned the kings of this land with lawful authority, from our first *William* to this very day; so have the seas given as authentick privileges and prerogatives to the kings thereof, by consent of foreign nations, as the former record doth declare; and ever since we have held an undoubted succession, which makes our title the more strong and potent. For, first, we plead consent and allowance of other countries. Secondly, the long use and execution of it. Thirdly, a continual possession without contradiction or opposition. And, lastly, our force, that in all ages has been able to maintain it, in the spite of any that should gainsay it.

And as we have received this prerogative from our forefathers, from whom all other goodness descended, as both tradition and records do witness; who should doubt of the truth thereof? or who may not as well question the clemency of *Julius Cæsar*? the magnificency of *Alexander*? or the goodness of *Trajan*? If actions and accidents of times past be not allowed, all things that are gone before are like a dream, which when we awake we remember not, nor know any thing of it. *Cicero* saith, That if a man knew no more than when he is born, he should be always a child; for history and monuments make heroicall deeds to live again, which otherwise would be buried in everlasting forgetfulness.

But can there be a more approved testimonial, than that we live and enjoy the an-

cient right left to the crown of this kingdom, as many ancient families have done their lands and possessions to their heirs and successors, who since, through the lewdness of the times, have prodigally consumed them, and made themselves the scorn of the world: therefore let the greater mischief be shunned by example of the less, that we may avoid the disgrace, imputation, and shame, the *Hollanders* endeavour to put upon us, by questioning and denying the sovereignty of the sea, as is apparent by their late insolent carriage to his majesty's ships serving in the narrow seas; an injury without satisfaction, unless we be publickly righted by open proclamation, not only in the excuse of the fact, but in acknowledging his majesty's undoubted right; which, if they deny to do, they must be made to know, That the way to wipe out old offences, is not to offer new ones.

But if ambiguous words, or feigned promises, will give us satisfaction, no doubt they will think it a little lip-labour for their tongues to pronounce it; but in that point they are like spies, that will dissemble one thing and say another; it will be all one to us to be deaf, as to hearken to what they say, unless we compel them *per force*; for the nature of them is to be proud when successful, and to become disloyal, and base withal; as on the contrary, when cast down they will yield and sink under calamity, which is the right property of cowards.

Here is an occasion offered for all true *Englishmen*, to have a feeling of a publick and national wrong; for a reproach to a discreet man, is more than the lance of an enemy. What affront can be greater, or what can make a man valianter, than a dishonour done to one's prince and country, especially by a people that was wont to know no more than how to catch, pickle, and feed upon fish, till now they are made drunk with our *English* beer? and so rude and unruly, that they strike at us their next and best neighbours and friends?

But since our *English* beer has that operation on their brains, let us keep it from them; and let them find the effect of our laws against drunkards, which is the

whipping-post, as not worthy of a better revenge; for a prince that punishes publick offences, and forgives private injurits to himself, has true honour.

Towards this defence of our reputation, it is requisite some be aiding with money, and others with their persons. They that have not the one, must supply the defect with the other: let the rich assist in liberal payment; and leave the rest to the valour of soldiers, who will think of nothing but revenges suitable to the wrong: and nothing claims revenge more than a contempt of our prince.

This done, the next thing to be recommended is celerity, as the principal advantage in war; and therefore let us disdain, and not dally with the *Hollanders*; for it gives a coward courage: our houses are not made of glass, that we need fear their throwing stones; we shall find them like a lion, not so fierce as he is painted, nor themselves so terrible as they are imagined. Let us strike, and not threaten; for that is womanish; and it is an old saying, *That a threaten'd man eats bread.*

Yet let not what we do, be done in fury; for fury admits no reason: let our actions be governed with discretion and temper; for rashness causes repentance; and he that seeks not to avoid danger, and with valour to encounter it, tempts God more than he trusts in him. The greatest glory of a commander, is to obtain a victory with the least loss; for stratagems of war are the products of wisdom; and secrecy is requisite to conceal all designs from the enemy, who is better overcome by policy, than dint of valour.

The property of a soldier is to be courageous in fight, and free from fear; for the true valiant man loves life, and fears not death: he is spurred on by revenge when injuries require it, and knowing that death cannot be avoided, is the less afraid of it. We see daily what little value life is of, since every soldier will venture it for six-pence. The badge a soldier should bear, ought to be writ in his forehead, *For my God, my Prince, and Country, I adventure my Life.* Then seeing death is of so little value, and the honour of one's prince of such high esteem; let us not shew ourselves so indifferent; as to regard whether we die or live: let us seek to imitate the *Lacedemonians*, among whom a matron being told they only had the rule of their husbands, answered, *It was no wonder, because they only brought forth valiant children.* I need say no more to this point, since you are *Englishmen*, and therefore brave: you see your prince and country injur'd and affronted; which your ancestors were never wont to put up, without bitter revenge. The peo-

ple that do this wrong, are so inferior to you, that they are unworthy the title of gentlemen, or the name of a nation; their original being drawn out of the sea, as by the etymology of *Zealand* it appears, that is to say, sea and land: their lives, their religion, their education, and breeding, differs as much from the society of civil people of other nations, as they differ from one another in diversity of sects and schisms. They live more by false fame and fortune, than by any truth spoken of them; their fame is gain'd by the intestine war they maintain against their prince and country, and by the people of the several nations that serve them, who spread abroad their own glory and praise, because they are the actors of their wars. Few judge rightly of the cause of their renown; for if we take it truly as it is in itself, it is the situation of their country, their rivers, the sea filled with the multitude of their ships, and the jealousy other nations have of the greatness of *Spain*, that are the true grounds on which they erect their monuments of fame.

As for their fortune, I do not marvel at it; for fortune often favours the unjust; and God, who is the disposer of fortune, as all things else, can change their good into bad; and many times he suffereth a wicked man to climb, that he may give him the greater fall when he is at his highest: therefore let nothing dismay your heroic spirits, but go on with your undertakings.

Now will I apply my self to men of means and estates, who must bear the burthen, as the soldiers do the brunt of the war. There are two motives that lead you to revenge: the one is honour to our nation; the other a general and particular security to yourselves and country. The affront done you is often repeated, with the qualities of the people that did it, which are such as can claim no honour to themselves by the rules of christianity; which makes the affront greater than from a king or prince, who can distinguish concerning giving or taking affronts. A disgrace to few, is born by a few; but when it is done to a country, all men of that country ought to have a feeling of it, by the law and rule of *Solon*; and whereas a private man's reputation is as dear to him as his eyes, so ought (in a higher degree of comparison) the honour of our prince and country to be, as the noble acts and deeds of the *Romans* have taught by sundry examples.

Let not the meanness, and the baseness, and the situation of the *Hollanders* make us despise their force and abilities, to endanger us; for we want not precedents, that all the flourishing and civil commonwealths of the world, have been subdued and conquered by as mean and rude people as they are. *Bren-*

was enticed to the conquest of *Italy* by the sweet and delicious wines that country afforded, which neither he nor his soldiers had ever tasted. The air, the soil, and plenty, drew the *Goths*, the *Hunns*, and the *Vandals*, from out of the habitations of snow and ice, to people the delightful southern parts, where the sun spreads forth his beams and heat. All goodness that is comprehended in these southern countries abounds in *England*, and is much desired by the *Hollanders*, who well know the state of it and us.

You are not ignorant what will ensue by their labouring to exceed us in shipping; for if they prevail, you shall find our laws and government obnoxious to them: your fair buildings without, and ornaments within, will give better accommodation to *Haunse* than a mean cabin in a fisherboat, which is their ordinary abode. There is nothing so unjust or cruel, which they will not find a text of scripture to execute upon you, they are so perfect in the interpretation of it. Our danger is the greater by our neighbour having, as it were, but a pond betwixt us; but especially through the ignorance of our vulgar people, infatuated with their republican government; with their ridiculous and phantastical religion, and with their imagined integrity and sincerity; but principally out of faction and discontent against the time we live in, not having sense to consider the benefit they receive, nor ever ceasing to slander the actions of others. But let them beware; for it is better for the mouse and frog to agree, than for the kite to be umpire. It will be better for you to contribute now whilst you have something, than to be bereaved of all you have. He that hath nothing adventures nothing, and is as ready to make havock of you as an enemy.

The question will be, whether fear or covetousness shall prevail? Fear makes you prevent the worst; but covetousness keeps you from preventing it, when money is required. Fear is not so grievous to a miserable man that only hears of it, but does not see it, because he presumeth his wealth will defend him. But let him beware; for where law serves not, weapons have power over him and his wealth; and then he will have cause to say, That poverty was bad, but riches much worse; when it brings him into that thralldom which he will be forced to confess was not caused by poverty, but by too much plenty, and want of discretion and grace to employ it.

You are like a covetous man, who, out of avarice, will not be at the charge of mending his chimney, to avoid the hazard of burning his house; or the stopping of an inundation of water, with the cost of

casting up of a bank. But here you will meet with worse than fire or water, that is, with a merciless unavoidable war, where all comfort shall be taken away, but only that you shall see your enemies in as ill case as yourselves. Do like the matrons of *Rome*, in case of necessity, who wanting a cup of gold to present to *Apollo*, contributed towards it with their jewels and bracelets; for which they received the reward of virtue, honour, and fame. And to conclude, these changes will make you confess and find, That man is the pattern of frailty, the spoil of time, the game of fortune, the image of inconstancy, and the trial of envy: therefore trust not the world, for it pays not what it seems to promise.

*The Author's Reasons why the King did not sooner resent the Wrongs offered him by the Dutch; and for his setting out the Fleet in 1635.*

THE king, out of his great providence and wisdom, weighing the state of things, as they then stood abroad, thought not good by force and strength to right himself upon the *Hollanders* for their insolencies committed in the narrow seas, though all the world knew he had a power by the force of his navy to revenge himself on them; but his majesty graciously rather imputed the *Hollanders* carriage to the rude, rustical, and unmannerly behaviour of some of their captains, who were never taught morality, civility, humanity, or honesty: wherefore his majesty held it fitter in this case, that their masters the states should know their errors by a sharp reprehension, declared by his majesty's resident there abiding, than by any way at present to chastize them. He also saw that his neighbour princes were distracted, and strove underhand to join in league one with another, for the best advantage of their state, wherein he was to behold and expect the success and event of things then in hand, and to be no more assured of one's friendship than of another's, till this year 1635. his majesty had trial of the *Hollanders* inconstancy and unthankful proceedings; for contrary to the rules of common honesty, they neglected his majesty's repeated offers of peace, to make an end of those long and intestine wars, both themselves and their predecessors had long suffer'd under: but, I say, they little regarding or esteeming his favours in that kind, rather cast themselves upon *France*, that offered to support and maintain their ancient and unlawful divisions.

After much working, and ambassadors often passing between them and *France*, at last they concluded on an offensive and defensive

defensive league, by which *France* was to declare war against *Spain*. The consequences of such a league being dangerous, and an unlimited ambition never with safety to be trusted, his majesty had just cause to be suspicious of these innovations: he had reason to weigh these things, and to consider why *Holland* and *France* should so strictly combine and league together, both of them being neighbours to him; and why it should be now hastened more than in former times, when *France* and *England* gave an indifferent and a sufficient relief to *Holland* by consent.

The king also seeing the ambitious enterprizes of *France*, assisted and animated by *Holland*, to disturb the christian and peaceable commonwealth of *Europe*, and unjustly to seize upon his neighbouring territories, without cause given, yea, not sparing by treachery and force to enjoy the countries of his weakest and nearest friend, the ancient state of *Lorraine*, which lay in his way, to hinder his unlawful designs; these were sufficient motives and reasons, for the king's majesty to behold his own case with an eye of prevention. But especially find-

ing a combination betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to divide and devour the provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to possess the maritime towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others, opposite to *England*, this made his majesty to think how to quench the fire that might flame into his own house: and having intelligence that they were both of them to join in one fleet, a thing not usually done by the *French*; and they making no publick declaration of the design of their ships, as commonly princes use to do in such cases, his majesty could make no less construction, than that they intended to deprive him of his ancient and allow'd prerogative of the narrow seas, which behoved him as much to defend as his kingdom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by the other, if it were in his power to effect it: wherefore his majesty armed these ships following to sea, to inquire reason at their hands; not intending to injure any nation, but to keep himself and subjects from being injur'd, and to curb the insolency and pride of any people that should go about to infringe his royal prerogative.

*A Navy set out by his Majesty in the Year 1635.*

**Ships.**

*The Mere-honour*, a ship royal,  
*The James*,  
*The Swiftsure*,  
*The George*,  
*The St. Andrew*,  
*The Henrietta Maria*,  
*The Vanguard*,  
*The Rainbow*,  
*The Lyon*,  
*The Reformation*,  
*The Leopard*,  
*The Mary Rose*,  
*The Adventure*,  
*The Swallow*,  
*The Antelope*,  
*The Lyon's Second Whelp*,  
*The Lyon's Third Whelp*,  
*The Lyon's Eighth Whelp*,  
*The Lyon's Tenth Whelp*,

**Merchant ships.**

*The Sampson*,  
*The Royal Exchange*,  
*The Freeman*,  
*The Pleiades*,  
*The William and Thomas*,  
*The Minikin Catch*,

**Commanders.**

*Robert earl of Lindsey*, admiral.  
*Sir William Monson*, vice-admiral.  
*Sir John Penington*, rear-admiral.  
*Captain James Mountague*.  
*Captain Walter Stenart*.  
*Captain Thomas Porter*.  
*Sir Francis Siddenbam*.  
*Captain Thomas Povey*.  
*Captain John Menns*.  
*The lord Pawlett*.  
*Captain Lewis Kirke*.  
*Captain George Cartwright*.  
*Captain Parramore*.  
*Captain Henry Stradling*.  
*Captain Richard Fogge*.  
*Captain Anthony Penruddock*.  
*Captain Peter Lindsey*.  
*Captain Thomas Price*.  
*Captain William Smith*.

**Commanders.**

*Captain Thomas Kirke*.  
*Captain John Hyde*.  
*Captain Richard Feilding*.  
*Captain David Purrey*.  
*Captain John Fletcher*.  
*John Barton* master.

**T**HIS glorious and victorious fleet departed from *Tilbury Hope* the 26th of *May*, with direction and resolution to

give no occasion of hostility, or to make any nation enemy to his majesty; only to defend his and his kingdoms honour, that

that had been lately and lavishly taxed by the vain boasting of a fleet of *French* and *Hollanders*, which joined off *Portland* the last of *May*: their bragging pretence was to question his majesty's prerogative on the narrow seas; and they stuck not to proclaim wherefore they came: but it is to be observed, that the greatest threateners are the least fighters; and so fared it with them; for they no sooner heard of our readiness to find them, but they plucked in their horns, and quitted our coast, never more repairing upon it; which gave great satisfaction to the shires we passed, that before were struck with a terror. And because we would be the better informed where the fleet was, and what it did, we sent a bark upon the coast of *Britany*, whither we knew they were retired, and by it understood their designs, the weak condition of their ships, heart, and abilities, any more to look upon the *English* coast.

From the time of the return of this bark, till the first of *October*, we made good our seas and shores, gave laws to our neighbour nations, and restored the ancient sovereignty of the narrow seas to our gracious king, as was ever due to his majesty's progenitors.

Whilst this fleet was preparing, and money raising to furnish it, there were many idle, factious, and scandalous reports invented, and spread abroad by disaffected people. Their speeches tended to the dishonour of the king, and no less to the reproach of his ministers of state, saying, That the fitting out of such a fleet, was but a colour to draw money from the multitude, to be otherwise employed than was pretended: but when they saw the end in arming such a royal navy, and the necessity of it, to give terror to the world, after so many imputations cast upon our nation, by our former unfortunate actions at sea, it bred a great alteration in the disposition of people, as well at home as abroad.

It appeared at home by the readiness and willingness of those that before seemed to oppose it, and were most averse unto it; who now being satisfied as to the mistrust they had, shewed themselves more ready and willing to contribute to it than others, being satisfied it so nearly concerned the honour of their king and country.

We may say it had the like success abroad; where, at the beginning of our preparations, the gazetteers stuck not to divulge in all languages many false invented reports, which no doubt they received out of *England*, as namely, the discontent of the subjects, and their general denial to contribute towards it with moneys; besides many other invented calumniations, which now they find themselves abused and de-

ceived in; for whosoever will speak with travellers lately come from beyond sea, or confer with merchants and others that have weekly intelligence and correspondence by letters from all parts of *Europe*, will find what the world conceives of this fleet, and the fear all nations apprehend of it, not knowing which of them it may bring into danger. They now acknowledge what wise men in *England* knew before, That the king and his kingdom could not be more honoured, than by this noble expedition: the terror of it has made them that did not love us, at least to fear us. It has stopped the mouths of detractors, who now impute our former ill-governed actions, to the true and infallible causes, when witless partiality, want of experience, and the vain ambition of men in authority, more than reason, had the disposing of them.

The *Hollanders* by this time I doubt not find, that this royal fleet of ours is able to make the seas quake under us where we pass, and themselves to tremble when they call to mind the intolerable affronts they have put upon us, fearing they may require revenge; for there is no nation naturally so base, so soon elevated with good fortune, and dejected when they see themselves overmaster'd: they are rash and mad in their fury and drink; but want valour or courage to justify their actions, when they are sober, and call'd to an account for them.

But if the threatening shew will not abate their insufferable insolencies, then let us consider the state of their country, their harbour, their depths, or what advantage else we can take of them by stratagems, or otherwise, if they offend us. I will begin with the north part of *Holland*, and take *Zealand* and the ports of *Flanders* in my way, till I arrive at *Calais* in *Picardy*, in the dominions of *France*.

I will not speak of the port of *Embden*, because it cannot be accounted *Holland*; for properly it belongs to the earl of that name, called the count of *Embden*; but this town imitating the precedent of rebellious *Holland*, whose doctrine is to cast off the yoke of monarchy, and to live under the rule and government they have begun and taught, the subjects of the said earl have deprived him not only of his estate, but of his life also.

But God, who is the revenger of all evil actions, and commonly inflicts the same punishment on the actors they offend in, has made an example of that city and country since they practised their foul treachery against their prince, insomuch as they are now become most slavish to the *Hollanders*, who tyrannize over them with an irresistible garrison; and thus they are oppressed, without any hope of redemption.

There is no comparison for goodness between this harbour of *Emdden* in the east of *Frizeland*, and all others from *Brest* in *Britany*, till you come to it. Next to it, to the southward, is the *Texel* in *Holland*; it lies north-east and south-west, forty seven leagues from the *Foreland* in *Kent*, and from *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk* thirty two leagues; not to speak of the channel of the *Fly*, nor another channel betwixt the *Spanish* channel and the *Land-Deep*, which are for small shipping. I will describe the two main channels, that is to say, the *Spanish Gut*, and the *Land-Deep* aforesaid; they are both of one sort and goodness, though not for all winds; they flow at a spring-tide twenty four foot, and fall sixteen at an ebb; they lead at a road under the island of *Texel*, which defends them from the sea: this island is poorly inhabited, and of small strength, as it is used; but he that has it, has the command of all the towns in that part of *Holland*, *Gelderland*, and *Frizeland*, who can neither pass in or out without the permission of the island; and this is my first observation of the advantage we can take of *Holland*.

The next port of importance to *Texel*, is the *Nafs* in *West Holland*, twenty four leagues south-west and by south from thence, and to the *Foreland* west and by south twenty four leagues. The *Nafs* has three channels, two better, and the third like the *Texel*; all three meeting at the *Bril*, which commands all ships of *Skedam*, *Roterdam*, *Delpb-Haven*, *Dort*, and all other creeks thereabouts. My second observation for our advantage, is to get possession of the *Bril*, as formerly we had. Two leagues from the *Maese*, south-west, lies the *Goree*, the same course and distance from the *Foreland* in *England* that the other is. This harbour exceeds all the rest before named, having eighteen foot at low water, with a large and broad channel; but not frequented by great ships but out of necessity, when they have not water sufficient to go into the *Maese*, till

they have unladen part of their goods at *Goree*.

The cause why this harbour is no more in request, is, by reason that *Roterdam* and the other towns before named are far distant from thence; and such merchandize as is brought in great ships to the *Goree*, must be transported in smaller vessels through a creek called the *Spy*, which is a great delay, trouble, and expence to the merchant.

Six leagues west from thence lies the island of *Waterland* in *Zealand*, where *Flushing* is seated. There are three channels likewise better than the rest, except the *Goree*. The inconveniency of these channels, is, that they are long and narrow, and yet I have known at several times most part of the king's ships turn in at the *Weelings*. This is so well known to the *English*, that there needs no other repetition of it.

The next good harbour to *Flushing*, laying aside *Sluce*, which is not worth naming, is *Ostend*, twelve leagues west-south-west from thence; and eight leagues farther is *Dunkirk*.

The king of *Spain* makes great use of these two towns for annoying the *Hollanders* by sea; but a league and a half from *Dunkirk*, there is lately another harbour erected, called *Mardike*, that will entertain a whole fleet of the greatest ships that sails on the seas, and lies more to the hurt and damage of *England*, than all the rest of the harbours aforesaid; and therefore if ever wars should happen betwixt us and *Spain*, it would behove us to get possession of it, for we have had a late trial of the mischief it hath done us by our late short war with *Spain*.

I confess it will be a hard thing for us to effect it, because of the extraordinary fortifications to seaward; and to think to keep in their ships by sinking vessels in the mouth of the channel, is a folly; for the quicksands are such upon that coast, that as often as a ship shall be sunk, she will be suddenly swallowed up in the sand; so that this stratagem will not serve.

#### *An Introduction to the Earl of Northumberland's Voyage in the Year 1636.*

HIS majesty finding that the last year's fleet of 1635, produced both fame and safety to himself and realm, as is apparent by the voyage of that year, he resolved to persevere in his former resolutions, that it should not be looked upon by other nations, as a sudden unpremeditated determination, or a vain needless ostentation, to shew what he could do, if put to it by an enemy: therefore he prepared this year 1636. a fleet nothing inferior to the others, to make good what he had declared before, viz. To maintain the sovereignty of the

seas due to the crown of *England* in all ages, and left him by his progenitors; as also to defend the peaceable commerce and traffick that had evermore belonged and continued to his jurisdiction, but had lately been disturbed by the *Dutch*, committing hostilities upon the *Dunkirkers* under his majesty's protection.

But as this fleet could not be furnished and prepared without great expence, it was thought convenient to carry it equally betwixt the king and his subjects, in regard the expedition was for their good, safety, and



and reputation, as well as for the honour of the king; for as the office of a king is to be careful of all his provinces, countries, and subjects, to be partial to none, but a father to all with indifferency; so the part of subjects is to pay a dutiful obedience when they shall be called upon, for the reasons aforesaid; whereupon his majesty directed his letters to every shire, to levy such a proportion of money as would suffice for the furnishing of the intended navy.

But as general demands and contributions of money are commonly distasteful to the multitude, who are divided in opinions, every one pretending a seeming reason and excuse; so did it make as great a difference in mens minds and humours, some complaining of their want and poverty, some excepting against it as a needless and unnecessary charge, disapproving the design; and others excepting against the unexperienced commanders, who they said were fit to make a good design miscarry.

But if the detractors will but weigh, and with indifferency consider their supposed objections, it will appear rather a refractory disposition, that desires to possess others with the like perverseness, than any just cause they have to complain against it.

If these demands seem too heavy a burden for all the subjects in general to undergo, let them look back, and with indifferency compare the times of queen *Elizabeth* with these, and they will find what daily demands of money were then made at their hands, and how willingly they were granted, for the maintenance of a war against so mighty a prince as the king of *Spain* upon his own coast, for the relief of *Holland*, and to assist the king of *France*, besides the domestick, dangerous, rebellious war in *Ireland*; which expences they will perceive, were, beyond comparison, greater than the present, as appears by what follows.

In 1588, the city of *London* being required to furnish five thousand soldiers, and fifteen ships of war, of their own accord they granted ten thousand soldiers and thirty ships; and by their example other towns within the realms furnished in ships and pinnaces thirty, besides what the nobility and country sent in horse and foot.

In the expedition to *Portugal*, in 1589, her majesty furnished only six ships of her own; whereof two were of the smallest rank, and adventured in that expedition 6000*l.* the whole number of vessels being an hundred and forty six, with fourteen thousand soldiers, and four thousand sailors.

That same year *London* sent a thousand soldiers to the aid of the king of *France*, and several shires sent the like aid upon the same occasion into *France*, under my lord *Willoughby*.

The city of *London* in the year 1594, furnished six ships, two pinnaces, and four hundred and fifty soldiers, for three months, and the following year 1595, *London* furnished a thousand soldiers with all sorts of provision, and sent them to *Dover*, to the relief of *Calais*, when it was taken by the cardinal. Many other forces were sent out of the country upon that service.

The following year 1596, was the expedition to *Cadiz*, and the year after the island voyage; to which two exploits, not only *London*, but all *England* contributed very largely.

In *January* 1598, a great tax was laid upon *London* for *Holland*; and our soldiers there were sent into *Ireland*. The like was done in *February* following. The same year *London* furnished sixteen ships and six thousand men, besides a great number of horse and foot that were sent out of the country, at the time that my lord of *Essex* was in *Ireland*; and in the year of 1600, *London* sent five hundred men into *Ireland*, and furnished them; besides great numbers sent out of the country.

That same year the city of *London* built and furnished five galleys to sea, and was at a great charge for the earl of *Essex*'s entry into *London*.

One thousand soldiers were sent into *Holland*, and every one allowed then three pound ten shillings *per* man, besides those that were sent out of the country. Moreover, there were four hundred soldiers sent in *October* out of *London*; and in *May* following there was a great press in *London* for *Ostend*; and in the last year of queen *Elizabeth*, *London* sent and furnished two thousand soldiers into *Ireland*, and two ships and a pinnace, which stood them in 6000*l.*

If these benevolencies were granted so willingly, and without repining or gain-saying of the subjects, as well appears, let us consider of times, and judge withal of the estate of men in those days, compared with the present. First, in the mens forwardness to serve their prince and country; which their hearts and minds are now alienated from. Secondly, it is to be considered how much more able men are now to contribute, than at that time they were, by their increase of wealth and riches, which they have gained by king *James*'s bringing peace with him into this realm, as shall appear by these particulars following, that shall be by the way of queries.

*Quere*, Of the state of *London* in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, compared with these present, as namely, the buildings, with the number of inhabitants in them, and by consequence the riches increased.

*Quere,* Of our trade and commerce betwixt the time I speak of, and now in being, as namely the traffick with *Spain*, and all the dominions thereunto belonging, which we were then debarred of by reason of our wars with *Spain*; the profit whereof may be in value to the subject ten times as much as the king's custom comes to, as may be apparently made out by the custom books.

*Quere,* Of our trade to the *East Indies*, and the gain thereof, begun and followed since king *James* came to his crown; as also a late trade we have found into *Guinea* for gold.

*Quere,* The state of *Greenland*, and the whale-fishing there, that hath been discovered and prosecuted with little charge and great profit to the merchant, since king *James* possessed this kingdom.

*Quere,* Of the several plantations and colonies since that time, with the employment of people which otherwise would have been a burden, and a consuming of victuals to this commonwealth.

*Quere,* Of the abundance of shipping that hath been employ'd in that navigation, as also of the increase of ships since the days of queen *Elizabeth*, which is no hard thing to know; for when she died, there were not above four merchants ships in *England* of four hundred tons each.

And reckoning but the increase of ships since then, it would cause admiration, and be a reason for men to contribute to ship-money, when they shall consider the wealth increased by the trade of those ships that are never idle, but continually sailing from place to place.

*Quere,* Of the peaceable state of *Ireland*, and the long continuance of war before king *James* came to the crown; as also of the excessive charge *England* was continually at to maintain that kingdom, that now is not only able to uphold itself, but to afford great profit to his majesty.

But whereas our refractory men alledge for their excuse, in denying his majesty's demands of money, and comparing the times together, say, they were forced to it in the queen's time, out of necessity, being drawn to it by a dangerous war with *Spain*, not weighing with themselves that his majesty's actions have been to anticipate and prevent a war, as is to be seen in my next narrative; and no man can be so ignorant, but he must confess, it is less hazard to prevent a war before it is begun, than with valour and courage to resist after it is begun.

Wherefore are our castles seated on the sea-coast, but to prevent the invasion of an enemy, or other insolencies offer'd by stran-

gers? or why are people train'd in several shires, but to be in readiness to prevent foreign and domestick attempts? Whereas if castles were to be built, and soldiers trained after the time the enemy shall appear upon the coast, in what estate were *England* to make a defence? And this employment his majesty now has by sea, may be paralleled with the other two comparisons: and I will therefore conclude, that the wit of man doth not consist so much in seeing, as in foreseeing and preventing peril and danger that may fall upon him.

But whereas poverty is made the excuse for people's not giving what his majesty requires, the true cause shall appear, that hath bred your want, as you shall confess; and that it is in your powers to redress it; as, namely, Your pride, and other needless and unnecessary expences that depend on it. The second is your gormandizing and excessive feasting, lately crept in amongst you, not formerly used. The third is the hateful and loathsome custom of drinking, which begets all disorders, and is the increaser of all vices. The fourth is a vain and ambitious desire of titles, which after they are purchased with money, draws on a greater expence upon their estates, to maintain that port so dearly bought. The fifth is the sumptuous buildings, and ornaments of houses; all men striving for ostentation to out-do their neighbours, with whom they are in faction and emulation. The sixth is the miserable covetousness of some, and the lavish prodigality of others. The seventh is the want of care to have things sold according to their just value, in equity of law; but that every man rates his own commodity according to the necessity of the buyer. The eighth is the extortion taken by griping usurers, from people that are necessitated. But, above all, the number of base lawyers that cause suits, not with a charitable intent, to end, but knavishly to multiply them; and with that expence to the client, as no question can rise, of what value soever, but a bill, answer, and order, will be of more charge, both to the plaintiff and defendant, than what is demanded of most of you towards the furnishing his majesty's royal navy. These are the true causes of want in commonwealths, which proceeds from your own superfluities, vanities, and your revengeful humours.

Most of these abuses were foreseen by *Licurgus*, the great law-maker, who made decrees against them: he also forbid pompous burials, and banished the use of silver and gold, as things most prejudicial to commonwealths; which law of his continued five hundred years, and no man found himself

self agrieved for want of money; for it made love, increased goodness, and banished vices.

But that which you term want, proceeds not from poverty, but from plenty; for he that hath much desires more, covetousness being never satisfy'd. The true use of riches is in him that hath most and desires least; and the best riches is to abstain from covetousness.

In old times he was esteemed rich that was of a fair, upright, and good behaviour. He that shall except against the honourable design of this fleet, may be accounted an arrogant and ignorant person, and a contemner of the king's propositions, excusing it under colour of want, and with little reason. Those that repine at princes actions out of stubbornness, or refractoriness, are within a degree of impugning the sovereignty; and in such a case they want nothing but power to carry on their conceived treason. They do not consider that princes are born not to obey any but their own laws; and the subjects are born to submit to the wills of princes, where reason shall be required at their hands, for the good of the commonwealth; and that nothing deserves such severe chastisement from kings, as such contempt as opposes them or their authority. *Marcus Pelio* says, That commonwealth is everlasting, where the king seeks obedience, and people labour to get his love by their carriage.

Latter times have taught us a most woful and lamentable precedent, in the like case, to parallel with this: *Lewis II.* king of *Hungary*, being threatened with the power of *Soliman*, the great and magnificent *Turk*, required aid of his subjects to withstand so puissant an enemy, that was like an inundation of water to overflow him, them, and their country; but most of his subjects, whom you too nearly imitate in obstinacy, refused to contribute to his demands, standing upon the privileges of the law so long, till it was too late to give succour; and in conclusion, the king and his army were destroy'd, and his people and country became slaves to the *Turkish* government, under which they now live.

Herein appeared the ingratitude of the vulgar sort to their king; and how easily they might have met with this danger, before it lite so heavily upon them: they regarded not the benefit they had received, or might receive at their prince's hands, if they had been willing to have yielded to his desires; for that subject that will not yield to obedience, may as well renounce the name of king and his authority, and by consequence resist laws, justice, and peace; and then follows a continual war, without hope

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of reconciliation, and the commonwealth is destroy'd.

I observe, that nothing breeds this wilfulness in subjects so much as jealousy, that thinks princes have other ends than they pretend, not considering that kings affairs must be kept secret; for their designs being discovered, are disappointed and ruined.

The *Romans* success was imputed to nothing so much as secrecy in their expeditions. They were wont to say, That when they discovered their secrets, they gave away their liberty, accounting secrecy as the guardian of their affairs; and it is an old saying, *That a secret is hard for one to keep, enough for two, and too much for three.* Of all things, a subject should not desire to know the secrets of princes; for *Philip* of *Macedon* bid a philosopher to demand any thing at his hands, and it should be granted. The philosopher humbly besought him, as his greatest suit, *That he would not discover to him his secrets*: and yet you would be wiser than philosophers, to murmur at kings actions, when you should with obedience seek to gain their love; for no king can be so unnatural to himself, or such an enemy to his people, as not to govern to the profit of both, because he receives equal gain or loss with his subjects.

Nothing deceives men more than a false conceit of themselves, which makes them run into unavoidable dangers; but let such men learn, that wisdom is life, and ignorance is death; the one understands what it does, as the other is dead for want of understanding. Much danger ensues for want of reason, and much good is left undone by too much folly.

If this refractory counsel you embrace, proceed from others, and not from yourselves, despise it; for it has another design than they think fit to let you know, which may ensnare you, like a bee that is often hung in his own honey. Therefore be not enticed with fair words, doubtful hopes, or seeming probabilities; but remember that a man has power over himself and tongue, before he speak or promise; but after his words are out of his mouth, they have power of him: and you will find that perverse and desperate counsel is full of perturbation, where men are embracers of evil advice; and therefore think an hour before you answer to their propositions, and a day before you yield to uncertain things that may bring danger.

You must likewise think and consider of the condition of them that counsel you, the occasion of their counsel, and the probability of what they counsel; for if it be out of private ends, out of anger, out of dif-

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content, out of revenge, or to the prejudice of kings designs, conclude such to be evil counsellors, and shun them as you will a serpent; that never stings so deadly as when she hisses not.

If you suspect their counsel proceeds from ambition, beware of it; for ambition teaches one to become disloyal, and he desires to draw others to consent to him in his ill purposes: if you be young, to whom this seditious counsel shall be given, follow the advice of *Solomon*, who says, *That folly is tied in the hearts of young men, and cannot be untied but by good instruction*; for indeed young men want experience: they are incredulous of good advice, wanting years to judge; and as poor in their judgment, being apt to delight in the musick of their own praise.

Let the warning of our late parliament admonish you; for there cannot be a more perfect precedent than by things lately done, and in your own remembrance; then you shall see the fruit of self-conceited subjects, that oppose the king in his demands, and the reward they have reaped by it; you have beheld the imprisonment of some, and the disgrace of others, which still lies as a heavy burden upon their shoulders, and cannot be discharged without submission, and acknowledging their errors, which some have done; and yet for all their obstinacy they have produced no good to the commonwealth; for the wiser sort censure them as giddy, rash, and inconsiderate, to offend so highly with their tongues, or to meddle with affairs above their reach, or what they could pretend to as members of parliament; for parliaments are called by authority of the king, who has power to dissolve them as he pleases, which puts an end to all they can say: wherefore a man should be silent, unless silence hurt him, or his speech be profitable to others.

Your part in a parliament is to give way, and obey such laws as shall be made by consent of the house; which laws have no authority till the king confirm them; neither can you challenge any privilege after the confirmation, till it be warranted by commission from the king, either in office or employment; for it is the king that rewards or punishes at his discretion; and by proof you have found, and ever will find, that after your rangling and jangling, nothing will get more favour than obedient diligence; for kings are not drawn by violence, but by humility and meekness. The scripture tells us, *That the way to get love of our princes, is by suffering, and not forcing*; for so they may taste of his goodness and mercy. It is a great virtue and wisdom in man, not rashly to enterprize a thing above his reach, or to be led by persuasion of fair words, soft speeches, or for-

ward threats, that deceive none but fools: and if you rely upon the infligation of others, that are of your fraternity and familiarity in parliament, who have nothing but words for their best witness, it is insolent madness; for what can they do but shew passion, like silly women, whose tongues are their best weapons.

All you can do for the present, is, to challenge the privilege of the parliament, of which you are members; but when that is over, you are brought to account for the indiscretion of your tongue, which is the best or worst member in a man's body; but not to be so much used as the ear or mind, which in reason should rule the tongue.

Another observation I collect, that wise men impute to your inconsiderate folly, That your words have produced no profit to the commonwealth, but great prejudice to all; for thereby you have incensed the king, and given him occasion to stretch out his prerogative to the uttermost; as also to awaken laws that have been many years sleeping, to his advantage, and inconvenience to the subject; for laws are established to bridle the haughtiness of mens minds, and the stubbornness of their conditions; and therefore it is dangerous to vex and anger princes upon such occasions.

The best thing subjects can do, is to live peaceably; for by concord small things increase to the good of all; whereas by discord all is lessened, and in the end nothing comes but repentance.

The third exception against those two fleets, generally spread abroad, is, the insufficiency of the captains and commanders wanting experience, as they suppose; which I suppose rather to be divulged without truth or proof, than on any good ground they have for it, and to be a mere scandal, proceeding from discontent and ill nature; and after that rate any man may be slander'd, if calumny pass for truth.

But if there were any such cause of exception to their sufficiency, there were none so like to know or find it as the king himself, or his lords, that have trial of their abilities; and therefore it is a great malepertness to insist upon this.

The ground they have to confirm their belief may be our long peace, which has given no occasion of war, and no means to gain experience; and the death of so many commanders, who lived and were employed in the queen's expeditions, a time when they failed with victory.

The common sort of people, who are led by shew and ignorance, esteem no man valiant but such as can shew scars and hurts, as tokens of their courage, like lewd bullies, or quarrelsome roisters, who never regard the justice of the quarrel, honour,  
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wife conduct, or value. victory obtained without blood, or the discreet management of a warlike action: and if a man go about to convince them of their errors, he had as good speak to the deaf; for he shall neither be heard or believed.

The last year's fleet was set out on account of the *French* and *Hollanders* vying with his majesty as to prerogative and power, which in a short time would have blazed out into open war, had it not been prevented by a speedy fleet, which some of our refractory men repine at; not considering that it was better and less chargeable to meet danger before it fell upon them, than to expect the coming of it; for the first enterprize in war gains the best reputation, especially when our enemy sees he is neither feared nor dallied with, which will make him think how to escape danger, rather than to go forward with force and courage; and we must account that victory most honourable that is obtain'd with least loss and effusion of blood.

The *Saxon* king *Edgar* left a brave reputation to all posterity, and to this day we look upon it as an act of renown and fame, that he failed about *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with thousands of ships, not once, but often; and yet no history makes mention of any conflicts or encounters he met with, but only did it for the safety and reputation of his kingdoms, and to daunt his enemies, if they had appeared: which case may be paralleled with his majesty in these our days, who is lord of the same seas, enjoys the same right king *Edgar* did, and has a greater strength and force than he to maintain it.

If it were not for the honour and sovereignty of the seas due to the king, who knows not but that it is more safety and ease to pass out of the kingdom in a small vessel, than in a royal ship of the king's; for every harbour is able to entertain a bark of little draught; but it is not for his majesty's reputation to accommodate a prince or ambassador in such a vessel, who comes courteously to visit him, which every man may hire, and lies open to all dangers of enemies and pirates.

We have many precedents of emperors, kings, and queens, passing our seas, that have been honoured and accompanied with the fleets of *England* for their security, and to shew the king's magnificency on the seas, and yet no hostile act appeared: I would ask the detractors in this case, Whether in reason or reputation the king should not have shewed his greatness for the guard of the seas, and the subjects should not contribute to that extraordinary expence, since they are interested in the dignity of it? for all succeeding ages, when they shall

read of it, will look upon it as an honourable and noble action; and though the king and subjects be all dead, their honour will never be forgotten.

In 1588. when the *Spaniards* threatened a conquest of *England*, if they had happened to have been diverted, as it was once thought they would, can you believe it had been, safe or prudent for us, upon a bare supposition, to have stopp'd and stay'd our fleet from going to sea? or to have called it back when at sea? or do you imagine the subjects at that time would have thought it discretion to have saved their moneys laid out in fitting our navy, and have made excuses of want, or dislike of the designs, or the lack of experienced commanders, who I will undertake were fewer, and knew less than they now do?

In the year 1599. the queen, with admiration to all her neighbours that beheld it, rigged, victualed, and set to sea, the most part of her ships, in fewer days than any of her progenitors had ever done, expecting an invasion from *Spain*; the rather believed, because the *Spanish* preparation was at the *Groene*, the next harbour to her; which fleet of the *Spaniards* was the same year diverted by the pursuit of a fleet of *Holland*, that had lately surprized the island of *Cannaria*: and though the queen was made secure by this accident, and that her fleet returned from the *Downs* without seeing the enemy, yet did not a man in the realm repine at the expence demanded towards the furnishing of it. By this you may see the difference of times, and the difference of mens conditions, and how providence and foresight in war are as much to be approved and esteemed, as the active part when men shew their valour in fight.

If you were as willing to know, as you are apt to judge the difference of times, you would find, that the great and fortunate victories in the days of queen *Elizabeth* were not atcheived so much by force and fighting, as by fortune and providence, and the fear the *Spaniards* conceived of us; for unless it were in the year 1587. when Sir *Francis Drake* made an attempt upon *Cadiz* road, and quelled the enemy that was preparing for an invasion of *England*; in 1588. when we were put upon our own defence; in 1596. when my lord of *Essex* and my lord admiral took *Cadiz*, and defeated fifty nine ships of great value and burden; and in 1601. when Sir *Richard Lewson* and Sir *William Monson* took a carrack, destroyed and seized upon certain galleys defended by the castle; the rest of the fleet employ'd by the queen had never cause nor opportunity to shew their valour or force in a naval battle; though I confess there were many other famous and fortunate voyages with

with wealth and reputation to our nation, as namely, and in my first book I have treated, *Drake* to the *West Indies* in 1585. *Portugal* expedition in 1589. the earl of *Cumberland* the same year to the *Tercera*, where he met with many encounters by land, and prevailed, and what ships fell into his hands was without resistance: many other voyages were worthily performed by him; the lord *Thomas Howard* in 1591. the taking of a carrack by private ships in 1592. being a ship of great value; *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies* in 1595. where they both died; Sir *Martin Forbusher* to *Brest* in 1594. the earl of *Essex* to the islands in 1597.

And to make a short repetition of the *Hollanders* actions, so unworthily boasted and bragged of, it cannot be found that they ever made a fight with six ships to six, since their wars with *Spain*, which is nigh seventy years; though it is not to be doubted, but that they have many able and sufficient captains amongst them, bred from their youth in sea affairs, that would have shewed themselves sufficient commanders, if there had been occasion; and in the same manner would those of ours, you call unable captains, have done the like; for they are of the condition of the *Hollanders* I speak of; they know as much in ships, and how to govern or fight, as the longest-experienced captain that has had the fortune to exchange most bullets, with the loss of their blood.

I wonder that this can be an exception to our captains; but that such envious persons will seek all pretences to slander them; for how can you think that without practice of war men can become experienced captains? And their purses will tell them they have not so much furthered their employment since the death of queen *Elizabeth*; which shews not only an evil disposition, but a dangerous consequence that may lite upon this kingdom, by refusing their reasonable and convenient payments; for they mean thereby that we shall not only live in ignorance, but to take away all occasions to breed soldiers and commanders; for war is not to be

followed for pleasure, if men see not the means to maintain it, or hopes of preferment.

Let them consider that in natural bodies, the longer one lives in health, sickness is the more dangerous when it comes; and so it is in war falling upon a fruitful country, that has long enjoy'd tranquillity: and therefore though no likelihood of war appear, yet do you like a skilful physician, who prevents a disease before it seizes his patient, rather than struggle with it when it has taken possession of him, and his remedies come too late; for dangers by wise men may be sooner avoided, than overcome by force and courage, so they be prevented in time.

Let these people I have spoke of pretend what they list, or frame notions to please their fancies, yet I am persuaded all ancient *English* men of honour, blood, and name, will contribute to the preservation of the narrow seas, from the violence of oppressors, who seek unjustly and outrageously to commit disorders, which cannot be resisted but by numbers of ships to equal their forces; and if people out of perverseness deny to contribute to a design so just, noble, and of such reputation, when the matrons of *Rome* voluntarily offered their jewels and bracelets, which obtained great privileges, what shame will it be in you to deny it upon such slender and ill-grounded reasons?

Let us compare our seas with our flourishing cities in *England*, that are orderly and carefully governed: think you it were well done of people to repine at the charge of their watches, as a needless expence in our peaceable commonwealth, where our laws give authority to punish offenders? we may well believe that murders, thefts and disorders, will follow, if such watches should be taken away and abolished. And the like, or greater, would ensue, if the same providence and care were not had in the government of our seas. Now will I proceed to the management of the expedition in 1636. where the earl of *Northumberland* commanded in chief.

*The Voyage it self.*

**Ships.**

*The Triumph,*  
*The St. Andrew,*  
*The James,*  
*The Victory,*  
*The Repulse,*  
*The Nonsuch,* &c.

**Commanders.**

The Earl of *Northumberland* admiral.  
Sir *John Penington* vice-admiral.  
Sir *Henry Marom* rear-admiral.  
Captain *Walter Steuart.*  
Captain *Lewis Kirke.*  
Captain *Pory.*

**U**NDER correction, I must crave leave and liberty to examine the errors and oversights committed in this voyage, if

any shall appear, as I did in the beginning of my first book, and have continued till my last; wherein I took upon me, a  
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freedom to except against the ill-carried actions of that time, and shew the way how they might be amended, and better ordered; for small faults at the beginning may be easily prevented by admonition, if it be well followed.

What I did was not out of fear or flattery; and, as I have said before, I walk'd so uprightly, that if the commanders deserved well, I gave them their due; if ill, no man can say I spared them; nay, I was so bold, that if there were any error or fault committed by the state in their directions, with modesty I reprov'd it, and shew'd my reasons for so doing, to give the better light to succeeding enterprizes; for experience is the mother of knowledge, and to be valued above authority or opinion.

This royal fleet being all furnished and ready for the sea, but not without some defect in the ships, as appear'd by the disasters that befel many of them, his majesty made choice of the earl of *Northumberland*, a gallant and hopeful young gentleman, to command as general; though there could be no exception to the lord of *Lindsey*, the former commander, his carriage giving no distaste to the king, that ever I could hear of, as appeared by his majesty's own words, declaring, that the reason of electing him, was because he desired to breed up his nobility, to give them encouragement to take a liking to the sea, by former precedents, as men principally to be chosen for great employments; and that he meant to make it a yearly custom to keep a fleet to guard and defend the seas.

The ship appointed for vice-admiral, was the *Anne Royal*, equal in greatness and goodness with any of his majesty's ships, and one that had made trial of her sundry fortunes; the first in the year 1588. where she was honoured as admiral, and carried the arms of *England*, as due to the lord admiral; and this was the first time of her appearing at sea.

The next action of hers was in the enterprize upon *Cadix* in 1596. where my lord admiral commanded in her, with no less victorious and honourable success than the first. She was chosen as much for her goodness, as for my lord's affection to the ship; for in truth she was worthy of all honour.

But as fortune is of that perverse and uncertain temper, that she never sheweth herself constant, but mutable; and what she gives is not to continue long, but only lent; she has that power of herself, that no body can hold her against her will; so this paragon of ships was attended with the worst fate that ever befel ship belonging to the crown of *England*, and far unworthy her former exploits; for in her way from *Chatham* to *Tilbury Hope*, (a thing not to

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be believed, if the lamentable truth did not put it out of doubt,) whether through the negligence of the officers of the navy, or their indiscretion, or of the master, or the unskilfulness of the pilot, (for in such cases every one will lay it upon another, to excuse himself,) she run aground, and was lost; an accident so rare, that it made many ignorant and superstitious people divine and fear, that some ill fortune would attend the voyage.

It was the more wondered at, because in the eighteen years war under queen *Elizabeth*, no such disaster befel any of her ships, who had gone through more dangers and hazards in the open and spacious ocean, where their business was, than ever happen'd since; but I thank God, (excepting the loss of her, which with the charge of another ship will be recovered, and that of a *Whelp* that miscarried by the insufficiency of the pilot,) the rest of the ships returned safe, though not without some peril, which is naturally incident to sea affairs, and the rather in this, because some men imputed it to carelessness, others to the insufficiency of officers, and some to destiny.

My lord arriving in the *Downs*, expected his vice-admiral, the *Anne Royal*, who you have heard unluckily miscarried; however, he set sail with the rest of his fleet, for the west country, and the *St. Andrew* was appointed by the king to supply the want of the *Anne Royal*.

As there was occasion, my lord employ'd sundry of his ships in several services; and the *Victory*, one of the principallest, was sent into *Spain*, and returned an ambassador from that king into *England*, he being forbidden the passage through *France*, because of the wars betwixt the two kingdoms; and not then adventuring to send him by sea, unless it were under the guard of one of his majesty's ships.

*The Errors committed in this Voyage.*

NOW to proceed to the exceptions of this voyage, with which I will end this second book, and collect such errors, mistakes, and oversights, as seem worthy of reprehension, hoping it will give no more offence, or be imputed to presumption in me, any more than those I have excepted against in my first book, and part of this second; with whom I have been free, not out of design to discourage, but as a friend to warn them; for, according to the old saying, he that is warn'd is half-arm'd, and prevention is as much to be commended as valour in execution. It is held far greater wisdom to foresee, than to see; the one being natural to all eyes to behold,

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the other proceeding from judgment, care, and discretion.

*Callicratides*, general of the *Lacedemonians*, might have saved himself and his army, had he hearkened to advice, in forbearing to charge the *Athenians*; but by his improvidence he was overcome. *Quintus Fabius*, the *Roman*, through his foresight and carefulness, did the contrary, and retired for his advantage. Here appear'd the wisdom of *Fabius*, and the headstrong wilfulness of *Callicratides*, the one lost life and honour, the other purchased the name of *Maximus*, given him by his country.

Nothing can be a better instructor to a general, than admonition by precedent, for which cause I bring these examples, to give light to succeeding times and succeeding commanders. The first exception against this expedition, I observed, was, as I have said, the loss of the *Anne Royal*, which was neither blemish nor blame to my lord general; for she followed the directions of others, before she came under the command of him. The officers of his majesty's navy are the men only worthy to bear the rebuké of it, who, for want of experience in sea affairs, are led principally by precedents of former times, too lamentable to behold, that their government must depend upon the example of times; and yet, if they had but walked the paths of them that went before them, they should not have introduced this innovation, to direct our fleets to *Tilbury Hope*, there to press men out of colliers, and other merchant ships; when two small pinaces might have done the same service, and as they were press'd, have put them presently on shore, where they were to travel but three or four miles by land to *Chatbam*, there to be entertained and entered into pay.

And whereas in going from *Chatbam* to *Tilbury Hope* we passed by the *Nesse*, which we must also do in going directly to sea, with the same wind that carries us out we may be sooner at sea from the *Nesse* than at the *Hope*, whither we must go. Thus you see, people that governed by precedent, fail'd in not following precedents; and this unhappy mishap that fell upon the *Anne Royal*, came by a precedent of their own, which otherwise had not happen'd: this new precedent, I will undertake, was never with advice or consent of any captain; for they were put to an extraordinary expence by it, being a means to draw their friends and acquaintance aboard, whom they entertain with costly banquets; which proves a greater charge to them than the whole voyage; and till of late his majesty did strictly prohibit it, more powder was wasted by their vain ostentation in shooting, than they spent otherwise.

My lord of *Northumberland* being now at sea, and having ranged and scoured the shores of *France*, where it is most likely

that fleet would have appeared, if there had been any to have opposed him, he returned to the sound of *Plimouth*, to be further inform'd of the state of things thereabouts; and finding no ships, nor shew of opposition to his design, he left the shore, having received intelligence of certain *Turkish* pirates that lay hovering thereabouts, and had committed some spoils upon his majesty's subjects.

My lord lost no time to hasten the pursuit of those pirates, as he could be inform'd of them at sea; for in truth both his care and celerity were to be commended, though his haste had little availed to have subdued the pirates, if he had met them; for by reason of their swift sailing, they have the advantage of all other ships they meet in the spacious and open sea: this may seem strange to them that know it not, that ships can be built to such advantage in sailing, all of them being built with one kind of iron and timber; but what follows will demonstrate it to any that doubt of it.

You must understand, that all the *Turkish* pirate ships are vessels of christians, taken from them by violence, which when the *Turks* are possessed of, they use all art and industry to make better sailors than all other ships; and to this purpose they first cut down their half decks, and all other weighty things over head, which makes them wind tite and burdensome: they take out most part of their knees and binding works, to make them nimble and swift, like a man that is tite trussed, and has his doublet buttoned, that by loosening it he is able to run the faster. They never regard the strength of their ships more than for one voyage; for they want not continual prizes, which they take of christians, and thus use. Every fortnight or three weeks they grave their ships, and make them clean, to go the better: they carry no weight over head, or in hold, but victuals; by means whereof, and all these things considered, no ship is able to equal them in going.

The only hope I confess my lord had, if they had met them, which in truth was very uncertain, was in over-bearing them with sail, and the others would have been forced to take in their sails. The second, if there happen'd a calm, and the pirates scatter'd, that they could not help one another, with the number of his long-boats he might board and master them with the multitude of his small shot. The third was to surprize them in harbour, where they could not get out and escape. The fourth, that with less and nimble ships they might have the hap to board some of them, and so keep them employed, to hinder their way till greater ships could come to relieve them. But all these are uncertain.

My



My lord being now at sea with his fleet, and looking out diligently for pirates, he met with an *Irish* ship, lately come from *France*; and being asked for news of that coast, he did assure him, That the *French* fleet, which made so great a noise, was fitted, and gone to the eastward of the channel, and that 'twas generally supposed they meant to beleague *Dunkirk* by sea: this intelligence made my lord immediately bear up, and take that wind to follow them; but arriving at the *Downs* within few days after, he found himself imposed upon, and abused by this false information; for neither was there any such fleet arrived, nor any likelihood of their coming. At this time the wind continued so long westerly and southerly, that my lord was not able to recover the western parts again, by which means the pirates committed great insolencies and spoils upon the coasts.

The error and oversight of the carriage of this business, was in giving over much credit to the report of the *Irishman*, it being the ground my lord was to proceed upon afterwards; and had he waited but a few hours before he stood to eastward, he might have been informed of the truth thereof, by ships that continually passed the channel; or whether the *Irishman* might not have been corrupted by the *French* to give false intelligence, to divert my lord's purposes, could not speedily be determined by only asking questions: for the like happen'd heretofore in our war with *Spain*; the *Spaniards* subtilly causing a carvel of advice to be taken with counterfeit letters, directed to the general of the *West Indian* fleet, requiring him to come home in thirty five degrees; which we finding by the letters, hastened into that height to expect them; but the true and former directions to the general was, to hail in thirty six degrees and twenty leagues to the northward of it, whereby he avoided us so many leagues.

It should have been likewise considered, and men of greater experience than my lord should have made it known to him, that there was no great occasion to pursue the *French* with that unadvised haste; for their anchoring before *Dunkirk*, to beleague it at sea, is no more to the taking of the town, than if they had kept their ships in the ports of *France*; for the coast gives no liberty to land, being a plain flat, and sandy shore. Besides, they run a great hazard, both to ships and men, being there at an anchor; for if a northerly or north-west wind take them with a storm, they cannot avoid both shipwreck and death of men. Besides, why should the king of *France* put an army in peril to invade *Flanders* by sea, when his territories lie within nine miles of *Dunkirk* by land? And to

prove the danger the ships were to undergo, had they brought themselves to an anchor on that coast, I will shew, as it were in a glass, an accident that happen'd on the like case, wherein their folly would have appear'd.

When our wars of 1525. began with *Spain*, some men, out of singularity to get fame, which proved but their shame, with certain ships of war, undertook to surprize the enemies vessels lying at *Mardike*, a new harbour near *Dunkirk*; and though this overture was much opposed by experienced seamen, who alledged unanswerable reasons against the enterprize, yet wilfulness had that predominate power over wit and reason, that the contriver of this stratagem attempted his idle project, and commanded the ships to anchor where they were directed; but before they had lain there long, they were surprized with a storm at north-west, so that they could not claw off the shore; and in short, three of the ships, with all the men wilfully perished, the enemy on land beholding it; which made a doleful cry and complaint in the port of *Dover* and *Sandwich*; for there appear'd flocks of widows bewailing their miseries, through the mad and silly undertaking of ignorant directors.

If the *French* had thought that the beleaguering of *Dunkirk* with ships would have cut off relief and succour from sea, their weakness and want of knowledge in sea affairs had appeared, not in words, but by example, precedent and proof of the hundred *Spaniards* at *Dover* before spoken of, who notwithstanding there were forty or fifty ships of war of *Holland* placed to intercept them, some in the road of *Dover*, others in the road of *Graveling* and *Dunkirk*, yet by my advice and counsel aforesaid, arrived safe in the port of *Dunkirk*, the hour and tide assign'd by me for the town to bid them welcome.

And because this shall be a light to after-times, (if there be the like occasion,) this knowledge they shall receive from me, that with a leeward wind, and a leeward tide, ships may pass into the ports of *Flanders*, in despite of any force that shall forbid them.

My lord lying at the *Downs*, waiting a north-east wind to carry him to the place where the south-west wind first took him, in the mean time his majesty resolved upon an employment for his lordship of greater importance than this was, viz. to send him to the northward amongst the fishermen that fish'd there, to make good his majesty's proclamation not long before divulged, to prohibit and forbid any such fishing upon his coast of *England* and *Scotland*, by all foreign nations that would not acknowledge his majesty's prerogative on those seas.

My

My lord was as ready to perform that service, as his commission gave him authority to do it, and with speed repaired to the places of fishing aforesaid, where he met many buffes of *Holland*, which he took, and caused them to deliver, by the way of tribute, (acknowledging his majesty's regality,) a certain sum of money from each of them; but some other fishing vessels escaped by flight, fearing they should have been worse used than the rest of their fellows were; but neither do I hear that the states of *Holland* do approve this act, as allow'd, or allowable by them; such is the pride and ingratitude of popular states.

But if I may speak without offence to this point, or that my opinion had been demanded what to have done herein, I should have advised, that my lord should have repaired to *Brafound* in *Sbutland*, an island belonging to his majesty by his kingdom of *Scot-*

*land*, there to have arrived the two or three and twentieth of *June*, a time limited by the *Hollanders* to make their abode in that port; and in the day following, the four and twentieth, they have liberty by their own laws to put out of harbour to cast their nets, and to prosecute their fishing.

Thus had his majesty brought the *Hollanders* to his mercy, possessed their strength, their wealth, and indeed their whole provinces, which he might have released and restored afterwards, if he had pleased, upon acknowledging a sovereignty, and obliging them to pay a yearly acknowledgment. This would have shewed a commanding power over them, and yet directed by goodness and mercy. And thus much of the voyage in 1636.

I will now address myself to advise such great persons as shall take upon them the command of generals by sea.

#### *Advice to Great Persons and unexperienced Generals at Sea.*

Commonly great persons of authority, place, and blood, are elected and chosen chief commanders in great expeditions and actions at sea, to give the greater honour and reputation to such enterprizes as they shall be employ'd in: and therefore, as a servant to such great persons, I will advise, by way of caution, some things, before they accept of so weighty and important a charge, who cannot challenge it out of experience, or other deserts, more than their prince's favour and their own greatness: and many times perillous dangers and uncertain casualties depend upon such uncertain employments.

Many examples, both antient and modern, shew, That the best-deserving generals have bitterly tasted the displeasure of their employments; for no man's carriage can be so clear without blot or blemish, or his success prove so uncontrollable, but there may be found some cause of exception by evil and malignant spirits they shall leave behind them, and who, perhaps, will be made judges to censure their actions; so dangerous a thing it is to come under the hands of ire and wrath: for that we call ire, the *Grecians* term'd a desire of revenge, which is sometimes increased upon provocation, and sometimes proceeds only from ill nature. It has that evil and canker'd disposition, that it believes not a friend; it speaks with malice, and will not admit of reason; commonly the greater the desert, the greater malice attends it from such perverse defamers; and the worst is, there is no defence against such envy; for we are all the sons of envy; we are born, live, and die with envy: she spreads herself and poison against those that fortune raiseth highest,

and sets her thoughts to dispraise desert. There is an old proverb amongst good men, *That good will defend them from wicked persons, and the tumult of the common people.*

The second cause that makes men covet employment, is to shine above others in authority, as a means to obtain their haughty ends, which may be truly termed ambition; for ambition is of that nature, that it sees not what is before her eyes, nor considers the state and uncertainty of man's life; for if he be of low degree, he stands upon brass; if high, he treads upon glass; he climbs by steps and degrees, but falls suddenly when he least looks for it.

There are three things that make a man's way dangerous to walk in, ice, glory, and ambition. There is no affection so great as ambition, though naturally it is insatiable: like a hungry dog, that will leave his first prey, and fall upon another; so is ambition, not respecting what one hath got, but still seeking more. Nothing doth more nourish this humour of ambition than base flattery; and a man had better fall amongst thieves, than flatterers.

Your best natures are observed to be aptest to embrace flattering counsels, like worms that easily creep into soft and sweet wood; but the difficulty is, how to know such flatterers from others; for wolves resemble dogs, and flatterers look like friends. The cunning of a flatterer is how to entice good natures with hopes; for there is nothing more sweet to man than hope, nor any thing more displeasing than to be debarr'd his hope. Therefore time will be the discoverer of such deceitful sycophants; for when a man shall suspect such a one, let him

him not connive with his untruths or delays; but tie him to a limited and prefixed time, to perform what he gives hope of; for nothing but delays gives him advantage to deceive: thus shall the flatterer be taken in his own snare, when he shall fail of performing what he promised; and the party flattered shall own, that nothing is so vain as to be deluded with idle hopes of glory. It is like a soldier that is led by an ill captain into error, and yet with a seeming pleasure.

The third thing an unexperienced commander is to fear, is the doubtfulness and deceitfulness of fortune, in whose ship he must embark himself, to try the unconstancy of the sea; for the power of fortune is so universal, that she rules kingdoms, and overcomes armies; she destroys princes, and raises tyrants; and indeed she is so obstinate and perverse, that no art can prevail against her, or detain her by force. The evil she gives we see not; she pinches, and we feel it not; what she says we hear not, and when we think we have her, she is farthest from us. Her property is to bereave us of sense, that no sight or example shall help us; as we see by many men that lose their money at play, and yet cannot forbear it; and though some marry and repent, yet they will not be warned by it; and though people be daily drowned, yet it will not terrify others from adventuring to sea, still hoping for better hap: like desperate gamblers that put their fortune upon a chance at dice; whereas, if they would duly consider, the best hap at play, is, not to play at all; for though fortune give the luck to win one day, she revokes it the next with double loss. Beware of her therefore; for she never truly favours, but flatters; she never promises what she intends to perform; she never raises one so high, but she plucks him down as low again; she shews herself not so fickle or wavering in any thing as in accidents of war, where success is uncertain. *Hercules* who escaped so many dangers by land and sea, at last died by the hands of his friends: *Alexander* ended not his days in the war, but was supposed to be basely poison'd: *Julius Cæsar*, who won fifty two battles, was killed sitting in the peaceable senate-house.

The way to revenge one's self of fortune, and to avoid the evil in her, is rather to submit to reason, than to rely on her. The *Carthaginians* would never judge of fortune, effect, or success, but according to wisdom,

judgment, and discretion; they would not be raised by good fortune, or dejected by bad; but like a tree well rooted, that no wind or weather could move. For my part I think the wisdom of man is to be temperate, mild, and patient, and to take in good part what fortune sends.

You may see by what is gone before, the property of malice and fortune; so that a great commander is not to encounter with an enemy alone to shew his valour against; but the other two will have an interest in him, which wisdom cannot prevent: but the safest way in a general, is to observe the admonitions following for the best securing of himself and action. The first, is maturely to examine his own ability, and whether he covets the employment himself, or not, or that it was imposed on him by the king. If desired by himself, it is the more dangerous, and what errors he commits are the less excusable; and he put to rely on the favour of the prince: let it be the one or the other, his surest way will be humbly to crave his majesty that such a vice-admiral may be appointed, as is approved for his sufficiency and integrity; but not to give him that authority and command, as to derogate from his honour. And for the better conveniency and performance of the service, it is necessary that the vice-admiral be aboard the general, and still ready and at hand to advise; and for him to appoint an able man in his own ship, till they come to battle. This did *Philip* king of *Spain* to his natural brother *Don John* of *Austria*, in the famous battle of *Lepanto*: *Don John* being young, valiant, and forward, it was thought convenient to temper him with a grave adviser, which was *Don Lewis Reguezines*, commander major of *Spain*. In the action in 1588. for *England*, the same king employ'd the duke of *Medina Sidonia* for general, but gave authority to *Don Diego Flores de Valdes*, a man of great experience, to advise and counsel him, which proved a happiness to the duke; for the enterprize failing by the council of *Valdes*, as is to be seen in my first book, the blame lighted on *Valdes*, which he worthily deserved; and the less fault was found with the duke for it. I would not say thus much, if I were not a friend and servant to nobility, and desired their spirits might be nourish'd in such brave employments; and will be ready with my best endeavours to do them all the honour that lies in my poor power.

*How a King should elect a General by Land or Sea, a Counsellor of State, and a Governor over his People and Provinces.*

HAVING declared in my third book the office of a general by sea, and in this second, admonished such generals as take upon them so weighty and important a charge, without experience first gained, to be cautious and wary before they accept of such a command; now shall follow the care a king ought to have in the choice of a general, either by land or sea. And because generals are commonly guided by instructions from a king, resolved on by his council of state; to which consultation generals are seldom called, till the charge of the expedition be committed to their management, I will now give my private opinion what kind of man a king should make election of for a counsellor of state, to be assisting to him with his advice; of a general, who has the rule and government of his forces and actions; and of a governor, whom he sends into several countries and provinces to rule over his subjects; for the prosperity of his kingdoms depends upon their sufficiency, viz. a counsellor to advise, a general to execute, and a governor to rule.

I will begin with the counsellor of state, as the first considerable thing a prince ought to think of. A king's election must be according to the profession the party is bred in, as artificers tools are chosen to do their office and labour; for a king is abused, and his judgment question'd, that shall be made believe all men are capable of all places and employments, when indeed some of them are of no more use than an ax to an auger, or a knife to a fiddle; and it is as unseemly a thing to prefer such a counsellor, as to present armour to a woman, books to a clown, or nets to a scholar. Kings therefore must have a care to whom they commit the affairs of the realm, either domestick or foreign, civil or ecclesiastical, and not refer all to one man; for they are distinct things, that require several counsellors, and not to be executed by him that thinks a king's favour adds knowledge to his conceived understanding.

Kings and princes ought to have two especial cares in the government; the one, how to rule in peace; the other, how to carry their affairs in war; both which must depend upon the choice of counsellors, who must be provident what they advise, and assured that what they say is honest, necessary, profitable, and possible. They must not quickly determine, lest they repent at leisure: they must advise slowly, but exe-

cute speedily: they must not rely on the name and false word of fortune; for to great persons she is deceitful, to good men unstable, and to all unsure.

A good counsellor ought to have these properties, to be good and just; for such have weight in their words; to be virtuous and speak truth, as well in absence as in presence: they must be plain in business, and reprehend with love; they must praise the good, and admonish the bad; they ought not to speak much; and when they do, to let it be to purpose; for what they have in their mouths must be the picture of their hearts.

If their opinion be asked in point of war, they must be cautious what to answer; for the security, honour, and good hap of their master, depends on it, and the man's reputation of wisdom will appear by it; which, when it shall be known to his enemy, will breed terror; for when king *David* had war with *Abfalon*, he pray'd, *That God would blind the understanding of his principal counsellor Achitophell, whom he more feared than the force of Abfalon's host.*

A counsellor cannot give a better answer to his master's demand in point of war, than *Augustus Cæsar* did in the like case, who said, *That a war ought to be commanded by gods, justified by philosophers, maintained by princes, and executed by wise captains, and courageous soldiers.* And moreover he advised, *That neither battle nor war be undertaken, unless there evidently appear more hope of gain than fear of danger.* He compares it to him that angles with a golden hook, which if it be snatched away, the fish that is taken cannot countervail the loss.

*Cæsar* would not so much rely upon himself, as upon the opinion of *Virgil*, how a commonwealth should be best governed; who answered, *If wise men hold the helm, and good men be seated in place over the bad; if the best men have due honour; and the rest be not injuriously dealt with; if judges and men in authority will not be led by malice, friendship, anger, or love:* For nothing ruins commonwealths but hypocritical and covetous counsellors, that support their deceitful credit, and make a prince believe he cannot err.

But a wise king will soon know such a counsellor, by observing his words, which will discover his intentions, and lay open his conditions; and a just king will reward him that shall thus falsely seduce and corrupt,

rupt, as in reason he should be rewarded that poisons a publick fountain or spring, whereof all people drink ; for both king and subject have part of this pernicious counsel.

A king therefore ought to be careful of three things; the first of himself, the second of his subjects, and the third of his counsellors, officers and servants ; for *Cæsar* in his time complained of the miseries of princes, saying, *They are subject to perfidiousness, to imaginations, to detestable treason, deceitful conspiracies, and destructive poisons ; some deceive, and others flatter and betray them ;* so that they are made the subject of all discourse.

For the honour of the sex, I will mention *Zenobia*, a queen of *Asia*, and will make her the mistress of counsel, for counsellors to imitate. They write of her, that she was constant in her enterprizes, faithful in her words, liberal and just, severe in punishment, discreet in speech, grave in determining, and secret in her doings.

The indifferent man to make a counsellor to a prince, is neither to be too old, nor too young ; for youth shews lightness ; and if a prince take absolute power to himself, it shews a bold rashness, and will be subject to be seduced by flattering servants, that will make his will their authority ; but with this caution, That it be done with honour, duty, and reverence to their masters, and security to themselves ; for it is not the name of a counsellor that gives reputation, but the due execution of his place ; he must be an equal distributor of justice to all people alike in the commonwealth, lest, in comparison of land, by labouring to make one part too fertile, he leave the other part barren.

A counsellor ought to be wise, and cautious withal, what advice he gives : For there are two principal things that make a prince beloved ; the one, is defending his people against oppression ; the other, to have peace and alliance with those countries and princes that afford them trade and commerce, which war seldom produces ; and yet I confess, that war well made, produces a more perfect and firm peace ; and the best time to make such a war is in peace, that moneys may be best raised. And though all war of it self is unjust, yet a good cause may make it lawful, but not when it is out of humour, out of spleen, or out of private respects ; and yet let it come when it will, they cannot propose any war to a prince, but it is better to accept of mean conditions of peace than endure the fortune of it ; for *Aristotle* says, *Fortune shews herself most favourable where there is least hope.*

The *Athenians* hearing the council was dishonest which *Athistones* gave *Themosto-*

*cles*, though profitable, with one voice cried, *If it be not just, it cannot be commodious nor commendable :* whereupon *Themistocles* commanded, it should be no more talked of. Let this be a caveat to counsellors, that they either hold their peace, or speak things that are probable and honourable to kings and kingdoms, and take it for a maxim, *That peace is the nursery for happiness.*

The solidest advice a counsellor can give his master, is, to win the affections of his subjects ; for then he will have their hands, their hearts, and purses, which is the marrow and sinews of war ; and yet, as I have said, all things considered, it is better to avoid war ; for the nature of it is to bring one into bondage, and peace makes him free ; the one is a tyrant's will, the other a prince's decree : but if the necessity of a war cannot be avoided, the first thing a prince must provide is plenty of money ; it will encourage soldiers, terrify enemies, and imbolden alliances, when they shall see no likelihood of want thereof to go forward with their enterprizes. The next consideration, is to have a grave consultation for the prosecution of the war, not at once, but often ; but let them beware they rely not upon passionate advisers ; for choler is an enemy to counsel, and never to be allowed of but in extremity, when desperation is the last and best remedy and help ; for great actions ought to be resolved on at leisure, and executed with speed ; and it is better to escape with judgment, than to go forward with courage ; and to use victory wisely, than to get it happily. The victory *Hannibal* obtained was attributed to the direction and advice of his council ; and many who are brave in the field, want maturity to direct themselves or others ; which shews all men are born, as well in war as other faculties, to support one another.

When princes are provided of counsel, money, and all other things for the war, let not them nor their generals presume upon their multitudes, strength, or power of men ; for God orders battle, and bestows the victory when he pleases to stretch forth his arm, which is of greater force than all princes, powers, and armies : but commonly he does not use to do it but in defence of equity ; for generally the chance of war is like a cast at dice, either good or bad, and may be spoiled by oversight, or mended by play.

Now shall follow the sufficiency, and next the election a prince should make of a counsellor ; for many men fly with the wings of others, and seem outwardly to be what inwardly they are not ; and if he hearken to the praise of others reports, they

they are uncertain, because delivered out of hate or affection; for good words deceive both the wise and the foolish.

It behoves a king therefore to enquire after such a man's birth, education, and reputation; though I confess his birth is the least exception; for all ages prefer virtue before blood: *Caius Marius*, a great captain, was born of base parentage; the emperor *Valentinian* was the son of a ropemaker, and divers others little better.

The philosophers did not account the lives of men by their degrees and callings, but by the good they did, and the virtuous name they held. Silence is a great light to discover the discretion of a counsellor; for haughtiness, anger, and wrath, are the properties of a fool; the empty vessel makes the greatest sound; and the least wits are the greatest talkers: but the greatest folly is to rely too much on a man's own sense, and to be proud when he is praised. Learning is a great help to wisdom; it makes young men sober; it is a consolation to old men; it enriches the poor, and adorns the rich: it is evil to disdain learning, but worse to impugn it; and the want of it is the worst of all; for indeed there is as great a difference between the learned and the unlearned, as betwixt the living and the dead, or a physician and his patient; though learning can no more help a dull wit, than labour make a barren ground fertile.

There is a surer method (for a king) to chuse a counsellor, than by his birth, education, or hearsay; for a man may have all, or most of these parts, and yet want judgment, or be of a pestilent temper, that shall destroy the rest; for there are some who can give good advice, and not follow it; like a harp, that's pleasanter to others, than to him that plays on it; or a bay-tree, that is ever green, but without fruit. Therefore judge not of gold by the colour, no more than of a man at first sight, till you prove him: but the surest rule for a king to try the sufficiency of a counsellor, is to examine him in private and suddenly, and to propose to him things of the greatest importance and wisdom, for the government of a commonwealth; then to command him immediately to write his opinion to all the particulars proposed, in his own presence, not suffering him to return, or have conference with any others; which will be a surprize upon him, and the king will see and discover his abilities, and whether he be a worthy minister for his service, or no, or commended for kindred, friendship, bribes, faction, or other false pretences, and esteem him accordingly that commends him. And thus much for the king's knowledge, how to elect a counsellor of state.

#### *How to elect a Governor.*

THE next that follows shall be the choice of a governor a king sends to rule over his countries and provinces. Let *Plato* be the adviser in this point, who says, *A governor must be loved of many, and feared of all; he must endeavour to do good actions, and deceive none with words; he must be constant and pitiful; for the clemency of a governor makes a man ashamed to commit offences. Seneca says, That clemency is a great ornament in a governor; and that mercy, which is not accompany'd with justice, is a fault reprehensible; and that justice without mercy is not justice, but cruelty.*

When *Augustus Cæsar* sent his governors into several countries to rule, he was wont to tell them, *I trust you with my honour, and commit my justice to you, that you envy not the innocent, nor be a butcher to offenders, but that with one hand you be a help to the good, and encourage the evil to amend: my meaning is, to send you to be a tutor to the fatherless, a support to widows, a physician to the sick, a staff to the blind, and a father to all.*

*Alexander* found the country of the *Sidonians* in much disorder, and the people desired a just and upright governor to rule them; which being granted, the chief of the nobility expected preferment, and to be advanced in the government; but *Alexander* deceived all their hopes, and appointed one *Abdolonymus*, whose virtues he was informed of, and who was a poor labouring man, though of regal descent.

A governor in all his actions must be secret, pleasant, and liberal; he must fear nothing, but be ever feared; he must imitate *Alexander* and *Adrian* in justice. A man complaining to *Alexander* against another, he stopped his ears, saying, *He must keep them for the party accused.* *Adrian* the emperor, upon an information made to him, the accuser brought his complaint in writing; the emperor told him, *It was but paper and ink, and perhaps forged; therefore wished him to bring witnesses.* A philosopher advised princes not to send children, fools, malicious or covetous persons, or that are revengeful, to govern.

He that is appointed governor of a country, is little less than tutor of a prince's person, or instructor in his breeding; he is the pilot of his ship, the standard of his army, the keeper of his people, the guide of his way, the treasurer of all he has; because all is put into his hands to govern. *Agessilaus* exhorts his deputies rather to study justice, and to govern well, than to give way to the insatiable desire of riches; for a king loses much love by others

others corrupt dealing; and as injustice provokes despair, so revenge is the executioner of injustice. An ambitious governor, who covets and affects greatness over the people he rules, is like a rat, that would make himself lord over mice; but such high minded men must know, That there is nothing so great as to tread false greatness under foot.

Above all others, never chuse a melancholy man counsellor to a prince, governor of a country, or general of an army; for commonly they are basely minded, vain, enemies to noble thoughts, malicious, superstitious, and phantastical; as on the contrary, a sanguine complexion is witty, has a good memory and judgment, can discourse well, is loving, affable, loyal, liberal, and of great courage; and yet all these parts and properties are nothing without secrecy, which is the guardian of great affairs: secrecy was wont in antient time to be pictured as a goddess, with her hand stopping her mouth. I confess it is a difficult thing to keep counsel, and dangerous to reveal the secrets of a king. It is an old saying, *That a secret is hard for one to keep, enough for two, and too much for three.* Plato says, *Whosoever reveals his secrets, gives away his liberty; and a fool being secret, is held wise; an open man is like a clear glass, which can bide nothing that is put into it.* Counsel without secrecy is like an abortive, brought forth without life, that was imprisoned in the womb of secret thoughts. Secrecy is the key of the cabinet where counsel is enclosed; and the reward of secrecy is, That it is without danger. And thus much for the election of a governor; and to proceed to my third point, which is the choice of a general for war:

*How to make Choice of a General.*

It is necessary that a general have these properties following; knowledge, valour, authority, fortune, and a ready wit; for the fairest tilter is not the best soldier, nor a favourite at court more fit to make a general, than a sheep to have the leading of lions.

The first man that brought war into discipline was *Besorus*, king of *Egypt*, who made not war to conquer countries, but to spread abroad fame and renown. The person of a general is as much to be feared by his soldiers as his enemies; for too much clemency and familiarity towards his soldiers, breeds a neglect and contempt.

The *Romans* were ever strict and severe in their commanders; they never entertain'd soldiers they could not maintain and govern; for a great army has more weight than force: they are ill to rule, and worse to trust: neither would they entertain an army of strangers, saying, *They took a wolf*

*by the ear*; for as it was dangerous to detain them, so it was worse to let them go. They chose young and generous men for soldiers, that were virtuously inclined; they gave them an oath, not to fly from battle, or leave their stations, unless it were to take up a dart, and throw at an enemy, or to save a friend. *Alexander* rather chose expert soldiers than multitudes; for brave soldiers make glorious captains, that will exchange their life for honour: they know their bodies are subject to death, but their deeds remain to the world's end: and the greatest honour a soldier can obtain, is, That a king will confess that he has gained by his merit, what he granted him out of liberality.

The qualities of a soldier must be these, To have a good heart and brave spirit; he must not be idle or ill employ'd; he must not give nor take wrong; he must serve God, and despise the devil; he must observe the wife, and love the good; he must let the enemy see his face, and not his back; and give God the glory of all his actions.

Valour is not all that is required in a soldier: it must be mixed with discretion and conduct; for rashness is hot in the hand, and slow in the end, that will adventure without fear or hope of prevailing; for success is but a tutor of fools, as conduct proceeds from judgment. There are many things in the war which give better counsel to men, than men to things; and therefore a general ought to be no more limited than a pilot at sea, that has the conduct of a ship.

The greatest honour and esteem a captain can purchase, is to overthrow his enemy by stratagems, rather than by hazarding; by counselling, rather than by combat; and that captain who has performed any exploit by policy, enjoys more in the fame of it, than in the salary or reward given him.

Let generals, captains, and soldiers beware their war be not against their king or prince; for that is unjust, though there were provocation: for no provocation can give lawful power to begin such a war, and purchase the name of rebels; whose circumstances are such, they are followed with threats, and kept up with intreaties: they feed upon promises, and attempt with fear; they are very suspicious, and live upon hope; they are not content with little, nor pleased with reward; because they leave not the king to follow the best cause, but out of hope of benefit by robbing and spoiling: and indeed a rebel knows not what he desires, nor has a feeling what he doth; for their fury is such, as not to admit of counsel, which makes their minds full of perturbation, because they are embracers of their own will.

An heroic captain will oblige his enemy by good deeds, rather than by fear; for so did *Leo Africanus* to those of *Carthage* he took prisoners, for humility and clemency are of noble extraction: a country conquer'd is better preserv'd by love, than force or cruelty; for a soldier ought as well to relieve the oppress'd, as to overcome his enemy. It is written of *Cæsar*, That he never left man unrewarded, nor offence unpardoned; whereby he grew popular: He sold the council of *Rome*, That nothing was so glorious, nor pleasant in this world, as to pardon an injury done; and indeed no man is victorious and conqueror, but he that uses victory with clemency. The emperor *Titus* pardoned one that would have slain him, which got him much love and esteem amongst the *Romans*. *Adrian* treated with those men that had been his enemies before he was emperor; which got him no less love and respect. *Soliman* the great *Turk*, called the *Magnificent*, reprov'd *John Sepastus*, the new-raised king of *Hungary*, because he would not pardon the archbishop of *Gran*, saying, There could not be a greater felicity than to pardon our enemies; and though they should prove unthankful, yet it were better to be requited with ingratitude, than fail of the glory of shewing mercy. This act made his actions more favoured in *Hungary*.

*Augustus Cæsar* proclaimed twenty five thousand crowns reward to him that should apprehend *Corocota*, a great robber. *Corocota* hearing of it, went secretly and submitted himself to *Cæsar*; which so much moved him, that he pardoned and received him into his favour. When *Scipio* took *Carthage*, he found a beautiful woman betrothed to a gentleman called *Indibilis*; and she being in *Scipio's* hands, he sent her to her parents: in recompence whereof they returned a great quantity of money; which *Scipio* refused to accept of, but commanded it to be given to the young woman in dower. This courtesy so far prevailed upon those people, that they submitted themselves to *Rome*. The same temper *Pompey* used to many fair ladies he took in his war against *Mithridates*, which wrought the same effect. *Selim* the great *Turk*, who was so cruel that he slew his father and brother, took many beautiful ladies, whom he used honourably, and sent to their parents; which availed him much in his victories. *Josephus* writes, That the covetousness of *Marcus Crassus*, who robbed the temple of *Jerusalem*, was the cause of his punishment; he dying miserably in his army, and in the hands of his enemies. *Julius*, uncle to *Julian* the apostate, robbed the church of *Antioch*, and was visibly punished; his intrails rotting out,

and worms creeping out of them, and his excrements coming out at his mouth. *Alexander*, to his praise, would not suffer hurt to be done to the temples, nor any thing within them, when he sacked *Tyre* and *Thebes*.

Honour is the next degree to clemency and mercy in a soldier, and nothing accounted more dishonourable in him, than breach of his promise and word given; it makes not only himself odious, but it leaves an everlasting stain of perfidiousness upon his nation and posterity. I could tax some of our christian kings with this abominable vice, if I thought example would restore them to better grace, and wipe away their old offences; for no body can seek praise by his counterfeit virtue: for fame cannot profit, but shame may hurt him in the end.

A soldier must not be stained with vice; his care must be how to think well, and how to do well; for death is a continual watchman over him. A true soldier is of so heroic a spirit, that he had rather perish in his desires, than live in base thoughts. He should not be moved with adversity, nor elevated with prosperity; for *Plato* says, That a noble and brave minded man, hath more trouble to tame his heart, than to attempt great matters; and will think it more pain to stoop to a straw, than to reach to a bough; he will scorn to desire honour, and not to deserve it with virtue and valour, and will think it an unworthy act to have his thoughts upon base things. A philosopher says, He dies not, who leaves a good fame; nor he lives not, who hath not a good esteem: they did not value men by their birth or age, but for their noble deeds they did. The triumphs that were so famous at *Rome*, were not esteemed unless the party had done some act of honour or renown.

I will now distinguish betwixt such worthy soldiers as I have spoken of, and the contrary, who make others virtues their vices. The heathens had such regard to their oaths, that they made it death for a man to forswear himself. *Hannibal* gave leave to ten prisoners he took, to go to *Rome*, with promise to return; two of them failed, which they found afterwards to be an act of so great indignity, that they killed themselves. *Parmenio* advised *Alexander* to overcome his enemies by deceit and treason; *Alexander* answered: If I were *Parmenio* I might do it; but being *Alexander*, he would not offer it. The physician of king *Pyrrhus*, made overtures to *Fabricius* to poison his master, if he would reward him: but *Fabricius* was so far from consenting to so foul an act, that he discovered it to *Pyrrhus*, and writ to him, That it was not the custom of the *Romans* to overcome their

enc-



enemies by treason. *Justinian* the emperor being at war with the *Persians*, hired the *Hunnes* to serve him; but they falsly put themselves into the pay of the *Persians*. *Justinian* inform'd the king of *Persia* of it; who justly commanded the *Hunnes* to be strangled for breaking their words, to the shameful example of a christian king. *Uladislaus*, king of *Hungary*, being at war with *Amurat* the great *Turk*, he swore the articles of peace made betwixt them, but falsly and perfidiously broke it. Hereupon the battle follow'd, and *Amurat* took out of his bosom the articles sworn to by *Uladislaus*, and lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, said, These are the conditions sworn to by the christians, which falsly they have broken; but if thou be'st God, as the christians do esteem thee, revenge this falseness they have done me. He had scarcely spoken these words, but *Uladislaus* was slain, the *Hungarians* routed, and *Amurat* got the victory. Here *Uladislaus* perfidiously broke his faith; and though he had lived, yet he had lost all by losing it.

But to redeem this treachery by a christian emperor, of more fame and worth than the latter times have sent forth, I mean *Charles V.* he being in the wars of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, the baker of *Barbarosa* his enemy, the titular king of *Algiers*, repair'd to him, with offer to poison his master with a loaf of bread of his own baking; which the emperor worthily rejected, and told him it was an act of a *Turk*, and not of a christian, and gave him leave to depart like a villain as he came.

God is so angry with unjust actions, that many times he punisheth the intentions of those that desire to commit unnatural cruelties. To instance in *Charles* king of *Sicily*, who after his subjects had rebelled, and massacred the *French* at the *Sicilian* vespers, besieged the city of *Messina*, and put it to such streights, that the people begg'd mercy; but with great anger and passion he refused it; upon which they grew so desperate, that they made choice rather to die than submit, and courageously sallied forth upon the king's army, overcame him, and became free. This rashness made the king afterwards subject to the government of don *Pedro* king of *Arragon*.

In the like manner *Lewis* earl of *Flanders* was used at the city of *Ghent*; for being before it with thirty thousand men, and it being put to a great extremity and pinch, the people of *Ghent* craved mercy, as *Messina* had done; which the earl refused, unless they submitted themselves to his mercy with ropes about their necks; but they finding his obstinacy and wilfulness so great, six thousand of the citizens sallied out of the town, overcame the earl, and made

him fly in disguise to a little cottage near *Bruges*; and upon this defeat, many other places revolted from him.

Had these princes had any grace, or sense of their religion they outwardly profess'd, they would have known what a father of the church had taught them, That to pardon many for the merits of one, was christianity; but to punish many for the fault of one, was tyranny. Out of conscience one should be more fearful to injure a poor man, than a rich; for a rich man revenges himself, as those of *Ghent* and *Messina* did by force; the others with tears.

Let cruel and perverse natures think what they please of themselves and actions, they will find the pleasures they do to a friend; it will make him more friendly; and a courtesy done to an enemy will be a means to make him become a friend; but the ground thereof must proceed from God; for *Cicero* says, That take away the piety towards God, and you'll take away all fidelity and conjunction of human society.

To conclude this point I treat of, I think that prince most happy who has the three sorts of people aforesaid to serve him, viz. wise and grave senators to counsel, just and upright magistrates to govern, and valiant, young, and discreet soldiers to execute: The one supports the other in convenient time, like fruit which comes not altogether, or ends altogether; some learning, others obeying; or like antient and sage fathers, that leave their tender sons to succeed them in their professions and virtues.

And now I will end with the employment of the king's ships, from the year 1635. till this year 1640. wherein you have seen the cause of their employment; for then his majesty began to have a feeling of the insolencies committed on the narrow seas; which he redressed by those fleets aforesaid, and since has so quelled his neighbours, that they dare not but do reason to his majesty's subjects; as appears by these particular benefits following it has produced.

The first, is an acknowledgment of his majesty's sovereignty of the seas, which of late years seemed to be questioned. The second, is the peaceable trade we now enjoy into the ports of *Flanders*, which the *Hollanders* were wont to forbid, though they were warranted by the articles of peace in 1604. which trade of *Flanders* hath turned to great profit to his majesty in customs, and ten times as much to his subjects, by the commerce of that province; for I must confess with grief, that our nation was much injured till now of late, by those base people of *Holland*; for they stuck not to interrupt our trade, seizing of our *English* barks, at the very

instant they permitted ships of their own to enter the ports without impeachment; and though I have made often and sundry complaints thereof, yet no remedy could be obtained; and as I conceive, it was con-

niv'd at out of policy, which these fleets aforesaid have now order'd for the liberty of the subject, and reputation of the king and country.

The next that followeth is,

*How to make War upon Scotland, if they follow their rebellious Courses.*

**T**HOUGH this discourse of *Scotland* is fitter for the fifth book, which contains projects and stratagems of war, yet because it is an active time, and concerns the sea, which is the chief drift of my narrative, I have annexed it to those actions that are gone before, and will proceed to make war against *Scotland*, with most conveniency, and least expence and charge.

The proportion of his majesty's ships to be employed, I would not wish to be above three, for these reasons: the world should not think it a service of that importance, as to require a greater force; and to these three ships to have an addition of ten or twelve colliers, of two or three hundred tons burden, that trade to *Newcastle*.

It is not fit for above three ships of his majesty's to be so far from the narrow seas, *France* and *Holland* fronting upon us, which want no ships, nor readiness to arm to sea, whatsoever they should intend against us; but we shall prevent any such design of theirs, when our ships shall appear at sea upon our own coast.

In the colliers ships aforesaid, to transport a regiment of fourteen or fifteen hundred soldiers; and to ease the charge, to allow every ship but thirty seafaring men, which will not amount to the third part of charge of victuals and men, and yet do the same service as so many of the king's ships would perform.

Besides the colliers aforesaid, I would wish that as many fisher barks may be pressed, to arm them with small guns, and every man to have his musket and pike, and to be furnished with all other provisions, as salt, and hooks to fish, that when they are not otherwise employ'd, they may continue their fishing, and supply the army, both by sea and land: we shall find these vessels of great importance, as well to send from port to port upon any occasion, as to transport our men from one shore to another.

*How to carry the Action at Sea with least Expence to his Majesty.*

**I**MPRIMIS, To take away the ancient abuse of pursers, commonly known, whereby neither king nor subject shall be wronged: this I will make apparent, when there is occasion to treat of it by the council of war.

At our first arrival, that we have care to possess and fortify very strongly some town near the sea, on the north side, and the same on the south and *Lowdon* side, and to put into them a sufficient garrison out of the fifteen hundred men aforesaid, and the rest of the soldiers to keep as a running camp to forage the country; for by help of the fishing vessels aforesaid, they may be speedily transported from the north side to the south, or from the south to the north, and havock and spoil the country as they list; and the two towns possessed and fortified, will serve them for a retreat; and the country of *Scotland* thereabouts will be forced to maintain four thousand men continually for its defence; two thousand on the one side, and two thousand on the other; for the *Firth* so divides them, that one cannot succour another under an hundred miles march, by the bridge of *Sterling*.

Besides, these towns being fortified and made strong, will serve such *Scots* for places of rendezvous, as shall fly from the covenanters, and submit themselves to his majesty's obedience; which no doubt many will do, if the former proclamation be published, which his majesty set forth when he was in *Scotland*; for all tenants to leave their landlords upon the condition expressed in that proclamation; only I would have this added to it, That whatsoever shall thus fly, bring with them their arms to the places of rendezvous, where they shall receive ready money for such arms as they shall bring, to the uttermost value: and this will be a ready way and means to disarm great part of the rebels.

The next care must be to supply the army with corn; for the boats will be of great help to succour them with fish, the corn to be baked into biscuit, either in *Holy Island*, or at *Berwick*, and thence sent to the army; which for want of ovens, mills, and perhaps of wood to bake it, cannot be so well furnished with bread.

*Item*, Whereas every four men are mess'd with equal proportion of victuals in the king's service at sea, we have often used in the queen's time, in our southern expeditions, to make our victuals go the further, to bring five men to the allowance of four

four, and so we have got a week in every month.

*Item,* The same course we may now take, and with more content to the company; for in those days, and those voyages of the queen's, we could never be supplied with victuals, no, not so much as water, till our return; as here we shall have plenty of fish and water.

*Item,* That one of the best colliers ships be appointed for the officers of the ordnance, to carry such provisions as properly belong to that office, which will nothing hinder the transportation of such soldiers as she carries.

*Item,* To carry in her ten or twelve culverins and demy culverins, to fortify the island of *Eskiffe*, which is the guard and defence of the harbour of *Leith*.

*Item,* Besides plenty of all kind of ammunition, that they carry a thousand arms to supply the king's party, if there be occa-

sion; as also good store of seasoned deal boards, spikes, all manner of iron tools for carpenters and smiths; provision for pioneers; and every pioneer to have a pike-staff to lie by him, whilst he is at work, that he may take himself to it, if he be assailed by an enemy; to carry good store of fowlers, as of great importance many ways; to carry twenty pitched pots of iron, with all kind of ingredients, to be used in a stragem to set on fire their coal-pits; to be careful that the mould for their bullets do fit the bore of their musket.

*Item,* Besides the spoil the *English* soldiers shall make in the country, that they be careful to destroy their corn, as the next way utterly to ruin them; for besides that they will take away their bread, they will utterly destroy their straw, which is the food of their cattle and horses; for hay they have none.

#### *How to provide for the West Part of Scotland.*

**T**HERE must be as great a provision made for the west part of *Scotland*; as for the east, I have spoken of: and how to do it with the least charge, and most conveniency, I will here set down.

*Imprimis,* To furnish three ships of an hundred tons each; and to be provided and fitted in *Barnstable* in *Devonshire*, with forty mariners in each ship; we shall save thereby five hundred miles sailing, by furnishing them at *Barnstable*, or that part of *Devonshire*, or *Cornwall*, and not at *London*; besides the shift of three several winds, as from *Barnstable*, a southerly, westerly, or an easterly wind will carry us directly to *Ireland*, or opposite to *Ireland*; so that there will be much time gotten, and great expence saved.

*Item,* There must be the same provision made of fisher-boats, corn, salt, arms, and all other necessaries, as is set down for the east part of *Scotland*.

*Item,* To command, upon pain of death, that there be no manner of trade betwixt *Ireland* and *Scotland*, or betwixt the *Isle of Man*, or any other place whatsoever and *Scotland*.

*Item,* That the three ships and boats aforesaid do seize upon all barks and vessels whatsoever, great and small, on that western side of *Scotland*, and carry them into the ports of *Ireland*, there to put them safe ashore, taking out of them their sails, masts, ropes, rudders, that they may not steal, or be stolen away; and if his majesty have occasion to transport an army from *Ireland* to *Scotland*, these ships and boats will be able to do it, which otherwise on a sudden all *Ireland* cannot furnish.

*Item,* That a discreet gentleman be cho-

sen to command this action to the west part of *Scotland*, and so to order things, that there be one ship in a port of *Ireland*, and another in a harbour of *Scotland*, to send and receive intelligence of the state of the two kingdoms, and what help and assistance is required from one to another.

*Item,* That a scout royal be built in the island of *Arran*; and such a place to be chosen where the water and channel is deepest for ships to ride and float: this fort will be able to defend such ships of ours, as we shall employ on that coast, if it happen that *France*, or any other nation, shall give the *Scots* assistance by sea.

*Item,* To make the castle of *Dunbarton* impregnable, which may be easily done; and there to keep a magazine for all provisions of war. *Dunbarton* is so seated, that it keeps all the northern parts of *Scotland* in awe; and that *Friith* of *Arran*, where it lies, goes as far to the eastward as *Glasgow*, and westward to the cape or mull of *Cantire*; so that betwixt *Glasgow* and *Cantire* there will be no passage over the water, having no provision of boats.

And from *Glasgow* to *Sterling* is but ten or twelve miles, from whence the river runs into the east *Friith*, and so into the sea; in which space likewise there is no passage for want of boats and bridges; insomuch, that we shall have but ten or twelve miles to fortify, *viz.* from *Glasgow* to *Sterling*, which if we do, we secure the south part of *Scotland* to *England* from any incursions the northern parts or highlanders can make against either of us; and so we shall pale them in their own bounds and country, where it is not fit for civil men to live.

This being done, if his majesty please, he may join that southern part of *Scotland* with *England*, and make it but one entire kingdom, allowing the inhabitants the same privilege the *English* enjoy: and this is no more than has been in former times; for some while *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* belong'd to *Scotland*, and sometime to *England*.

If his majesty shall please to do it, and make himself absolute master of *Scotland*, let him raze the castles and fortifications of *Edinburgh*; for we may see by example of all ages, that the castle of *Edinburgh* is the place (in all combustions) that either king, rebels, or foreign enemies covet to take; for whosoever possesses it, is not so quickly or easily beaten out of it; for, indeed, the castle is the defence of the whole country, being supply'd with victuals.

And instead of *Edinburgh*, which is the supreme city, and now made the head of justice, whither all men resort, as the only spring that waters the rest of the land within the kingdom, I would wish his majesty did fortify, strengthen, and make impregnable the town of *Leith*, and there to settle the seat of justice, with all other privileges *Edinburgh* enjoys, referring it to the choice of the inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, whether they will make their dwelling where they do, or remove to *Leith*, where they shall enjoy the same liberties they did at *Edinburgh*.

His majesty may do it out of these respects; *Leith* is a maritime town, and will save a great labour and charge in carrying and conveying their merchandize to *Edinburgh*, which no man but will find a conveniency in.

*Leith* is a sea town whither ships resort, and mariners make their dwellings; and the *Trinity-House* there settled; and lies more convenient for transportation and importation, it being the port-town of *Edinburgh*, and in time of war may cut off all provisions betwixt the sea and *Edinburgh*, and bring *Edinburgh* to the mercy of it.

From *Leith* to *Murro-Frith*, and from *Murro-Frith* to the islands of *Orkney*, there is never a harbour in that part of *Scotland* that will entertain any ship of great burden; insomuch, that if his majesty fortify the town of *Leith*, and the islands of *Inskiffe*, it will secure the whole kingdom of *Scotland*; for by sea no enemy can attempt it, and by land we shall be provided to defend it. By famine an enemy can have no

hope to force them to yield, because we shall supply them by sea; if the people within the town prove mutinous and rebellious, with our ordnance out of ships, we shall be able to beat their houses about their ears, and make them submit their lives and goods to our disposal. As I advise the castle of *Edinburgh* to be absolutely razed, so would I in like manner wish, that all the castles in *Scotland* were so served, except *Leith* and *Inskiffe*, as aforesaid, *Dunbarton*, the new erected castle in the island of *Arran*; and, if there be need, to continue fortified the two towns, the one of *Lowden* side, and the other on *Fife* side. These places excepted, it were good there were a law enacted, That it should not be lawful for any one piece of ordnance to remain in *Scotland*, under any pretence whatsoever; then shall the fortifications aforesaid be without danger, either by siege, or otherwise; and of strength sufficient to defend themselves against all enemies, domestick or foreign, especially when the sea lies open to us to be relieved with fish or food; and in our power to forbid others to take benefit of the sea.

For the northern part of *Scotland*, (which I have paled out from the rest of the country, as unworthy to be reckon'd with these southern parts, both in respect of the soil, as also for the brutishness of the people,) I wish considering their qualifications, that they may be only taught so much civility and breeding, as to acknowledge his majesty the true sovereign king over them, without imposing any kind of tax on them; for the country cannot afford it. And because their natures and dispositions are turbulent, and never free from quarrels and tumults among themselves, I would wish that they should be encouraged in that factious way with one another, that their thoughts may be employ'd otherwise than in plotting and contriving mischief against the southern and civil part of *Scotland*; this would in time either reduce them to civility, or by divisions quite extirpate them.

This western part of *Scotland*, I have treated of, is the most dangerous place of all the kingdom to receive relief out of *France* by shipping; and the more dangerous, because from many parts of *France*, as namely *Brest*, *Rochel*, and all that coast thereabouts, one wind will carry them out of their harbours, without ever striking fail, till they arrive in that part of *Scotland*.

*An Admonition to Gentlemen to beware how they engage in Sea Voyages, or give Ear to Projectors that put them upon such Actions.*

**M**AN for hope of gain is apt to be led into many inconveniencies, when he has an opinion of the wisdom or honesty of him that persuades; and this no where appears plainer than in sea adventures, into which such impostors and cheats have drawn gentlemen, to the ruin of themselves and posterity.

I know some who have persuaded gentlemen, that the *Indies* afforded nothing but gold, and that for fetching, and that they filled their own purses with gold; and those gentlemen ran headlong to destruction, without giving ear to advice, or believing any friend that advised them to the contrary.

But that such gentlemen may see their mistake, I will touch upon the state of the *West India* trade, by which they may perceive what they are to expect by robbing at sea; for I have already made out what they are to get by pillaging ashore; and I wish this may come to the hands of those who are in danger of being drawn in by such unhappy projectors.

He that will undertake a voyage, either with fleet, or private ships, must consider, that in the *West Indies* he is out of all hopes of carracks, ships from *Guinea*, or *Brasil*, and all other trade, and must expect only such as are bound thither, or trade from place to place.

They must also consider, their ships will soon grow foul, and not be able to fetch up those that have been lately careen'd. Fires made ashore will give warning of an enemy being on the coast, and so prevent him. And, lastly, the wind and current sets with that violence and constancy, that it is impossible to keep to windward of any port, if we keep the sea, or to recover a heighth, if we are put to leeward of it.

Therefore the error of our planters in *Virginia* and *Bermudas* shall appear, who were drawn principally into those enterprises, in hopes to annoy the *Spaniards* trade in the *West Indies*, not knowing that the current sets with such force from cape

*Florida* to the northward, that it is impossible to bear it up.

They were so ignorant as not to know, that if they go from those places to the *West Indies*, they must first fetch the *Canaries* for a wind, which is a thousand leagues from them, and but five hundred from *England*; so that they are five hundred leagues nearer the *West Indies* going out of *England*, than out of *Virginia*.

Nor do they consider, that the water does not rise so much in *Virginia*, as to grave their ships; or the small conveniency that place yields to careen them; or the sudden gusts that come from the land, and will endanger them in their careening.

But suppose *Virginia* to be nearer, and no impediment for our ships to sail from thence to the *Indies*, I would ask, what possibility there is, rather to meet a fleet in the open seas there, where I have shewn the force of wind and current will put them to leeward, than on the coast of *Spain*, whither they are bound, and must repair, and where there are capes and head-lands, which they must make before they put into the shore or ports?

Reason will make any one confess, it is more likely to find a man one looks for at the door he must certainly go in at, than on a wild heath, where he has many ways to go by; and so it is with ships, it being better to wait for them at a cape or head-land, which they must make, than in the spacious and open sea. And thus much for this point.

But seeing I have run over the casualties or uncertainties, or rather the impossibilities to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, I will shew the inconstancy of sea affairs, by precedents of the *English* fleets that were employ'd against *Spain* in time of war, wherein the wealth taken in the voyages will appear; and by it let us judge, what profit we are to expect by such actions, which are governed by unconstant winds and fortune.

*The Number of Voyages set out by her Majesty during the War, and the Profit they turned to.*

1585. **S**IR Francis Drake to the Indies, some few pieces of ordnance.
1587. Sir Francis Drake to Cadiz Road, after which he took a carrack that had winter'd at *Moçambique*.
1588. A defensive, but a victorious action.
1589. The expedition to *Portugal*, no profit at all.
1589. My lord of *Cumberland*, some gain to himself, but nothing to her majesty.
1590. Sir *Martin Furbusher*, and Sir *John Hawkins*, no profit at all.
1591. The lord *Thomas Howard*, almost a saving voyage.
1591. The earl of *Cumberland*, no profit at all.
1592. Sir *Walter Raleigh's* fleet, a carrack taken; many adventurers.
1593. The earl of *Cumberland*, some gain to himself, none to the queen.
1594. A defensive fleet in *Britany*, no profit. Sir *Martin Forbusber* slain.
1595. Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins* to the Indies, where they both died; only some ordnance.
1596. *Cadiz* expedition, two galleons with their ordnance; the galleons sold for 300 *l*.
1597. The island voyage, almost saving.
1599. The *Downs* action, a defensive fleet.
1600. Sir *Richard Lewson*, no profit at all.
1601. Sir *Richard Lewson*, but with a defensive fleet in *Ireland*.
1602. Sir *Richard Lewson* and Sir *William Monson* took a carrack, a ship of great value.
1602. Sir *William Monson*, no profit at all.
1603. A defensive fleet, when the queen died.

*The End of the Second Book.*

THE  
E P I S T L E

T O A L L

Captains of Ships, Masters, Pilots, Mariners, and  
Common Sailors.

**I**N all reason the dedicating of this third book is more proper and due to you, than any of the others to whom they are commended: forasmuch as what is contained in them, you and your profession are the principallest actors and authors of, as the wheel from whence the rest receives their motion.

For what would it avail that all boughs of trees were oaks, or every stalk of hemp a fathom of cable, or every creature a perfect artist, to frame and build a ship? what were all these more than to the eye, were it not for you, your art and skill, to conduct and guide her? She were like a sumptuous costly palace nobly furnished, and no body to inhabit in it; or like a house in *Athens*, *Laertius* writes of, in which all that were born proved fools; and another, in the field of *Mars* near *Rome*, whose owners ever died suddenly; both which were commanded, the one by the senators of *Athens*, the other by the emperor *Mark Anthony*, not only to be pulled down, but the timber to be burnt.

How should we know that *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, produced wine out of the grape, or *England* other commodities not heard of by them? how should we know the *Indies*, and wealth therein, or the means to receive it from thence, were it not for your skill and labour? how should we know that all nations differ from us in language, or one from another, but by your navigations? all islands, how little soever, would be in the error of the *Chineses*, who thought there was no other world nor people but their own, till the *Portuguese*, by their travels and mathematical art and learning, made it apparent to them. All these secrets must be attributed to your art, adventures, and painful discoveries.

What subjects can make their king and country more happy than you, by the offensive and defensive services you may do them at sea? what wealth is brought in or carried out of the kingdom, but must pass through your hands? what honour has *England* of late years gained, and all by your adventures and valour, which has made you excellent above all other nations? Who knows not that your parts and profession deserve favour of the state? who knows not that the whole kingdom has use for you? and that there is a necessity to nourish you?

But whether it be the sea that works contrary effects to the land, or whether it be a liberty you feel ashore, after you have been penned up in ships, like birds in a cage, or untamed horses, when they are let lose; certain it is, neither birds nor horses can shew more extravagant lewdness, more disorder of life, and less fear of God, than your carriage discovers when you come ashore, and cast off the command your superior officers had over you: for though in desperate perils at sea, you promise to your selves amendment of life, and perhaps vow never to try that kind of fortune more, as women in labour do, never to have to do with their husbands; yet when they are past, they are soon forgot of both, and you return to your old accustomed vomit, without sense of promise, or danger escaped, but rather improve in your wicked courses.

He that could as easily reduce the common sailor to civility and good behaviour ashore, as to be under the government of a discreet commander at sea, were more than man; for the nature of sailors is to stand in more awe of a mean officer at sea, whom they love and fear, than of a great person on land, whom they neither fear nor love; and therefore the way to reduce them to goodness must proceed from the commanders that govern them: their words must be as well mixed with honey as gall; they

must tell truth, and not please with flattery ; for a man cannot be both a friend and a flatterer.

This advising office is only fit for men that have been bred and trained up in the school of looseness and liberty, and recalled by years and grace to civility : they must teach them to embrace the good, and eschew the evil, and must use the terror of God's justice, and the reward of repentance : they must shew the hate God bears to wickedness, to lying tongues, to hands that shed innocent blood, and a heart that devises mischief : and on the contrary, the love God has for virtue and goodness, advising them not only to be good, but to take away the occasion of being evil. This will be the hope to make them leave sinning, when they shall be ashamed and afraid to commit sin ; for *Seneca* says, *That the clemency of a governor makes many ashamed to offer offence.*

But now let me apply my self to you, the men of command and authority over these untaught and untamed creatures, to whom this charge is committed. Beware that your counsel be good, and that you follow it your selves ; if not, you are like a harp, that sounds pleasantly to others, and enjoys no part it self ; or to *Crispianus*, a servant of *Trajan* the emperor, whose words were sweet and effectual to persuade, but he never acted any thing but what was worthy of reprehension and punishment. Remember that example is of greater force than persuasion with many men ; and when these men shall see your life concur with your admonitions, it will be the strongest force and motive for their conversion : for indeed he is not worthy to live, that takes not care to live well ; and *Cicero* says, *He dies not, who leaves a good fame ; and he lives not, that hath an ill reputation.*

BOOK



## B O O K III.

Containing the Office of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, and all Ministers and Inferior Officers under him, and what belongs to each Man's Office; with many other Particulars to that Purpose.

*The Office of the Admiralty of England.*

**T**HE master of the office is the lord high admiral of *England*, who holds his court of justice for trials of all sea causes for life and goods, being assisted by the doctor of the civil law under him, intitled, the judge of the admiralty, a marshal, and other inferior ministers of justice, proceeding in all affairs according to the civil law. The advocates, proctors, civilians, in all great causes and trials of pirates, especially the lieutenant of the admiralty of *England*, and the four principal officers of the navy, were wont to sit on the bench as assistants to the judges; which officers of the navy used to commit such offenders as imbezzeled the king's goods, or had otherwise misbehaved themselves, to the prison belonging to the court, to receive their trial there, unless in the mean time they were released by the lord admiral.

Every lord admiral substitutes his deputy or vice-admiral in every maritime shire

in *England*, except in such places where the lords of manors challenge a right formerly granted by the kings of *England*, as will appear by their grants.

These vice-admirals are carefully to look that all things be performed that are ordained by the lord admiral, and yearly to keep a court in their several countries, where every man's complaint may be publicly heard.

Another branch of this office consists merely in the government of his majesty's navy, which since the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* time has been of great consequence, and has divers feed-officers paid out of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, being patentees under the great seal of *England* for performance of the same, (besides many other inferior officers, who hold their places by the lord admiral's warrant only,) who are the present subject of this discourse. They are as follows.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | l.  | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <b>T</b> HE lord high admiral of <i>England</i> , the grand master of the office, whose fee is <i>per annum</i>                                                                                                          | 133 | 6  | 8  |
| The lieutenant of the admiralty, whose fee is <i>per annum</i> 100 l. his diet 10 s. <i>per diem</i> ; two clerks, one at 12 d. the other at 8 d. <i>per diem</i> ; and 10 l. for his boat-hire, in all <i>per annum</i> | 325 | 19 | 2  |
| The treasurer of the navy's fee 100 marks, diet 6 s. 8 d. two clerks at 8 d. each <i>per diem</i> , and 8 l. boat-hire                                                                                                   | 220 | 13 | 4  |
| The comptroller's fee 50 l. diet 4 s. <i>per diem</i> , two clerks at 8 d. <i>per diem</i> , and 8 l. boat-hire                                                                                                          | 155 | 6  | 8  |
| The surveyor's fee 40 l. diet 4 s. <i>per diem</i> , two clerks at 8 d. a piece <i>per diem</i>                                                                                                                          | 146 | 6  | 8  |
| The clerk's fee 33 l. 6 s. 8 d. diet 3 s. 4 d. <i>per diem</i> ; and 8 l. boat-hire                                                                                                                                      | 102 | 3  | 4  |
| Three assistants to the principal officers, at 20 l. fee each of them <i>per annum</i>                                                                                                                                   | 60  | 0  | 0  |
| The keeper of the great store 26 l. 13 s. 4 d. diet 2 s. 6 d. <i>per diem</i> , and 6 l. boat-hire                                                                                                                       | 76  | 5  | 10 |
| The surveyor of the victuals, for his fee 58 l. diet 5 s. <i>per diem</i> , and one clerk 8 d.                                                                                                                           | 161 | 8  | 4  |

The

|                                                                                                            | l. | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| The king's merchant's fee, 30 l. per annum, without any other allowance                                    | 30 | 0  | 0  |
| The grand pilot's fee, 20 l. per annum, black deeps                                                        | 20 | 0  | 0  |
| The master shipwright, at 12 d. per diem                                                                   | 18 | 5  | 0  |
| Allowance to a master for his attendance in grounding of the Queen's great ships, at 6 d. per diem         | 9  | 2  | 6  |
| Captains of all her majesty's castles and forts on the sea side, except the cinque-ports.                  |    |    |    |
| These were the ancient Officers in fee till the reign of queen Elizabeth; since which time there is added, |    |    |    |

|                                                                             | l. | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A store-keeper by patent at Portsmouth, who is allowed to his fee per annum | 20 | 0  | 0  |
| Two other master shipwrights, allowed each of them per annum                | 33 | 6  | 8  |
| The store-keeper at Woolwich                                                | 50 | 0  | 0  |

Memorandum, That there are many other inferior officers and ministers that are paid by the treasurer of the navy, whereof the four master attendants and clerks of the check hold their places by patent, without any fee out of the Exchequer, being granted by king James, with the lord admiral's consent, and the rest, by immediate warrant from the lord admiral to the officers, viz.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | l.  | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| The four master attendants, each at 61 l. 2 s. 1 d. wages per annum, besides their victuals, and the king's coat out of the wardrobe                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 244 | 8  | 4  |
| The clerk of the check at Chatham, who is allowed on the quarter-books for his wages per annum 50 l. in reward of his extraordinary service, 43 l. 6 s. 8 d. and for paper, quills, ink, and travelling charges, coming quarterly with the books from Chatham to London, to deliver them to the treasurer and other officers, 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. in all | 100 | 6  | 0  |
| The clerk of the survey for his wages, 12 l. 13 s. 4 d. and his reward otherwise 30 l. in all                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 42  | 13 | 0  |
| The store-keeper for his wages 12 d. per diem, and in reward of his extraordinary pains, 31 l. 15 s. in all                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 50  | 0  | 0  |
| The clerk of the check at Deptford, who is allowed on the quarter-books for his wages per annum                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 30  | 0  | 0  |
| The clerk of the check at Woolwich, 12 d. per diem                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 18  | 5  | 0  |
| The clerk of the check at Portsmouth, who hath for his fee per annum 20 l. and for paper 1 s. 8 d. also for extraordinary pains by way of reward by the lord admiral's warrant of late 20 l. per annum                                                                                                                                               | 40  | 1  | 8  |
| A clerk of the rope-makers at Woolwich, for keeping the stores, and check of the workmen twice a day, 2 s. per diem                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 36  | 10 | 0  |
| A master workman directing the rope-makers, allowed per annum standing fee                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 50  | 0  | 0  |
| A clerk at Chatham, that keeps daily checque of the rope-makers, and looks to the stores, 2 s. per diem                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 36  | 10 | 0  |
| A master workman over the rope-makers there, at                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 50  | 0  | 0  |

Standing Officers belonging to the ships, who have wages according to the rates of ships.

| First Rate, besides victuals. |    |    | Second Rate. |   |    |    |    |
|-------------------------------|----|----|--------------|---|----|----|----|
|                               | l. | s. | d.           |   | l. | s. | d. |
| A Boatswain                   | 29 | 6  | 7            | } | 26 | 1  | 5  |
| A Master Gunner               | 26 | 1  | 5            |   | 23 | 17 | 11 |
| A Purser                      | 26 | 1  | 5            |   | 23 | 17 | 11 |
| Third Rate.                   |    |    | Fourth Rate. |   |    |    |    |
| A Boatswain                   | 21 | 14 | 6            | } | 19 | 11 | 0  |
| A Master Gunner               | 19 | 11 | 0            |   | 19 | 17 | 7  |
| A Purser                      | 19 | 11 | 0            |   | 17 | 7  | 0  |
| Fifth Rate.                   |    |    | Sixth Rate.  |   |    |    |    |
| A Boatswain                   | 17 | 17 | 7            | } | 15 | 4  | 2  |
| A Gunner                      | 15 | 4  | 2            |   | 10 | 4  | 2  |
| A Purser,                     |    |    |              |   |    |    |    |

|                                                                          | l. | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Master Gunner of <i>Bayes Sconce</i> , }<br>has wages <i>per Annum</i> | 14 | 13 | 03 |
| A Master Gunner of <i>Warbam Sconce</i> , the like }<br>Sconce, the like | 14 | 13 | 03 |

*At Chatham.*

|                                                         |    |    |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatswain of the yard at }<br><i>Chatham</i>          | 25 | 00 | 00 |
| Two Porters, each at twenty }<br>marks <i>per Annum</i> | 26 | 13 | 04 |
| A House-keeper                                          | 13 | 06 | 08 |
| A Chirurgeon                                            | 13 | 06 | 08 |

*At Deptford.*

|                         |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatswain of the yard | 25 | 00 | 00 |
| A Porter of the gates   | 13 | 06 | 08 |
| A Messenger of the navy | 18 | 05 | 00 |

It now remains to give an account, by way of collection out of former proceedings and customs of this office, what may be the general and particular duties of these officers in the execution of their places for his majesty's service.

And, first, for the lord high admiral himself, who is great master and comptroller of the office, I neither can, nor will presume to intermeddle therewith, being sufficiently known by the extent of his letters patents, and former precedents.

The lieutenant of the admiralty is a place not extended to any late precedents, to manifest itself, and therefore omitted.

The four principal officers of the navy, and of late times the commissioners that executed their places, are the conduit pipes to whom the lord admiral properly directs all his commands for his majesty's service, and from whom it descends to all other inferior officers and ministers under them, whatsoever.

First, their general duties are, as I conceive, to attend the lord admiral, as men for their experience and reputation fit to advise his lordship in all causes and consultations for the advancement, furtherance, and managing such undertakings as they are commanded by his majesty and the state, as well for service of his highness's ships at sea, as for the building and maintaining them at home; and likewise to advise his lordship, from time to time, of all occurrences tending to the ordering and managing of his majesty's service, whatsoever, for the navy.

Secondly, They are to observe weekly meetings, or oftener, if the service require it, at *London*, as well to attend the execution and direction of such warrants as shall come from the lord admiral, as also for the ordering of all business furthering his majesty's

service; and to give satisfaction to the subject for all materials delivered, or workmanship performed by them for his majesty's use.

Thirdly, They are jointly to agree with each merchant, from whom any great provision or bargain of cordage, hemp, timber, planks, masts, great anchors, and all sorts of materials, which are bought for the price, at that present, ordinary sold betwixt man and man; and thereupon to make them bills or contracts for the same, according to the course of the office, which is the debt from the king, being first vouch'd from the inferior ministers, in the proper places for the quantity and quality.

Fourthly, they are to use the uttermost to procure moneys for the maintaining all his majesty's ships, pinnaces, and other vessels, and boats useful, in compleat equipage, building, and furniture; and as any of their number happens to decay or perish, to supply them with new, and repair their wants.

Fifthly, They are to proportion a convenient magazine of timber, season'd planks, great masts, and all sorts of outlandish commodities, as pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, anchors, sails, canvas, and cordage for twice moorings, and once setting forth to sea all his majesty's ships, and to see the same supply'd at all times; to furnish his majesty's stores, and whatsoever is wanting, to acquaint my lord admiral, and never to cease labouring to the state for money, till those main provisions be furnished; which cannot be had in the kingdom at all times, nor sufficient quantity made ready, when the materials are not had, in many months.

Sixthly, They are, as time and business can permit, to be present themselves, or when more important business hinders them, their clerks, at all payments of all sorts of workmen and labourers, to the end they may be witnesses to the real payments made; and that his majesty be not abused by the employment of more numbers than is necessary for works on shore, nor for longer time than the service requires; nor that boys and young prentices be paid so much *per diem* as able workmen. Likewise at sea, and in harbour, to see that no more men be paid than have truly serv'd; and in case they either find clerks of the check, or purfers faulty in their places, in keeping their books ill, to punish them as their offences deserve.

Seventhly, They are to be careful that no workmen or labourers be received or entered into his majesty's pay, for any works to be done by the day, till there be materials first in store, whereupon to employ them; nor to use more than is necessary, nor to continue them longer than the stuff lasts

to set them on work ; wherein if the master shipwright, or any other master workman, be found faulty by conniving, to suspend such from his place, as an unworthy member, till my lord admiral be acquainted with the offence.

Eighthly, They ought to be very careful in the choice of inferiour ministers, as any happen to die off, recommending to the lord admiral able experienced men, according to the places ; the want whereof has bred much detriment to his majesty's service both by sea and land.

Ninthly, They are to obey my lord admiral's warrant, as well for direction of his majesty's service in all things concerning this office, as also for extraordinary payments according to usual precedents ; as by virtue of his lordship's warrant, to direct theirs to the subordinate ministers under them, for the execution of so much as concerns their particular places respectively.

Tenthly, They are to oversee all inferiour officers and ministers ; and as often as they can, by themselves, or their authoriz'd substitutes, to muster all men that are employ'd by sea or land, and paid damages out of this office, and to check all defaults they find, by mustering for his majesty's best advantage.

Eleventhly, They ought to foresee that seasonable payment be made to all men employ'd in his majesty's service, and not to keep them nor ships longer in pay than the service requires ; and to this end, they should use all frugal courses to save his majesty's purse.

Twelfthly, They should make quarterly payments to the ordinary, and half-yearly to the ships on the narrow seas, as has been accustom'd ; for want of which, his majesty's charge is much increased, and the subject discourag'd.

Thirteenthly, They ought to take a yearly account of the victuals of the navy, comparing the pay-books in the treasurer's office with the warrant for victuals ; and according to the muster of the men serving, to allow of the issues, with such accidental wastes, as by ancient precedent hath been usual, and no more.

Fourteenthly, They ought to sign estimates for money, as well for the ordinary service, as extraordinary, to the end the lord treasurer may see the charge his majesty is at, and continuing the same, that the payments may be seasonably provided.

Fifteenthly, They ought to take account of all store-keepers once every year, at the least, to the end his majesty may see what provision he has in store, and what has been expended that present year.

Sixteenthly, They ought to appoint a

surveyor at the season of the year, to mark out and fell timber for his majesty's service, for supply of store ; and to cause the same to be converted into moulded and meet timber, and cut into several sorts of planks most useful for his majesty ; and to see that the summer be not let slip for land and sea carriage of the same into his majesty's stores.

Seventeenthly, They ought upon my lord admiral's warrant, requiring the preparations of any ships or fleets for the sea, immediately to make warrant from themselves to the victuallers, to make a due proportion of sea victuals, according to the service and number of men ; and in the mean time for harbour and victuals for so many sailors as shall be employ'd to rig the ships, to be delivered by petty warrant to any one officer, or to the clerk of the check, as will appear upon muster to be present in the work : likewise to the master attendants, the master shipwrights, clerk of the check and survey, to take notice of the service in hand, and to require a present certificate from them of all wants to perfect the hulls, rigging, tackling, and furniture of those ships appointed to be made ready for the seas ; and thereupon to take immediate order likewise for the providing of all materials wanting, and appoint workmen and sailors to go in hand with them with all expedition.

Eighteenthly, That one of the three officers (not the treasurer, in regard of his continual attendance for moneys at *London*) do, in their turns, quarterly reside at *Chatham*, for the expedition and oversight of the works there, and for providing of necessaries, and directing of all the inferior officers ; and the rather to prevent the imbezelling of the king's goods ; as it was in the time of the late commissioner's government, who had always one of themselves, or an able assistant dwelling at *Chatham*, to order the business there, no doubt, for his majesty's great advantage ; the neglecting whereof is no small damage to his majesty.

### *Particular Duties.*

#### *The Treasurer.*

HE is to make estimates of the charge of all his majesty's navy, both ordinary and extraordinary, and to present them seasonably, being sign'd by the lord admiral and the other principal officers, to the lord treasurer of *England*, who allowing the same, does of course give order to the clerk of the signet, to draw a bill for the king's signature, warranting the payment of so much money as the estimate amounts

to out of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, which he is to issue to those several heads for which it has been demanded; and in case the ships happen to continue longer in employment than was mention'd in the first, then to make their estimates for their surplusses, as long as the service endures, and sollicite for privy-seals and orders for money till it be received, to satisfy the subject for materials to be bought before-hand, to furnish the ships and wages to the company at their return. He is to make a like estimate of building of new ships, or repairing the old; likewise for the repair of his majesty's dry docks and store-houses; and for a magazine of stores, when occasion requires.

He is to take due care to get money seasonably to pay all workmen, called to any extraordinary works in his majesty's yards, or for reparations aboard the ships, and to clear them as soon as the works are ended; likewise for payment of ships companies returning from sea, that his majesty's charge of victuals and wages be not longer continued than the necessity of the service requires.

He is to take care to pay the ordinary of the navy every quarter, and the ships serving on the coasts every six months, (*viz.*) *March* and *September*.

He is to give convenient notice to the officers, who are vouchers of his account, of all pays to be made, to the end they may call for books of the clerks of the check, and purfers, for their clerks to take notice of every general and particular pay to workmen and seamen, taking the officers hands to the books of the total of the abstract, or number of men paid.

He ought within six months next after the month of *December*, every year, to make up his former accounts; which being fairly ingrossed in a larger book, he is to procure the other officers hands to every page thereof, cancelling the particular bills or books first paid by each, then to deliver the same with a press certificate from the auditor of the receipts of the exchequer, to the auditor of the prest, and after sollicite them to examine it, and procure a declaration under the lord treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer, one of the barons and auditors hands, within six months more, to the end it may appear how he stands charg'd on his accounts to the king for the money he has received.

He is to keep his office constantly at *Deptford* or *London*, that the subjects may certainly know where to find him, to receive their moneys for provisions delivered to his majesty's use, or for wages due, upon lawful demands.

#### *Contra Rotulator.*

He is to keep counter-books with the treasurer of all manner of payments; and likewise a ledger-book written *verbatim*, as the book delivered to the auditors for every year's account, to the end he may upon all occasions witness as well the payments made by the treasurer, and the state of his account with the king, as also to satisfy the other officers at large of such precedents and payments as past by his and their vouchers in the execution of his majesty's service.

He is likewise to keep like counter-books with the surveyor of marine victuals, and more especially than any of the other officers, examine and keep a note of the remainder of victuals return'd by purfers at the end of their voyages, and to charge it on account for the king on the victualler.

#### SURVEYOR: *The first Part of his Duty.*

He ought to survey the quantity and quality of all manner of provisions deliver'd for the use of his majesty's ships or navy, to the end he may as well satisfy himself as his fellow-officers at their meeting, what prizes are fitting to allow for that which is good; as also to see that no bad and unserviceable ware be thrust on the king for the merchants advantage.

He is once a year to take survey of all the hulls of all his majesty's ships, pinnaces, and boats, remaining in harbour at *Chatham*, *Deptford*, *Woolwich*, *Portsmouth*; and at the return of any ship from sea, to view and examine what defects happen'd in the hull or masts, and to note them down particularly under the title of every ship; wherein the king's master shipwright, and his assistants, with the master carpenter, and the master attendants, ought to assist and testify, under his and their hands, in what condition every ship was, expressing their wants at the time the survey was taken.

He ought likewise every year to survey the defects of reparations of all his majesty's storehouses and wharfs, calling to assist him such master workmen as are experienced, to view the same; and then to add in the next estimate a due valuation of materials and workmanship that must be us'd and employ'd to repair the same.

He ought likewise, after the launching of every ship new built or repaired in any of his majesty's dry docks, to take an exact survey of the quantity and quality of all sorts of timber, planks, boards, trumels, masts, nails, and other iron works employ'd  
about

about the said ships, remaining in store; to the end it may appear upon account since the last general survey, before the ship came into the dock, how much of each sort of provision has been expended on her.

*The second Part of his Duty.*

He ought also once a year to take a general survey of all the new cordage, sails, canvas, boats, masts, and all other sorts of materials, whatsoever, under the charge of the several store-keepers in every of his majesty's yards and ships that lie long in harbour; and thereupon to examine what has been supplied since the former survey, and ballance the receipts and issues in an exact form of account; to take the store-keepers hands severally to the surveyors books, charging themselves with what remains.

He, or the clerk of the survey allowed under him, ought, at the return of every ship from sea, with the assistance of such master attendants as are present at the place, or may be had, to take an exact survey of all the rigging, ground-tackle, and furniture belonging to her, noting under every particular dimension their present quality, to the end he may shortly after account with the boatwain and carpenter of that ship for their expences in that voyage, and be ready against their next going out to furnish her wants; that so reasonable demands may be made to supply her in compleat equipage for further service.

He is likewise to take the yearly survey of all mooring anchors, other straggling anchors lying spare at the river side, or in any of his majesty's yards not formerly charged: he ought, in case it fortune that any of the king's ships should put into *Plymouth* or *Bristol*, or any other unusual harbour, by reason of leakiness, or any other apparent defect, to go himself, or send a sufficient deputy, to take an exact survey of the state of her hull, masts, and yards, with all her furniture and tackling; and after present an estimate of the charge in repairing, and supplying of their wants with all convenient speed, and procure the lord admiral's warrant to proceed, to make her able to come about to *Chatham*, unless she were fitted for further service, if cause required.

*The Clerk of the Navy.*

He ought to register his acts, agreed and performed at their publick meeting, and to note the days of every meeting, and what officers were then present.

He ought to keep notes or remembrances of all business that is material for the furtherance of his majesty's service, and to

call on them first to be debated and ordered, before any new propositions be received, or any private person's business handled at their meeting.

He ought to keep records *verbatim* of all the warrants sent from the lord admiral directed to the four principal officers, and to keep them safely in a chest lock'd up for all their safeties, if any occasion should after happen.

He ought to take particular notice of all warrants or deputations, thought fit to be made for purveyors, press-masters, and such like ministers, and to present them in a readiness to be signed by them all at the next meeting.

He was formerly employed in taking up all outlandish provisions, as pitch, tar, rosin, oil, and other small stores provided for present dispatches; likewise of nails, baskets, compasses, lead-lines, and leads, running-glasses, &c.

In all these several duties of each officer, in case any of the rest desire to be put, or to have copies of any records, or matter that more properly belongs to the other places, they are to have it without denial; and being equally interested in the king's service, every of them ought to perform each other's places in the upper officers absence, in case the service required it.

*The Officers Assistants.*

The next in place to the principal officers, are the three assistants, who in extraordinary employments in time of war, were, upon the lord admiral's command, to give their advice in the consultations about the affairs of the navy; and in the absence of the officers, to execute their business in places remote: but in the last thirty years, it seems, there has not been much use of them; I suppose rather in respect of the officers jealousies to have competitors, than for want of employment fit to further the king's service.

*The Keeper of the great Stores.*

He has, by his letters patents, the keeping of all the stores belonging to his majesty's navy; but in respect his salary was not sufficient to maintain deputies in all places where the king has cause to use them, necessity of times has begotten several store-keepers in all his majesty's yards where the king's works are managed; and at *Woolwich* and at *Portsmouth* they have grants for their places under the great seal, and fee paid out of the *Exchequer*.

He at his first coming receives his charge upon survey, and puts his hand to the surveyor's book, acknowledging to be charged with all the provisions therein contain'd.

He

He ought not to receive any thing into his charge but by warrant, nor deliver any out; and properly, in regard of his account, the surveyor of the navy should be one to direct his warrant to him for all business.

*Surveyor of Victuals.*

This officer, who, it seems, was at first instituted to survey the quantity and quality of all victuals, to the end neither his majesty may be deceived in goodness, nor the subject of his due, is now become victualler himself; whereupon there are many abuses crept into the office, fit to be reformed.

*The King's Merchant.*

No doubt this office at the first institution, was of notable good consequence for his majesty's profit, when he was employed only for his understanding, to inform the officers of the rates of all outlandish provisions, as hemp, cordage, tar, pitch, oil, masts, deal boards, &c.

But since it has been converted from advising for the king, to merchandizing for himself, which of late has been quite out of use; but in case it were reduced to the first quality, without question, his service would be very beneficial, for providing of those main materials at the best hand, when the season may afford it at the cheapest rate.

*The Grand Pilot.*

This man is chosen for his long experience as a pilot on a coast, especially to carry the king's great ships through the king's channel, from *Chatham* to the narrow seas; as also for his knowledge to pass through the channel called the *Black Deep*s.

*Three Master Shipwrights.*

These men ought, in their turns, to have the new building and repairing of all the king's ships; and when it happens, by order of the state, any ships are built by contract with strangers, yet some of them ought always to attend the oversight of all timber, planks, and other materials, put in them, that they be of fit scantlings and sizings, well seasoned, and of strength and quality sufficient, according to the burden agreed on, and so finished in all points workman-like.

*Four Master Attendants.*

These men attend at *Chatham*, quarterly, one after another, as well to direct and over-

see the boatswain and ship-keepers in harbour to perform their ordinary service of the ships, as also to carry in and out of the river such ships as happen to be ready for sea, and to see them rigged and fitted compleatly: also one of them is allowed six pence *per diem* for his particular attendance at the grounding of the king's great ships.

*Clerks of the Check.*

These men are of great trust, and much business committed to their charge, *viz.* the entering all seamen into pay aboard the ships in harbour, and the shipwrights and other workmen in day work: the first he must muster once a month, and the other twice a day: his ticket serves in the absence of an officer to the victualler, for the victualling of the ordinary ship-keepers, and other seamen employed in rigging of the ships bound to sea: he keeps likewise a book of the receipts of all provisions received into the stores, and prepares quarter books for the four officers, for ordinary and extraordinary men's wages.

*Clerk of the Survey at Chatham.*

He is to certify the want of every ship prepared for the sea, and to send the certificate, under the master attendants and his own hand, to the surveyor of the navy at *London*, to the end he may take present order to supply all the provisions wanting, to be sent with all speed to *Chatham*; which being come down, he is, by ticket under his hand, to direct the storekeeper to deliver to every boatswain and carpenter their due proportion of all kinds, as well to furnish the ships in compleat equipage in harbour before they go out, as for sea-store for the voyage: he is to make indenture betwixt the surveyor, or boatswain, and carpenters, confirming all manner of ground tackle and furniture belonging to the ship, and for sea-stores to the carpenters, and to take their hands severally to the one, and to put his hand to the other part, which they are to carry with them to sea, to shew their carpenters what stores are in the ships.

At the return of any ship from sea, he is, with one of the master attendants and master shipwright, for things in their elements, to survey the remnant of all stores return'd, and to note down all particular qualities, to be half worn, or fourth part worn, or decayed, according as the master shall judge them to be useful for the king's service; and thereupon he is to make up the account of waste in the voyage, and to dispose the remainder to be returned into the king's

store, or left in the ship, as shall best accommodate the king's service.

*Clerk of the Rope-Yard*

Receives into his charge all the hemp, tar, and other necessaries for the making of new cordage, and delivers the same to the master workman, being first dressed and heckled, to be spun into yarn for ropes: he also keeps check, by calling all the workmen twice a-day to their labour, and keeping them to their strict hours.

*Master Workmen over the Rope-Makers.*

There are two of these at *Chatham*, and another at *Woolwich*, to direct the labourers and spinners of yarn; and afterwards in laying in several sorts and sizes of cordage, and in stowing the most part at *Woolwich*, and tarring it only at *Chatham*.

*The Boatswain, Gunner, and Purser, are Officers aboard the Ships.*

*The Boatswain*

Has the chief charge in looking to the safe riding of the ship at her mooring in the river, and to under-run them as often as need requires.

He has the keeping of all the ship's stores, rigging, and furniture, charging himself on account to the surveyor of the navy, by acknowledgment under his hand to a book mentioning all the particulars, whereof he has a copy delivered him: he is also to come himself, and bring the ship's company with him to the dock, or to such other places as the flag is hung out, to shew where the works of that day are to be perform'd.

*The Gunner.*

The gunner has the charge of the ordnance, their carriages, with such stores as appertain to them, accounting for all to the office of the ordnance. No other service is required here but his attendance on board, and being found faulty that way, is checked of his victuals for that time.

*The Purser.*

He is to give his continual attendance, and to see that the company's victuals in harbour be brought them aboard weekly in their proportion, and well conditioned.

*Gunners of Sconces.*

They have several houses, and some pieces

of ordnance and ammunition under their charge, and are required to give their daily attendance in them.

*Boatswain of the Yard.*

He commands the labourers to their several works, and sees the provisions taken of hoys, or return'd from the ships, and carried safely, and orderly laid in the store-houses within the yard.

*Porters of the Gates.*

They attend to open and shut the gates morning and evening, and to wait at the doors all the day, to keep in the workmen, and to prevent carrying away or imbezbling any of the king's provisions; and one of them attends every morning as soon as the watch is broke up, till the workmen come in.

*House-Keeper.*

He takes charge to look to the king's house at *Chatham-Hill*, and the officers lodgings there, and the king's stuff, against their coming to pays, or other meetings for the king's service: he keeps the orchard and garden belonging to the house in good order likewise.

*Surgeon.*

He attends daily to cure such hurt men as happen among the ordinary ship-keepers.

*Messengers of the Navy.*

He attends the officers at their meetings, and provides horses and victuals for the pay-masters, at such time as they go to make payments: he is also, at the officers directions, to fetch any delinquent before them, and to keep him under custody till they give order for his release.

*What kind of Men are to be chosen four principal Officers of the Navy.*

**I** Conceive that the treasurer of the navy were fit to be either a merchant or a mariner, that is or has been an owner of ships, and can judge by his own experience both of the goodness and use of all the materials belonging to the building and tackling of ships, and may, upon special accidents of service, cut off his majesty's charge, take up a good sum of money for his majesty's ease, and to content the subjects, that otherwise will be grumbling for their wages when the service is ended.

The



The surveyor's place being too much for any one man to perform, to be separated into two distinct offices: the one a shipwright, who, for his experience in building new ships, for the king or merchants, the precedent part of his life, may be absolutely enabled to make choice of materials of timber, planks, and all other incident provisions in season; and can both command and direct workmen of all sorts to be employ'd in the building and repairing of all his majesty's ships and vessels; which cannot be so perfectly performed by any other man that has not had use of the mechanic part of that art, and is a full employment for any one to act, besides the publick meeting for general dispatch necessary for the navy.

The other a mariner bred, that has had the charge as master, and greater place, as captain, if such can be had, of ships of bulk and strength, knowing all the furniture and tacklings of a ship, and can well judge and rate the materials of all kinds, and so be able to make choice, and recommend to the lord admiral such persons as he finds fit to execute the boatwain's place; and can, of his own experience, judge of all wastes expended at sea, and take the accounts of the ships returned from sea, besides other general and particular duties mentioned under the title of the surveyor's place.

The comptroller and clerks places to be reduced into one, who should be an experienced clerk, long bred in the office, and understanding thoroughly passages of all demands, accompts, and allowances, usual and of right appertaining to all particular places throughout the office of the victualler and treasurer of the navy; which a stranger, though never so good an accomptant or clerk, cannot in many years attain to, if he has not been brought up in the execution thereof.

Provided always, That besides their experience and abilities to perform the active part of his majesty's service, these men be of good substance and esteem in their estates; otherwise the inferior officers will scorn to be commanded or directed by them; besides the obligation his majesty will find from men of means to perform his highness's service faithfully, rather than from needy mean qualittied persons.

Now it remains, that every one of these officers, from the highest to the lowest, under the lord admiral, should be limited and ordered by particular instructions to perform the duties of their places; for want of which, some have incroached beyond their right for private profit, and the most have been negligent in performing what they ought and of necessity should be done for the furtherance of his majesty's service, which has suffered much on this account.

*Places granted by Warrant from the Lord High Admiral.*

**T**HE three assistants to the master

Shipwrights.  
Anchor-Smith.  
Master Caulker.  
House-Carpenter.  
Two Chirurgions for the ordinary or extraordinary.

*At Chatham.*

Store-keepers.  
Rope-makers.  
Clerk of the rope-house.  
House-keeper at *Chatham-Hill*.  
Painter for the navy.  
Gunners of *Wareham Sconce, Bays Sconce*.  
Boatwain of the yard.  
Two porters of the yard.  
Pump-maker and top-maker.

*At Woolwich.*

Rope-maker.  
Clerk of the yard.

*At Deptford.*

Boatwain of the yard.  
Porter of the gates.  
Messenger of the navy.

All places of boatswains, gunners, purfers, cooks, carpenters, belonging to his majesty's ships and pinnaces.

All captains and masters in his majesty's ships and other vessels, and in all other ships in his majesty's pay.

*A brief Collection out of a Discourse of a principal Seaman touching the Shipping of England, and Officers of the King's Ships.*

THE native shipping of this kingdom has been esteemed (through the almighty providence) as walls of brass, to secure it from foreign invasions or incursions, as long as we remain masters of the seas.

Besides the great riches and honour the crown and subjects of this kingdom have gained in peace, by transporting our native commodities into the remotest parts where any known trade by sea has been, bringing home the chiefest wealth and commodities thereof, and beating our proudest enemies, even at their own doors. It may therefore easily appear, how necessary it is, as well for our honour and welfare, as for our security and safety, to maintain the shipping of the kingdom.

In the year 1588 there was not above one hundred and twenty sail of men of war to encounter that invincible *Armada of Spain*, and not above five of them all, except the queen's great ships, were two hundred tons burthen, and did not exceed those rates in all queen *Elizabeth's* time; so that our seamen were, by their experience and courage, rather the cause of our victories, than the ships.

Then in the beginning of king *James* his reign, who brought peace with *Spain* and all our neighbouring countries, our merchants, in regard the *Hollanders* and *Easterlings* had greater ships than our nation without ordnance, being able to transport commodities to and fro at far cheaper rates than the *English*, freighted strangers, and neglected our own shipping; inso-much, that our owners suffered their ships to decay, not regarding to repair them; so that in thirteen years of king *James*, there were not ten ships of two hundred tons left belonging to the river of *Tbames*, fit for the defence of the kingdom; whereupon, the *Trinity-House* men complained to the king of the state and decay of shipping, entreating his majesty to revive divers antient statutes against transportation of *English* goods on foreign bottoms; producing for example likewise, That the *Venetian* state finding the decay of their shipping, prohibited their merchants to transport or import any merchandize but in shipping of their own country, or to freight any strangers ships in foreign parts, if any *Venetian* ship were in that port wanting freight.

But the merchants opposing the mariners, prevailed against them, so that no redress was then had; and not long after it happened, in the fourteenth year of king *James*, That two great *Holland* ships of

two or three hundred tons apiece, came to *London* from the *Levant*, laden with currants and cotton-wooll upon the account of *Holland* merchants residing here, which our merchants apprehending it might endanger their trade, immediately became petitioners to his majesty and the lords of his council for redress, and so prevailed with the state, that a proclamation was publish'd, That no *Englishman* should carry out, or bring into this kingdom, any manner of goods but in *English* ships.

Hereupon the mariners and owners of ships of this kingdom began to build shipping again; and finding profit by them, and because the turks and pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis* were many and strong by sea, able to overcome all small ships, they built ships of greater burden, viz. three, four, or five hundred tons each, and furnished them with ordnance and ammunition proportionable to their burdens, and plenty of men for their safety in sailing outward and homeward; inso-much, that within seven years after, the state finding so many great ships built, thought fit to save his majesty the five shillings upon every ton, which *Henry VIII.* and his successors to that time, had allowed their subjects, for building of ships of one hundred tons and upwards, and took it quite away; which, notwithstanding, did not discourage the owners to build, finding the benefit of trading in ships of strength.

And in the fifth year of king *Charles*, besides the ships trading to *Newcastle*, and on the *Eastland* trade, being two hundred at least, at two hundred ton each, the most part whereof were afterwards fitted with ordnance for men of war, there were found belonging to the port of *London* one hundred sail of merchant ships, furnished with ordnance; a number, in the opinion of most seamen, fit to parallel the forces of any state or prince in *Christendom*.

The number and strength of the subjects ships, built and maintained without any charge to the state, on the profit of trade in time of peace, or the advantage of reprisal in time of war, preserves the strength of shipping and seamen in *England*, and not only the power of his majesty's navy royal, though it be conceived to be of more force than any other king's in the christian world.

On the contrary, if there be no benefit of trade to support it, of necessity it must decay as fast, being always decreasing, where ships bring in no gain.

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The experienced valiant sea-foldier and mariner, who knows how to manage a ship, and maintain a sea-fight judicially, for defence of himself and offence of his enemy, is only fit to be a captain, or commander at sea; for without good experience, a man otherwise courageous may soon destroy himself and his company.

The sea language is not soon learned, much less understood, being only proper to him that has served his apprenticeship: besides that, a boisterous sea and stormy weather, will make a man not bred on it so sick, that it bereaves him of legs, stomach, and courage, so much as to fight with his meat. And in such weather, when he hears the seamen cry, starboard, or port, or to bide alooff, or flat a sheet, or haul home a cluling, he thinks he hears a barbarous speech, which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppose the best and ablest bred seaman should buckle on armour, and mount a courageous great horse, and so undertake the leading of a troop of horse, he would (no doubt) be accounted very indiscreet, and men would judge he could perform but very weak service; neither could his soldiers hope of good security, being under an ignorant captain, that knows not scarce how to rein his horse, much less to take advantage for execution, or retreat: and yet it is apparent to be far more easy to attain experience for land service than on the sea.

The bred seaman is for the most part hardy and undaunted, ready to adventure any desperate action, be it good or bad; as prodigal of his blood, whatever his commander order him, if he loves or fears him.

The seaman's desire is to be commanded by those that understand their labour, laws and customs, thereby expecting reward or punishment, according to their deserts.

The seamen are stubborn or perverse, when they receive their command from the ignorant in the discipline of the sea, who cannot speak to them in their own language.

That commander who is bred a seaman, and of approved government, by his skill in choice of his company, will save twenty in the hundred, and perform better service than he can possibly do that understands not perfectly how to direct the officers under him.

The best ships of war in the known world have been commanded by captains bred seamen; and merchants put their whole confidence in the fidelity and ability of seamen to carry their ships and goods through the hazard of pirates, men of war, and the danger of rocks and sands, be they of never so much value; which they would never do under the

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charge of a gentleman, or an unexperienced foldier, for his valour only.

The *United Provinces*, whose safety and wealth depends chiefly upon their sea affairs, and who for some years past have had great employment, and enlarged their dominions much in remote places, use only their expert seamen to go captains and chief commanders in all their ships of war and trade.

Great care must be had to chuse a commander or captain of discretion and good government, who is to be preferred for his skill and experience; for where the seamen are left without orderly discipline, there can be nothing expected but confusion and shame.

The seamen are much discouraged of late times, by preferring of young, needy, and unexperienced gentlemen captains over them in their own ships; as also by placing lieutenants above the masters in the king's ships, which have never been used till of late years.

The seaman is willing to give or receive punishment deservingly, according to the laws of the sea, and not otherwise, according to the fury or passion of a boisterous, blasphemous, swearing commander.

Punishment is fittest to be executed in cold blood, the next day after the offence is committed and discovered.

A captain should chuse able and honest men for his company, as near as he can; but especially his master and master's mates should be of good government, whereby he is like to have a prosperous and good voyage.

#### *Punishments at Sea.*

A captain may punish according to the offence committed, (*viz.*) putting one in the billbows during pleasure; keep them fasting; duck them at the yard-arm, or haul them from yard-arm to yard-arm under the ships keel; or make them fast to the capstan, and whip them there; or at the capstan or main-mast hang weights about their necks till their heart and back be ready to break; or to gagg or scrape their tongues for blasphemy or swearing. This will tame the most rude and savage people in the world.

#### *Discouragement to Seamen.*

When they have unexperienced needy commanders; bad and unwholesome victuals, and complaining of it, can have no redress; cutting their beef too small; putting of five or more to four mens allowance; want of beer; long staying for their wages.

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*The Election of a General or Admiral by sea, and what is requisite in such a Commander for the Government of the Fleet under his charge.*

NO fleet can be well-governed without a head; no flock of sheep without a shepherd; no army by sea or land without a general, or supreme commander, who must be authorized, either by immediate commission from a prince, or his substitutes that holds his place by patent from him; as, namely, for matters of the sea, from the lord high admiral of *England*.

There have been often disputes, whether the title of admiral or general were more proper to a sea commander; and though I dare not presume to conclude of either, yet I think it is as unproper to call an admiral general by sea, as to call a general admiral by land; though I confess their authorities are alike in command of mens persons, yet is the jurisdiction of the admiral by sea greater than the other, in that he ruleth and guideth a fleet of ships, which are of more importance to the king and state, than the lives of men are that serve in them.

The authority of a general being granted, the next consideration is in his election, that he be a man of experience, valour, conduct, temper, constancy, and discretion; that by his clemency and good carriage he gain love; and by his justice, fear, as well from his soldiers as enemies, after the example of *Julius Cæsar*, who, to his great praise, is said, never to have forgot the service done him, or every remembered injury offer'd him.

Such a general is to make election of his captains, to be of the same temper; and out of them to make choice of three or four to be of his select council, upon whose judgment he may presume and rely, not trusting altogether to his wit and will; for wilfulness and want of experience in generals are the utter overthrow and bane of actions, as may be collected out of sundry of those which I have treated of in my first and second books.

The next caution I give a general, is, That neither ambition, covetousness, vain-glory, nor honour, make him seek employment, till the prince command him; but especially, that he be no projector of voyages, where princes are not the only undertakers. Let *Sir John Norris* and *Drake* be an example in their voyage to *Portugal*, and *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies*; for he that desires to undertake an action which does not absolutely depend on the prince, must examine the state of himself and friends, who engage themselves with him;

and if he is to have the whole disposal of the action, to forecast that there be no want of things necessary.

But above all, he must take care that his project be grounded upon such assurance, that he fail not in the performance of it; though this is impossible: it is only in the power of man to promise, but in the hands of God to dispose; for if any of his designs fail, it will prove the overthrow of his action, the loss of his reputation, and shew the weakness of his judgment; whereas on the contrary, he that is called to a place of command by his sovereign, shall perform the service with a good conscience, be furnished with all his wants for the action, and follow the directions prescribed him; so that whether the event be good or bad, he shall keep his credit, and be thought worthy of employment; for the principallest thing of a general, is to follow the directions of his prince; and of an inferior officer, to perform the command of his general; which *Sir Richard Greenville* neglected, to his own destruction.

Amongst the *Spaniards*, private men undertake no publick actions, but the king is the whole adventurer and disposer of them himself; and generals are appointed as they are esteemed; who if they disobey the king's directions, answer it with life or disgrace; as to instance in *Don Diego Flores de Valdez* in 1588. *Don Alonso de Bassan*; *Don John de Puerto Carrero*, and *Diego Soto*, the one commander of the galleys, the other of the ships, in our voyage to *Cadiz*, in 1596. *Don John* was banished into *Barbary*; the other committed to prison, where he died: this makes them not desire employment, as amongst us, and more careful to perform the service for their own safety when they are employed.

A general is to examine the state of his ships, men, and victuals, before he put out of harbour; and finding any impediments, he is to punish the offence where it deserves, and to see himself provided of all wants before his departure; for when at sea, it will be too late to be relieved; and herein *Sir Francis Drake*, though an old captain, shewed himself but a young general, in his voyage to the *Indies* in 1585. and to *Portugal* in 1589.

The next care of a general, is to give instructions to his captains in as brief and plain a manner as he can, that no ambiguities may arise, as, namely, the place of meeting, if they lose company. Secondly, how to govern their men. And, thirdly, how to work upon any occasion that shall happen at sea, as by shewing of lights in the night, by shooting of ordnance day and night, or striking their topsails by day; for the better understanding whereof, I have set

set down some particulars touching that point, joined to their directions. After a general is provided of all those things I have related, the next thing is to expect the opportunity of a wind and fair weather, and not to put out of harbour but with a settled large wind; and being at sea, he must be as provident to slack sail for his fleet, as he shall see occasion; for it is a great weakness in a general, upon a contrary wind to bear a press sail, seeing the rest of the ships must strive to do the like, though it be to the hazard of their masts and sails; for if they miscarry in either, they must of necessity be forced home; whereas in bearing a slack sail, they will not lose two leagues in four days, which will be recover'd in less than two hours with a large wind. And herein we may blame the unadvisedness of my lord of *Essex*, in keeping the sea in his voyage to the islands in 1597. with a contrary wind, foul weather, and a press sail, till his fleet were scatter'd; when in three hours he might have harbour'd in *Falmouth*, and avoided the rigour of the storm.

A general must have a care to assign a place of rendezvous where his fleet shall meet, and especially to provide, as the necessariest thing in his expedition, to have intelligence of his enemy, and to keep them from intelligence of him, by example of 1588. and 1595.

A general that is only appointed for sea service, not for land, ought to be careful not to carry gentlemen, more than some few for the reputation of himself and action; for whatsoever gentlemen promise or pretend to the contrary before their going out, when they have been long at sea, and are tired with the tediousness thereof, and find the want of victuals, they are apt to be the first to cry home, whose examples will make others do the like; as I have shewed in the voyage to *Cadiz*, and the year following to the islands.

A general that is to enterprize a service of importance, ought, before he propose it to his council, to require the opinion of his best and trustiest captains in writing, who shall have sufficient leisure to debate all circumstances before they give their judgments; for a man that is suddenly and rawly taken, cannot give that resolution, as upon mature deliberation: it is like a consultation, which ever proves the best; and a general, out of their writing, will be able both to judge and determine what to do.

And this did my lord of *Essex* in his voyage to the islands, requiring a captain he relied on, to give his judgment in writing. First, whether he should attempt the king of *Spain's* ships in *Ferrol*, or no. Secondly, whether before or after his being at the

*Terceras*. And lastly, the manner how to assail them. The captain's answer you will find in the second book, with that voyage.

*The Directions of a General to his Ships, if they lose company.*

**I**F you happen to lose the fleet, you shall seek to get yourself into the height of and there lie off and on leagues for days; and if you meet not the fleet, nor with directions, you shall ply to the height of and keep some leagues to seaward; and if you hear nothing in days, you shall get yourself into the height of and lie off and on till you meet the fleet, or directions.

*Instructions from a General to his Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Captains, to be observed by them at Sea.*

**M**ORE than the reputation of a vice-admiral, is to be second man in command; and that in absence or death of the admiral, he has the absolute charge; yet in presence of the admiral, he is to follow the instructions given by him, or resolved on by council, in which council he is the second person, and is to have all rights done to him next the admiral.

As he is vice-admiral, so is he admiral of a squadron; and as he wears the flag in the foretop, being vice-admiral, so he is to wear what coloured flag he please in the main top, as admiral of his squadron.

He is to have a vice-admiral and rear-admiral of his squadron, though the use of a rear-admiral is but a late invention, and is allowed but the ordinary pay of a captain, but the vice-admiral of the fleet has half the pay of the vice-admiral: these two are to wear the same flags; the vice-admiral does the one in the foretop, the other in the mizen, and every ship of the squadron besides, is to wear a streamer of the same colour in the forehead or mizen-yard, to be distinguished from other squadrons.

The instruction for his squadron is to hale them once in twenty four hours; and how to gather them together out of the fleet, when he pleases to call them, and many other observations, are to be expressed in the general articles from the admiral; and because every ship in the fleet receives the same instructions, it is fit that the captain under the vice-admiral, and the master of the ship, be perfect, and have, as it were, by heart, all the articles before mentioned, that as soon as they see a sign made by the admiral, they may prepare to work accordingly.

It is requisite that the captain under the admiral, or vice-admiral, be a man of great experience in sea affairs; for he is always ready at hand to advise, when council cannot repair on board; and yet this place is of so little esteem among us, that there is no allowance for it, though amongst the *Spaniards* it is a place of great reputation, and has the title of *Capitan de la Capitana*.

*Such Instructions as were given in the Voyage in 1635. by the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Lindsey.*

1. **F**IRST, and above all things, you are to take care, that all the officers and company of ships do offer their best devotion unto God twice a-day, according to the usual practices and liturgy of the church of *England*.

2. In your own particular, you are to have special care, that you perform your duty faithfully, and with diligence; and if any seaman, or other in your ship, shall raise faction, tumult, or conspiracy, or commit manslaughter or murder, or shall quarrel or fight, or draw blood, or weapon to that end, or commit theft, or other heinous capital offence, you shall cause precise information to be brought to me thereof, that I may inflict condign punishment upon each offender, according to the condition of his crime.

3. If any under your command in that ship shall be a common swearer, blasphemer, railer, drunkard, pilferer, or sleep at his watch, or make a noise, and not betake himself to his place of rest after the watch is set, or shall not keep his cabin cleanly, or be discontented with his proportion of victuals, or shall spoil or waste them, or any other necessary provision for the ship, or shall commit any insolency or disorder, fitting by you to be corrected, you are to punish them according to the order and custom of the sea.

4. You shall take a perfect account of the officers in your ships, to whom it belongs, of the receipts of the expences, and remains of victuals, ammunition, and allowance of provision and stores aboard your ship, and so weekly to continue the same, not suffering any spoil or waste to be made thereof, but to preserve them all the best you can, both in quantity and quality; and you shall not suffer any works to be done in the ships that shall not be needful and necessary for the same.

5. To prevent the needless expence of powder and shot, you are to take weekly account of the master gunner of the expence of the powder and shot, and all manner of ammunition, provisions, and stores contained in his indentures, not permitting

any part thereof to be wasted or embezzeled; nor any piece of ordnance to be shot without particular order or directions from yourself, and that upon very necessary occasions, and according to his majesty's proclamations, unless it be for salutes, keeping the true number and kinds of the shot, that their accounts may be thereby examined, which are not to be allowed in the office of the ordnance without approbation under your hand.

6. You are to keep a competent number of men allowed to your ship compleat, and to have a full proportion of healthy and able-bodied mariners and seamen, and but the allowed number of your retinue, that your ship be not filled with idlers; and to take care to get such as are able and healthful bodies, and not boys, or infirm persons, to perform his majesty's service.

7. You shall not suffer any boat to go ashore without special leave; and then but upon necessary occasions, as to fetch water, or the like.

8. You shall perform to me all due respects and obedience, not taking the wind of me at any time, if you be not forced to it, but keep company with me as much as you may, speaking with me both morning and evening, to know my pleasure, and so often as you see my flag of council in my mizen shrouds, you shall come on board me; and when I shall weigh anchor at the report of a warning-piece, you shall do the like, and anchor when I anchor, ranking yourselves under the colour of your squadron, the vice-admiral taking his place within me, and the rear-admiral without.

9. In the night I will carry two lights, which you are to observe and follow, bearing the same course I do, without straggling, unless storms or tempests divide us, and then with expedition to return to the place of rendezvous, which I shall direct; but if you happen to spring a leak, spend a mast, or be otherwise distressed by fire, you are to give notice by shooting off two pieces of ordnance, that other ships may hasten to your help to avoid danger.

10. If you discover any ships at sea, you are to give notice thereof by shooting off a piece, and letting fall your main top-sail so many times as there be ships; and if they appear to be *Turkish* pirates, or sea-rovers, you shall shoot two or three pieces, to warn the whole fleet to put in order either to fight or pursue.

11. It must be your principal care to preserve his majesty's honour, coasts, jurisdictions, territories, and subjects, within the extent of this your employment, as much as in you lies, that no nation or people whatsoever intrude thereon, or injure any of them; and if you shall chance to meet in  
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the narrow seas any fleet or ships belonging to any prince, king, or state, you are to expect that the admiral or chief of them, in acknowledgment of his majesty's sovereignty there, perform their duty and homage in passing by; and if they refuse to do it, you are to enforce them thereunto; and in any wise you are not to suffer any dishonour to be done to his majesty, or derogation to his sovereign power in those seas; and if any of his majesty's subjects shall so much forget their duties, as not to strike their topsail in passing his majesty's ships, you are to enforce them thereunto, and to punish the commanders of such a ship yourself, or to give me advertisement of it, that I may take a course with them.

12. You are not to suffer any man of war to fight with each other, or man of war with merchant, in the presence of his majesty's ships in the narrow seas; but you are to do the best in those seas to keep peace, for the better and free maintenance of trade and commerce through the same; for that all men trading or sailing within those his majesty's seas do justly take themselves to be *in pace Domini Regis*, and therefore his majesty in honour and justice is to protect them from injury and violence.

13. If you chance to meet with any strangers ships riding at anchor in any of his majesty's bays or harbours with counterfeit colours, which is a practice of late much used to entrap such foreigners as trade on his majesty's coasts, you are to apprehend and bring them unto me, or send them safe into some of his majesty's ports, to answer such their presumption and offence according to law.

14. If you happen to take any ship and goods from any pirate, sea-rover, or other offender, you must be careful that they be kept in safety, and that no part thereof be spoiled, wasted, or imbezzled, spiking down the hatches and holds, and bring them to me, that I may send them to his majesty's ports and harbours for his majesty's use.

15. If you meet with any men of war, merchants, or other vessel, or ship belonging to any prince or state, either at sea, or in any road, or other place where you shall happen to come, you are to send to see whether there be any *English, Scotch, or Irish*, or any other of his majesty's subjects; and if any seamen, gunners, pilots, or mariners, shall be found aboard any of them, you are not only to cause such of his majesty's subjects to be taken out and brought to me, to answer their contempt to his majesty's proclamation in that kind, but also to admonish the captain, and principal commanders and officers in such foreign ships and vessels, that they receive or entertain aboard

any of their ships no more his majesty's subjects aforesaid, that his majesty have no cause to resent it at their hands; but you are to have special care, that no man be permitted to go aboard any ship or vessel of any of his majesty's friends or allies, to search for any of his majesty's subjects, as aforesaid, for whose fair and honest carriage you will not answer: and you are not in any case to suffer any violence, wrong, or interruption to be given by any of your company to any of his majesty's friends or allies, behaving themselves fairly and respectfully.

16. You shall do your best endeavour to hinder, that none of his majesty's subjects whatsoever at sea, or inhabitants on the coast, do buy, sell, or barter, with pirates; or sea-rovers, and taking notice of such as do or have done, see you give me notice of it, with their names, places of abode, together with a particular of their offences, and such examinations and proofs as you have against them, that I may acquaint the state therewith.

17. If any man of war, or other in any of his majesty's roads, harbours, or coasts, shall offer any violence in taking out any vessels, goods, or merchandize unduly, or commit any other insolencies, you shall do your best to recover the same again from them, and reform the abuse, either by due admonition, or, if that will not serve, by bringing the offenders to answer by justice, preserving by all means the honour of his majesty from such insolencies as much as in you lies, having always due regard to the amity betwixt his majesty, his friends and allies.

18. If we happen to descry any fleet at sea, which we may probably know or conjecture designs to oppose, encounter, or affront us, I will first strive to get the wind, (if I be to leeward,) and so shall the whole fleet in due order do the like, and when we come to join battle, no ship shall presume to assault the admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral, but only myself, my vice-admiral, or rear-admiral, if we be able to reach them; and the other ships are to match themselves accordingly as they can, and to secure one another, as cause shall require, not wasting their powder at small vessels or victuallers, nor firing till they come side to side.

19. You must be careful that no bed of straw, or combustible matter, be aboard in time of fight, nor shall permit any powder to be carried up and down in open barrels or budge barrels; but to command the gunners to load cartrages, which may be kept covered; and for prevention of fireworks, you are to cause the vessels of urine to be in readiness in your ship, and shall enjoin your ship-carpenter to observe carefully

fully in the fight, if any shot chance to fall near the bulging-place of the ship, and ever to be ready to stop them with salt hides, sheet-lead, plugs, or whatsoever may be fit.

20. Before fight you are to see all things put in order; then to encourage the company, and not to suffer them to board the ship or vessel that shall oppose them till the smoke of their ordnance be cleared up, nor till the men above hatches be slain, or beaten off.

21. When we set sail, the vice-admiral with his squadron shall sail a-head the admiral, a convenient distance; and the rear-admiral astern, observing the like distance. Every ship is to rank himself under the colours of his own squadron, allowing one another fair room, for fear of falling foul, if it should happen to be rough weather.

22. In the night I will bear two lights in my poop, the vice and rear-admiral falling something astern of me, but keeping their distance, shall each of them bear one light in the poop, for the rest of the squadron to follow; both vice and rear-admiral shall speak with me twice aday, morning and evening, if wind and weather will permit, and having received such directions as I shall give them, they are to fall in their places again.

23. If I cast about in the night, I will shoot a piece of ordnance, and shew two lights one above the other, which you are to answer, that I may know you see me.

24. If I am forced to bear round, you shall see three lights on the poop of my ship, and you shall shew the like.

25. If your ship should happen to run aground upon any danger, (which God forbid,) you shall shoot four pieces of ordnance, one a little after the other; if in the night, you shall burn a fire-pike.

26. If by day or night you find yourself near any rock, sands, or shoals that may be dangerous, you shall shoot off three pieces, and cast about; but if in the night, you shall hang out two lights at your fore-topmast head.

27. If I shorten sail in the night, by reason of the foul weather, I will shew three lights on my poop, one above the other; if I try or hull, besides those I will shew two in my shrouds; and you shall do the like, that I may know you understand me.

28. If in foul weather we lose company, and after come in fight of one another; if in topsail gale, you shall strike and hoise your fore-topsail twice; but if it be not topsail gale, you shall brail up your foresail, and let it fall twice; and if you are an-

swered by the like sign, it shall betoken they are of our fleet; and if in the night you come up and hail one another, the word shall be *Charles*, and the answer *Mary*, whereby you shall know the other.

29. If in the night it be foul weather, and over-blow, every ship shall carry a light in his poop, that we may the better keep clear one of another; and in thick foggy weather, either by day or night, you are to make a noise with drum, trumpet, or ringing your bell, and sometimes shooting off a musket, whereby you may keep clear one of another; and if in such weather I cast about by day, I will shoot off a piece of ordnance; and in the night I will shoot a piece, and use the sign before mentioned.

30. You shall keep one continually in your topmast head to look abroad; and if you discover any fleet or ships, which you conceive I see not, you shall put you ancient in your top, and bear with them, till you perceive I see them; and let no man presume to wear a flag, though absent from the fleet, but those to whom it properly belongs.

31. Our principal place of rendezvous is in the *Downs*, whilst our employment is to the eastward of the isle of *Wight*; if to the westward, *Falmouth*; whither you are upon all occasions to repair, if you should be absent from me, except you hear otherwise where I am, and then to come to me there, to receive such farther instructions as I shall have occasion to deliver to you from time to time, for the advancement of the service we have in hand; or where you may conceive wind and weather may force us for more safety, either *Wight*, *Plimouth*, or any other port.

32. You are to be careful to keep your company in good order, peace, and unity one with another, and to see that they have their allowance of victuals in good order.

33. When you see the *British* flag spread upon the mizen-shrouds, then the council of war is to come aboard me; if the red ancient, then both captains and masters.

34. And when there shall be any occasion to dispose of you upon any service apart, I shall then give you such farther directions as the service requires. And so God keep you, and send us a prosperous voyage.

*From on board his Majesty's Ship Royal, the Mere-honour, riding in the Downs, the 30th of May, 1635.*

Signed,

LINDSEY.



*The distinct Practice, or special Duties of Officers belonging to the King's Ships at Sea.*

*The Captain's Office.*

THE captains in queen *Elizabeth's* time were gentlemen of worth and means, maintaining their diet at their own charge.

A captain has power, upon just cause of misdemeanor, or imbezzelling the king's goods, to displace any inferior officer, (except the master,) who has the absolute charge of conducting the ship in and out, according to the direction given by the captain, to the place whither he should sail the same. And in case the master commit any offence meriting blame, during the voyage, the captain may require stay of his wages, till the matter be heard before the principal officers of the navy, or the lord admiral himself, if the offence be criminal.

The captain may require a copy of the sea book from the purser, and muster the company at his pleasure: likewise the boatwain, gunner, and purser, ought to shew the captain what sea stores they have received into their charge for the voyage; and he may require a copy of the indenture, or bills of charge; in like sort a note of the several kinds of victuals from the purser at the end of the voyage, to certify what has been in any sort extraordinarily expended in his majesty's service, or wasted, or lost by unavoidable accidents; without which the king's officers should not give any extraordinary allowance upon their accounts respectively, provided that nothing be allowed upon such certificate, but what has been formerly lost, and truly issued for his majesty's service only. The captain must be very cautious not to remove any of the aforesaid officers that have the king's goods under their charge, unless upon urgent necessity, for matters criminal, or neglect of the service; and then to take good testimony what stores are remaining at the time of their discharge, and to commit the same to such hands as may be able to account for the same to the officers at the end of the voyage.

After the ship is at sea, the purser ought not to enter or discharge any of the company, but by the captain's special order.

1. The office of a captain is to be distinguished into two kinds, (*viz.*) a captain that is lawfully chosen by a general, serving under the patent of a prince, from which general the captain receives his commission for his employment, and instructions for him to follow during the time of the voyage; and at the end thereof to be paid

the entertainment of a captain, as aforesaid.

2. The captain ought to have experience and ability, by his art and skill, to controul his master, if he do amiss, or else his master may willingly commit such an error as will cast a disgrace upon his captain.

These latter times have advanced captains, who only take upon them that name, holding it a maxim, that they need not experience, but refer themselves to the direction of a master. I must say, That the generals who place such captains are very careless of their master's service, and forgetful of their own rising from the degree of a soldier to a general, and the mischiefs that ensue upon it; nay, I will say, That such a general is improvident of his master's profits; for if a master should direct a captain, and have the managing of the charge committed to him, why should a prince allow ten shillings a day to a captain, when a master can execute the place of both captain and master for his bare allowance?

A captain of experience being thus settled in his command, he shall see that every officer be chosen in such places, that they may be able to execute the charge committed to them, and not to advance any unworthy person for affection. This captain, under a general, has lawful authority to punish offences committed within his ship; or if his company grow mutinous or stubborn, he may have recourse to the general, who will inflict more severe punishment, as death, if they deserve it, which no private captain can do.

If a captain shall misdemean himself against his company, the like censure he shall receive from his general, whose supreme authority begets moderation and agreement amongst them, which the ships of reprisal have no means to accommodate but by violence.

What instructions the captain shall receive from his general, needs no other repetition than I have already declared in the instructions set down in this same book, to which I refer you; but with this caution, That you be careful to observe what is there contain'd.

A captain is to make choice of his lieutenant, and it is as necessary that he be a man of experience, as himself; and though no such officer be allow'd in his majesty's ships but of late; and that the master repines to have a lieutenant above him, yet do I hold it fit to have a lieutenant, and he to have entertainment from the king, as well as his allow'd shares in a private ship of war, for these reasons;

A lieutenant is an employment for a gentleman well bred, who knows how to enter-

entertain ambassadors, gentlemen, and strangers, when they come aboard, either in presence or absence of a captain.

A lieutenant is to be sent on a message, either aboard ships or ashore, upon any occasion of service, though it be to great persons, an unfit employment for a master; besides the master is not to depart out of the ship, or leave his place, but in case of necessity.

A lieutenant knows how to use gentlemen and soldiers with more courtesy and friendly behaviour, and will give better satisfaction than any other mariner or master can do, who have not been bred to it, but in the rude manner of a mariner.

A lieutenant in a fight is to command the fore-castle, or the soldiers before the mast, as the captain does abaft the mast, and to see that every man does the service he is commanded.

But the lieutenant must have a care that he carry not himself proudly or presumptuously, nor that his captain give him power or authority to intermeddle in the master's office; for where there is a heart-burning between the lieutenant and the master, it will make it burst out into open discontent, and then will follow mischiefs and factions among the company.

*The Second Degree of a Captain, viz. in Ships of Reprisal.*

**T**HIS captain I shall treat of is much inferior to the authority of the other I have spoken of: First, his title is not authorized by the immediate power of a prince, but by a subordinate; for a king of *England* in time of war substitutes his lord high admiral of *England* to grant out letters of reprisal to his subjects, to take and arrest by all means, either by sea or land, the vessels of his enemy; and this commission is taken out of the court of admiralty, having relation to the lord high admiral and his office.

In this quality any man may make himself a captain, if he put in the security aforesaid; but what abuses ensue thereof, I refer you to see in the first book.

This captain, after a ship is furnished, is to make choice of his master, officers, and company; and though he be stiled the captain, yet do they not use to obey him so strictly as him that has power from a general, as I have said before; for they receive no pay whereby to oblige them, but every one goes upon his own adventure; and therefore they will tie the captain to the same conditions in his diet, or his part of any goods taken, as themselves. His authority is little better than the captain in a pirate; for the interest and division of

goods are alike, only that this captain has commission to take from an enemy, and a pirate takes without commission, and makes all the world his enemies.

The authority of reprisals, and the law to warrant and limit them, has been ancient, and ever since *England* enjoy'd *Aquitain*, if it were truly known; for the laws to this day are called the laws of *Alleroone* near *Rockbell*, anciently possessed by the *English*.

And because I speak of the peculiar laws there established, I am bound to give you an account of an ancient record extant in the tower of *London*, wherein is to be seen, that at a general meeting of all nations of *Europe*, that had relation to the sea, with one voice and consent they gave *England* the preheminance and power over all the seas, as well those that part *England* and *France*, as also the northern seas that encompass *Scotland* and *Ireland*; by which it is apparent, the kings of *England* did not challenge the privilege of masters of the sea by force, but by lawful right, granted by the consent of all the maritime towns in *Europe*.

The law of these actions of reprisal is to divide the goods taken from any enemy into three parts, the ship has one part, the victualler the other, the company the third, and the lord admiral to have the tenths of all.

That which is called pillage is the loofe goods and apparel of the company on the upper deck, so that it exceeds not a certain proportion, and is equally to be divided to the whole company at the main-mast.

If a ship fight, the captain that takes her, by ancient right, should have the other captain's chest, and what he has in it; and every officer to have the like of other officers. The captain is to have likewise the best piece of ordnance in the ship, the gunner the second, and the master the best cable, and all the other officers after that rate, sails, muskets, &c.

The thirds due to the company is thus divided, and those that make the shares are, the master, or in his absence the right-hand mate, the gunner, the boatswain, and the four quarter-masters, (not the captain.) But the captain has this privilege, to take away half a share, or a whole share; to give from one to another whom he pleases.

|                                  | <i>Shares.</i> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| In the division, the captain has | 10             |
| The master                       | 7 or 8         |
| The lieutenant                   | 7 or 8         |
| The mates                        | 5              |
| The chirurgeon                   | 5              |
| The gunner                       | 5              |
| The boatswain                    | 5              |
| The                              | The            |

|                           | <i>Shares.</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| The carpenter             | 5              |
| The trumpeter             | 5              |
| The four quarter-masters  | 4              |
| The cooper                | 4              |
| The chirurgion's mate     | 4              |
| The gunner's mate         | 4              |
| The carpenter's mate      | 4              |
| The corporal              | 3              |
| The quarter-master's mate | 3              |
| The trumpeter's mate      | 3              |
| The steward               | 3              |
| The cook                  | 3              |
| The cockswain             | 3              |
| The swabber               | 3              |

The youngers are according to their deserts, some three, some two, and some less; the boys one single share.

A ship of war is to keep a man or boy continually in the head of the topmast, to descry what fails they can see; and upon the descrying of any that shall prove prize, he is to have given him a reward, at the discretion of the captain.

If any prize they take shall fight, and make resistance, upon the boarding her, the ten first men that shall enter her shall have every one of them a reward, at the discretion of the captain.

Though these actions of reprisals yield no profit to a king, but only in his customs, as all other merchandizes that come into his kingdoms, yet it is a matter of great consequence, not only to him, but to his whole commonwealth, as appears by these reasons: the number of sailors and seamen are increased treble by it, to what they are in the navigations of peaceable voyages; and they are made more courageous, and more like to serve their prince and country, when there is occasion to use them, than any other of his majesty's subjects, although their successes do not prove prosperous at sea, but that they return without spoil or gain; for I confess, of twenty such ships as go out with letters of reprisal, not two, for the most part, make a saving voyage; like a lottery, where one lighting upon a good prize, encourages others to venture in it, till they make themselves penniless, and derided for their pains.

But howsoever it fall with these adventurous people, the kingdom feels no detriment or scarcity by it; for all the time they spend at sea, they consume no more victuals than they would have done on shore: every man in the ship bears his own adventure; so that neither king or country is bound to pay them at their return: or though they fail of getting in one voyage, yet upon the end of it they are ready, and never want occasion to be suddenly employ'd again in another.

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And lastly, The king receives benefit by these voluntary actions, by annoyance done the enemy, who is impoverished and put into great discontent by it; besides, that many times his provisions in furnishing his fleets are cut off in their way to the place of their rendezvous, whereby his preparations fail, to the great security and profit of the prince their enemy. What this end of the stealth produces, you will hear afterwards.

*The Office of a Master of a Ship of the King's.*

A master is to be chosen by the *Trinity-House*, who can judge of every man's sufficiency, as well in the point of his art as his command, which is as much to be regarded as the other in a ship of the king's: upon commendations from them to the four principal officers of the navy, he is to receive warrant for taking charge of his majesty's ship. I utterly dislike that a captain should make choice of a master himself; I speak it for the security of a captain; for if any thing but well should befall the ship in her voyage, it will be imputed to the captain's election of his master, and he only shall receive the blame and imputation by it.

His place and charge is to undertake to conduct the ship safe from port to port, and to direct at sea to and fro as the captain shall require him, by virtue of his instructions from the lord admiral in the king's service; he is also to give chase, manage a fight, or retreat by the captain's directions.

He has power to command the mariners and all the company, to perform the ordinary labours in the ship, and to keep due watch in their turns at the helm; and may by himself, or the boatswain and his mates, correct and punish, according to the custom of the sea, such as refuse his command for the service of the ship, wherein I conceive no man is exempted respectively.

He must be likewise acquainted what furniture, ground-tackle, and sea-stores, belong to the ship, and to justify the needful expences of sea-stores in the boatswain or carpenter's charge during the voyage, to the end there may be warrant for supply while the ship is under his charge.

There are six things necessary and requisite in a master or mariner that takes charge, (*viz.*) the card, the compass, the tides, the time, the wind, and the ship's way.

A master must be obedient to his captain, and so carry himself, that he be obey'd

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by

by his company; for a master that has not authority in his command, is slighted by all his men, and the inferior officers, and then the service goes to wreck.

A master ought to pass through all the offices and degrees in a ship, before he attain to his place of master; that thereby he may both direct and controul the other officers, if they commit errors or mistakes.

A master ought not to be arrogant, wilful or head-strong; not to presume too much on his own skill, without the advice of his mates, who are to be chosen as his seconds and helpers, to conduct the ship when he takes his rest; also to separate themselves into several parts of the ship at her tacking about, and tackling of the ship, giving ear to the master's command, and to see it performed; and also to oversee carefully such business as concerns the safety of the ship, (*viz.*) the anchor cleared, the splicing and bending of cables, that the shrowds be taut, &c. The boatswain employ'd to do these things, may not neglect to perform them strictly, whereby any danger may come to the ship.

The office of a master is to guide a ship into what coast, heighth, or harbour the captain shall direct him, who is commander of all; and in a fight is to conn the ship, and to see the handling of the sails, by appointment of the captain.

A master must observe the sun and star, to find out the variation of the compass, to know the tides, to prick his card, and many other things; which for the better instruction of him that shall hereafter attain to that place, I have set down briefly for them to learn and follow; as namely, the working of the sun, with the north and south declination; a rule to know the age of the moon, and so consequently to cast the tides; how many leagues answer to a degree; the prime, the golden number, who was the finder out of the loadstone, and the winds called *Monsons*.

*How to work the Sun with a North Declination.*

The height is 87 Degrees, 54 Minutes.

|       |    |       |    |       |    |
|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|
| 23    | 19 | 46    | 11 | 13    | 12 |
| 21    | 13 | 23    | 2  | 12    | 20 |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |
| 2     | 6  | 23    | 9  | 1     | 2  |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |
| 89    | 60 | 89    | 60 | 89    | 60 |
| 2     | 6  | 23    | 9  | 1     | 2  |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |
| 87    | 54 | 66    | 51 | 88    | 58 |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |

*How to work the Sun with a South Declination.*

|       |    |       |    |       |    |
|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|
| 23    | 19 | 46    | 11 | 13    | 22 |
| 21    | 13 | 23    | 2  | 12    | 20 |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |
| 44    | 32 | 69    | 13 | 25    | 42 |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |
| 89    | 60 | 89    | 60 | 89    | 60 |
| 44    | 32 | 69    | 13 | 25    | 42 |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |
| 45    | 28 | 20    | 47 | 64    | 18 |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |

*A Rule to know the Age of the Moon, and so to cast the Tides.*

|       |    |       |    |       |    |       |    |                         |
|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------------------------|
| 23    | 19 | 26    | 2  | 9     | 12 | 28    | 13 | } The Day of the Month. |
| 14    | 2  | 6     | 13 | 29    | 3  | 25    | 2  |                         |
| 9     | 4  | 8     | 11 | 7     | 4  | 4     | 3  | } The Months from Mar.  |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |                         |
| 46    | 25 | 40    | 26 | 45    | 19 | 57    | 18 |                         |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |                         |
| 30    |    | 30    |    | 30    |    | 30    |    |                         |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |                         |
| 16    |    | 10    |    | 15    |    | 25    |    |                         |
| <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    |                         |

*Leagues to answer a Degree.*

|                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| North                   | 20                |
| North and by east       | 20 $\frac{1}{3}$  |
| North-north-east        | 21 $\frac{1}{3}$  |
| North-east and by north | 24                |
| North-east              | 28 $\frac{1}{3}$  |
| North-east and by east  | 36                |
| East-north-east         | 52 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| East and by north       | 102 $\frac{1}{3}$ |

It is to be noted, that the north-east winds, which continually blow betwixt the *Canaries* and *West Indies*, blow so from the sixth or seventh degree on this side the line, to the thirtieth and thirty second degrees; and, moreover, of late it has differ'd; for sometimes the wind blows southwardly in those heighth, though I confess it is strange.

*Flavio*, of *Amalphy*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, was the first finder of the loadstone, in the year 1300.

In *October* the north-east, and east-north-east winds blow on the coast of *Brazil*, and from *March* to *October* they blow at south-east; and these are called the general winds.

The *Monsons*, that is to say, the fixed winds in the *East Indies*, have their beginning from *Mosambique* to *Goa* in the month of *September*; and the second *Monson*, from thence begins the fifteenth of *December*. The third *Monson* begins the fifteenth of *August*. The prime, or golden number, is the time of nineteen years, in which time the moon makes all her changes or conjunctions with the sun; and when these nineteen

teen years are expired, then she begins again. As for example, the year 1579 she changed the 22d of *March*, and every year alters eleven days in her change, till the year 1593. and then she changeth the said 22d of *March* again.

Every moon contains twenty nine days, twelve hours, forty four minutes, from change to change; the whole contents of the hours of the moon, seven hundred and eight hours, and forty four minutes.

There is in every year twelve changes of the moon; and the year contains three hundred and sixty five days, five hours, fifty five minutes, thirteen seconds.

In the year of twelve lunar months there are but three hundred and fifty four days, so that there are eleven more in the solar year, than in the twelve lunar months.

From *January* to *June* you shall see the moon within twenty four hours after the change, because she has a north declination of the sun.

From *July* to *December* you shall not see the moon three days after the change, because her declination is to the southward of the sun; but you may see her in twenty four hours before her change.

The golden number was so called, because it was sent out of *Egypt* in letters of gold to the *Romans*, or the city of *Rome*.

The reason of calling it the prime, was, because it was the first order the moon's course was known by.

An *English* mile contains a thousand paces, and every pace five foot, and every foot twelve inches.

The lengthening and shortening of the days, is according to the swiftness and slowness of the sun's declination. In the latitude of *London*, the shortest day is the eleventh or twelfth of *December*; the longest summer's day is sixteen hours and a half, the shortest seven and a half, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

The 12th of *December* the sun rises a quarter of an hour after eight, and sets a quarter before four.

The 29th of *December* the day is a quarter of an hour longer, and rises at eight, and sets at four.

The 17th of *January* the day is an hour longer; the 29th the sun rises at half an hour after seven, and sets at half an hour after four.

The 12th of *February* the day is ten hours long; the sun rises at seven, and sets at five.

The 20th of *February* the day is eleven hours long; the sun rises at half an hour after six, and sets at half an hour after five.

The 12th of *March* the day is twelve hours long all the world over: the 24th of *March* the sun rises a quarter of an hour before six, and sets a quarter after six.

The 7th of *April* the day is fourteen hours

long, and the sun rises at five, and sets at seven.

The 23d of *April* the day is fifteen hours long; the sun rises before five half an hour, and sets at half an hour after seven.

The 15th of *May* the day is sixteen hours long; the sun rises at four, and sets at eight.

The 11th or 12th of *June* the sun has its greatest height to the northward; the day is sixteen hours and a half, and the sun rises a quarter before four, and sets a quarter after eight.

The 10th of *July* the day is fifteen hours.

The 16th of *August* the day is fourteen hours.

The last of *August* the day is thirteen hours.

The 12th of *September* equal.

The 27th of *September* the day is eleven hours.

The 11th of *October* ten hours long.

The 26th of *October* nine hours long.

The 15th of *November* eight hours long.

The 11th of *December* at shortest.

#### *The Office of a Pilot and Coaster.*

He is to carry the ship over certain sands, or into such ports and harbours as the master is not acquainted with, at what time the master himself ought not to controul him, but to follow the course and directions of the pilot; though the managing and tacking of the ship belongs to the master.

I give the name both of pilot and coaster to one man; for the first is comprehended in the latter. A bare pilot serves only for the port he is hired for; but the coaster serves not only for such a place, but for the whole coast, as I will make the comparison of *England*.

This man's charge is more than in the command of ship and company, and is of greater weight and moment than the office of a master; for by reason of our daily experience in long voyages, the conduction of a ship is of little difficulty; for it has not been heard that any ship ever went out of *England*, and return'd home again, without finding the country or place she went for; and yet we have very many lamentable precedents, that coming home from such voyages, for want of knowledge of the coast, the ships have perished.

The principal thing in a pilot or coaster of our coast, is to know where he is; by his first soundings his depth will give him light; and as he draws nearer the coast, either of *England* or *Britany*, his depth will lessen, and by his lead he will take up sands, by which he shall gather which of the two coasts he is upon, as also if he be shot into *St. George's Channel*. The meanest mariner that trades to *Rockell*, *Bourdeaux*, *Biscay*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, knows more in this kind, than the great masters and others that

go to the *East Indies* and long voyages, because they make four or five voyages in and out of our channel to the others one, by which they gain daily experience of our soundings, coasts, marks on land, and the entrance of our harbours, which the others cannot do.

The skill of a coaster is to know the land as soon as he shall descry it; and after he has made it, then to harbour himself; for all ports are alike to a good coaster. He must be likewise perfect in casting the tides, to take his opportunity of coming into a harbour, according to the draught of his ship, and the depth of the water.

In 1588. when the duke of *Medina* came for *England*, had he been furnished with a pilot that knew the *Lizard*, when he made it for the *Ramhead*, he had the next morning given an attempt upon our ships at *Plimouth*, when he was not suspected or looked for.

Mr. *Cavendish*, at his return from about the world, where he made himself and the nation famous by that voyage, has often told me, That the first night he entered into our channel, not daring to put in with the land, he endured more trouble and danger of shipwreck, than in all his two years and odd months of navigation in the remote and unknown places where he had been.

In the year 1589. we being come in the *Victory*, one of the queen's ships, with the earl of *Cumberland*, (as may appear in the first book,) near *Scilly*, by our reckonings, were taken with a most violent storm at east, that put us upon the coast of *Ireland*, where, for want of a man that knew that coast and harbours, we were forced to keep the sea till we were put from shore; so that before we could recover it again, we endured such great misery and want of drink, that the like has not been known, as you will find in Mr. *Hacklett's* book, treating of the *English* voyages. I could insert many other examples of this nature, but this shall suffice.

#### *The Office of a Boatwain*

Is to have the charge of all the cordage, tackling, sails, fids, and marling spikes, needles, twine, sailcloth, and rigging the ship: his mates have the command of the long-boat, putting out the anchor, and fetching it home, wafting, towing, and mooring, and to give an account of his store indented with a surveyor for the same: he is to make choice of his mates to assist him, his place being more laborious than one man can perform, in following and directing the common sailors in their works. If he die in the voyage, his chief mate is to succeed him.

As the master is to be abaft the mast, so the boatwain, and all the common sailors under his command, are to be afore the mast:

he messes the company four and four to a mess, or more if there be want of victuals, and is to see they be duly serv'd, and good hours kept. At eight of the clock at night the watch is to be set, and half the company watches, and the other half sleeps till twelve of the clock that they are relieved, unless foul weather force them all to help together.

As the master commands the tacking of the ship, the hoisting or striking the yard, the taking in or putting out the sails, upon the blowing of the master's whistle, the boatswain takes it with his, and sets the sailors with courage to do their work, every one of them knowing by the whistle what they are to do.

The boatswain is to see the shrouds and all other ropes set taut, the dipline and plummet in readiness against their coming into the soundings, and tallowed; this is only in deep water, before they make land. He is to see the cables bent to the anchors. In a fight he must see the yards slung to, partners and waste cloths, the flag and pendants put forth, and call up every man to his labour and office. The boatswain serves for a provost-marshal, to commit all offenders. And to conclude, his and his mate's work is never at an end; for it is impossible to repeat all the duties incumbent on them.

#### *The Office of a Gunner.*

A gunner at sea ought to be skilful, careful, and courageous; for the strength of the ship is put into his hands.

A principal thing in a gunner at sea, is to be a good helmsman, and to call to him at helm to loof, or bear up, to have his better level, and to observe the heaving and setting of the sea, to take his aim at the enemy.

A gunner is to be provided, besides his ordnance, with powder and shot of all kinds, fire-pikes, cartridges, case-shot, cross-bar-shot, langrel-shot, chain-shot, arm'd arrows of wild fire, and grenadoes of divers kinds.

He is to furnish himself with a horn, a priming-iron, lint-stocks, gunners quadrant, and a dark lanthorn; to make choice of his mates, his quarter gunners, yeoman of the powder-room, and his company in the gun-room, who are privileged from the labour before the mast, unless by his sufferance.

A gunner must know the names of his pieces, their bores or height, their weight, the weight of the shot, the weight of the powder, the goodness of powder, and how far every piece will carry, both at random and point-blank, which is fittest for a ship, and which for field or battery; but because every gunner does not know these secrets,

I will set down so much as is fit for them to know.

*A Cannon Royal.*

The bore of a cannon royal is eight inches and an half.

The weight eight thousand pound.

The weight of the shot sixty six pound.

The weight of the powder thirty pound.

The breadth of the ladle thirteen inches.

The length of the ladle twenty four inches.

She will shoot point-blank eight hundred paces.

She will shoot at random one thousand nine hundred and thirty paces.

*A Cannon.*

The bore of a cannon eight inches.

The weight six thousand pound.

The weight of the shot sixty pound.

The weight of the powder twenty seven pound.

The breadth of the ladle twelve inches.

The length of the ladle twenty four inches.

She will shoot point-blank seven hundred and seventy paces.

She will shoot at random two thousand paces.

*A Cannon Serpentine.*

The bore seven inches.

The weight five thousand five hundred pound.

The weight of the shot fifty three pound and an half.

The weight of the powder twenty five pound.

The breadth of the ladle ten inches.

The length of the ladle twenty three inches.

Shoot point-blank two hundred paces.

Shoot at random two thousand paces.

*A Bastard Cannon.*

The bore seven inches.

The weight four thousand five hundred pound.

The weight of the shot forty one pound.

The weight of the powder twenty pound.

The breadth of the ladle ten inches.

The length of the ladle twenty three inches and three quarters.

Shoot point-blank one hundred and eighty paces.

Shoot at random one thousand eight hundred paces.

*A Demi Cannon.*

The bore six inches and three quarters.

The weight four thousand pound.

The weight of the shot thirty pound, and an half.

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The weight of the powder eighteen pound.  
The breadth of the ladle nine inches and an half.

The length of the ladle twenty three inches and an half.

Shoot point-blank one hundred and seventy paces.

Shoot at random one thousand seven hundred paces.

*A Cannon Petro.*

The bore six inches.

The weight three thousand pound.

The weight of the shot twenty four pound and an half.

The weight of the powder fourteen pound.

The breadth of the ladle nine inches.

The length of the ladle twenty three inches.

Shoot point-blank one hundred and sixty paces.

Shoot at random one thousand six hundred paces.

*A Culverin.*

The bore five inches and an half.

The weight four thousand five hundred pound.

The weight of the shot seventeen pound and an half.

The weight of the powder twelve pound.

The breadth of the ladle eight inches and an half.

The length of the ladle twenty two inches.

Shoot point-blank two hundred paces.

Shoot at random two thousand five hundred paces.

*A Basilisk.*

The bore five inches.

The weight four hundred pound.

The weight of the shot fifteen pound.

The weight of the powder ten pound.

The breadth of the ladle seven inches and an half.

The length of the ladle twenty two inches.

Shoot point-blank two hundred and thirty paces.

Shoot at random three thousand paces.

*A Demi Culverin.*

The bore four inches.

The weight three thousand four hundred pound.

The weight of the shot nine pound and an half.

The weight of the powder eight pound.

The breadth of the ladle six inches and an half.

The length of the ladle twenty two inches.

Shoot point-blank two hundred paces.

Shoot at random two thousand five hundred paces.

*A Bastard Culverin.*

The bore four inches.  
 The weight three thousand pound.  
 The weight of the shot five pound.  
 The weight of the powder five pound and three quarters.  
 The breadth of the ladle five inches and an half.  
 The length of the ladle eighteen inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and seventy paces.  
 Shoot at random one thousand seven hundred paces.

*A Sacar.*

The bore three inches and an half.  
 The weight one thousand four hundred pound.  
 The weight of the shot five pound and an half.  
 The weight of the powder five pound and an half.  
 The breadth of the ladle five inches and three quarters.  
 The length of the ladle eighteen inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and seventy paces.  
 Shoot at random one thousand seven hundred paces.

*A Minion.*

The bore three inches and an half.  
 The weight a thousand pound.  
 The weight of the shot four pound.  
 The weight of the powder four pound.  
 The breadth of the ladle four inches and three quarters.  
 The length of the ladle fifteen inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and fifty paces.  
 Shoot at random one thousand five hundred paces.

*A Faulcon.*

The bore two inches and an half.  
 The weight six hundred and sixty pound.  
 The weight of the shot two pound.  
 The weight of the powder three pound and an half.  
 The breadth of the ladle four inches and an half.  
 The length of the ladle fifteen inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and fifty paces.  
 Shoot at random one thousand five hundred paces.

*A Falconet.*

The bore two inches.  
 The weight five hundred pound.  
 The weight of the shot one pound and an half.

The weight of the powder three pound.  
 The breadth of the ladle four inches and an half.  
 The length of the ladle fifteen inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and fifty paces.  
 Shoot at random one thousand five hundred paces.

*A Serpentine.*

The bore one inch and an half.  
 The weight four hundred pound.  
 The weight of the shot three quarters of a pound.  
 The weight of the powder a pound and an half.  
 The breadth of the ladle three inches and an half.  
 The length of the ladle eleven inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and forty paces.  
 Shoot at random one thousand four hundred paces.

*A Rabanet.*

The bore one inch.  
 The weight three hundred pound.  
 The weight of the shot half a pound.  
 The weight of the powder a third part of a pound.  
 The breadth of the ladle an inch and a third part.  
 The length of the ladle six inches.  
 Shoot point-blank one hundred and twenty paces.  
 Shoot at random a thousand paces.

Notwithstanding these proportions of powder given to every piece aforesaid, yet there must be respect had to the goodness or badness of powder, as, namely, serpentine powder, which is weak, and will not keep at sea; the great and gross powder is for ordnance; fine corn'd powder is in goodness according to the salt-petre: and for the shot, it must be a quarter of an inch less than the bore of the piece.

No ship commonly carries greater pieces than a demi-cannon; and the rest of her pieces ought not to be above seven or eight foot long, unless it be in the chafe or stern: they are easier in charging, easeful to the ship, besides better in traversing and mounting. The longer the pieces are, the greater is their retention of fire, and the danger of the piece the greater.

It is true, the longer piece will burn the powder better, and carry the shot farther, as the shorter piece will spue her powder; the longer is better for the land, the other for the sea; for he that shooteth far off at a ship, had as good not shoot at all.



It is a folly to try a piece, either great or small, with a double charge; for a piece is proportioned to her mettle, equal with the charge of her powder; and though a piece should endure a double charge, yet she is the weaker by the proof, and made the crazier by it.

Taper-bored, is when a piece is wider in the mouth than towards the breech, which is dangerous, if the bullets go not home, to burst her.

Honey-combed, is when she is ill cast, or overmuch worn, she will be ragged within, which is dangerous for a cross-bar shot to catch hold by, or any rag of her wading being afire, and sticking there, may fire the next charge you put in her.

Fire-works are divers, and of many compositions, as arrows trimmed with wild-fire, pikes of wild-fire to stick burning into a ship's side to fire her. There are also divers sorts of grenades, some to break and fly in abundance of pieces every way, as will your brass-balls, and earthen pots, which, when they are covered with quarter bullets stuck in pitch, and the pots filled with good powder, in a crowd of people will make an incredible slaughter. Some will burn under water, and never extinguish till the stuff be consumed; some will burn and fume out a most stinking poisonous smoke; some being only of oil anointed on any thing made of dry wood, will take fire by the heat of the sun, when it shines hot.

It is not impertinent to make repetition of a great abuse, and the greatest of all others that could befall this happy kingdom, which God has placed in such a place of the world, that all the enemies of mankind cannot annoy it from abroad, if the kingdom be well governed, the people encouraged, and the arms and strength kept from being carried abroad.

But such has been the oversight of some magistrates in times past, that they have connived at the transportation of our *English* ordnance, which exceeds all other in *Europe* for goodness: and now no country from the hithermost parts to the uttermost bounds of the world, but is able to give testimony of it in their forts and castles, which are furnished with them, to the unspeakable hazard and danger to ourselves; besides that, it breeds a double charge and expence to his majesty, as shall appear by this that follows. A *French* ship of five hundred tons, carries forty pieces of *English* ordnance, for which the king has 500 *l.* for licence of transportation. To command this ship, the king of *England* must keep yearly another bigger and stronger than she, which will cost 3000 *l. per Annum* at the least, and the charge to main-

tain her in harbour will stand him in 400 *l.* a year; so that for the profit of 500 *l.* this great charge must be maintained, which by keeping our ordnance will be avoided.

The ordnance of *England* have been sold for 12 *l.* a ton; in *Amsterdam* for 40 *l.* in *France* for 60 *l.* and in *Spain* for 80 *l.* all in one year; for it is to be noted, that the *English* ordnance is of another nature than the ordnance made in *Biscay*, which break and shiver into many pieces, to the destruction of men on board the ship.

#### *The Carpenter's Office.*

I will enlarge upon this office of more than on the rest, because he is the man that gives life to the ship; for all the works that iron or timber is used in, pass through his hands and skill.

He looks to the hull of the ship, that there be no damage by leaks within board or without, but that all be tight and stanch; likewise to the strength of the masts and yards, and repairing of the boats, cabins, or partitions of plank, deal, sheet-lead, nails for work, &c.

#### *What concerns the building of a Ship.*

The keel, the stern, and stern-post, is the ground on which a ship is built.

The ground and timber is the floor of the ship, and are called the ring-heads.

Your keelson is laid over your floor timbers, which is a long timber like the keel, and lies within as the keel lies without; from it all the upper works are raised.

The ribs of a ship are like the ribs of a man; the sleepers run fore and aft on each side of the ship.

The sparkets are the spaces betwixt the timbers along the ship's sides in all parts.

The garboard is the first plank next the keel on the out side.

The garboard streak is the first seam next the keel.

The run of a ship is that which comes narrower by degrees from the floor-timbers along to the stern-post, called the ship's way aftward; for according to her run, she will steer well or ill, according to the swiftness or slowness of the water coming to the rudder.

The fore-end of a plank under water is called the butts-end; the planks that are fasten'd to the stern, are called the woodings.

The tuck is the gathering of the works upon the ship's quarter under water; if it lie low, it makes her have a fat quarter and

and hinders the quick passage of the water to the rudder.

The transome is a timber that lies athwart the stern, and lays out the breadth of the ship at the buttock, which is her breadth from her tuck upwards.

The rake of a ship is so much of her hull as hangs over both the ends of her keel, it gives the ship good way, and makes her keep a good wind; the rake forward is near half the length of the keel.

The ships bildge is the breadth of the floor when she is ashore; the billage-water is that which cannot come to the pump.

The main-beam is next the main-mast, where is the ships greatest breadth.

Riders are builders from the keel to strengthen all, and the orlops do not lie upon them.

The beams of the orlops are to be bound with knees, which are the best that grow crooked naturally.

Clinch-bolts are clinched with a rivetting-hammer for drawing out.

A flush-deck is that which lies upon a right line from stern to stern, fore and aft.

The gun-wall is the uppermost wall that goes about the uppermost streight or stem of the uppermost deck, about the ship's waste.

The ship's quarter is from the mizen-mast.

Carling-knees are timbers that come athwart the ship from the sides to the hatch-way betwixt the two masts, and bear up the deck on both sides, and on their ends lieth the comings of the hatches.

Comings are timbers that bear up the hatches higher than the deck, and keep the water from falling in at the hatches; and they make loop-holes in them for close-fights; and they are an ease to men where the decks are low.

The knights belong to the halyards.

The revels are to belay the sheets, and tacks upon them.

The spindle is the main body of the capstain.

The whelps are short pieces of wood made fast to it, to keep the cable from coming too high in turning about.

The geer-capstain is a help to the great capstain in hoisting and weighing.

The voyal is fasten'd together at both ends, with an eye or two, and a wall-knot seiz'd together.

A manger is a plank before or abaft the main-mast. The bits are two pieces of great timber, and the cross-piece goes through them; they are placed abaft the

manger in the ship loof, to belay the cable at the anchor the lower parts are fasten'd to the rider.

The call is a short piece of timber over the haufe, to which is fasten'd a great hook of iron to trise up the anchor from the haufe to the forecastle.

The bulkhead is against the gun room, the cabin, the bread-room, the quarter-deck, or other such division.

The david is a short piece of timber, by which they hale up the anchor's flook to the ship's bow.

The couperidge-head are placed murderers; they make close the forecastle and half-deck.

Lockets are the holes the pintle of the murderers goes into.

The lower counter is betwixt the lower part of the galley and the transome; the upper part is from the galley upward.

Cat-holes are over the ports in the gun-room, right with the capstain to heave the ship astern by a cable or haufe, called astern.

A ship of four hundred tons, requires a plank of four inches; of three hundred tons three inches; small ships two inches, but no less.

For clamp, middle-bands, and steepers, they are of six inches plank for building them; the rest upwards three inches.

If a ship be of four hundred tons, lay the beams of the orlop ten foot deep in hold, and all the beams to be bound with two knees at each end.

The orlop to be laid with square three-inch plank, and all the planks to be travelled by the beams.

'Tis very necessary to have a square rudder carried in a ship, as is used by the ships in the *South Sea*.

*A Rule to know the Burden of a Ship.*

| <i>Length of the Keel.</i> | <i>Breadth in Beam.</i> | <i>Depth in Hold.</i> |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 120                        | 40                      | 20                    |
|                            | 20                      |                       |
|                            | —                       |                       |
|                            | 00                      |                       |
|                            | 80                      |                       |
|                            | —                       |                       |
|                            | 800                     |                       |
|                            | 120                     |                       |
|                            | —                       |                       |
|                            | 000                     |                       |
|                            | 1600                    |                       |
|                            | 800                     |                       |
|                            | —                       |                       |

The burden 960 Tons.

| Length of the Keel. | Breadth in Beam. | Depth in Hold. |
|---------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 63                  | 21               | 11             |
|                     | <u>11</u>        |                |
|                     | 21               |                |
|                     | <u>21</u>        |                |
|                     | 231              |                |
|                     | <u>63</u>        |                |
|                     | 693              |                |
|                     | <u>1386</u>      |                |

The Burthen 145 Tons.

*The Mastng of a Ship.*

After the proportion you may estimate the mastng of ships: suppose a ship of three hundred tons be twenty-nine foot by the beam; if her mast be twenty four inches diameter, the length of it must be twenty four yards; for every inch in thickness is allowed a yard in length.

And the fore-mast being twenty two inches in thickness, must be twenty two yards in length.

The boltsprit, both in length and thickness, must be equal to the fore-mast.

The mizen seventeen yards in length, and seventeen inches diameter: but in a made mast, which is greater, this rate will not serve.

The mizen-mast is half the length of the main-mast, which to twenty four will be twelve.

As you take the proportion of the masts from the beam, so you must the length of the yards by the keel.

A ship that is seventy nine foot by the keel, her main-yard must be twenty one yards in length, and in thickness but seventeen inches.

The fore-yard nineteen yards long, and fifteen inches in diameter.

The spritfail-yard sixteen yards long, and nine inches thick.

The mizen-yard as long as the mast.

The top-yards bear half the proportion to the main and fore-yard, and the top-gallants half to them.

All these observations are not exactly to be followed, but much after this proportion; for there are many other rules to this point to be observed.

*The several Ways of Sheathing Ships in Spain and Portugal.*

In Spain and Portugal they sheath ships with lead; not durable, heavy and subject to many casualties.

Another sheathing, is with double planks

within and without, like a furring; weighty, endures but a while, because the worm works through the one and the other.

Some have done it with fine canvas; of small continuance, and not regarded.

To burn the upper plank, till it come to be like a very coal in every place, and after to pitch it, is not amiss.

In *Cbina* they say, they have a *Bitumen*, or varnish, like an artificial pitch, with which they trim the outside of the ships: it is said to be durable against worm, water, or sun.

Some have used a certain pitch mingled with glafs, and other ingredients beaten to powder; but of no great use.

The best is with thin boards, half inch thick, the thinner the better, and elm better than oak, for it does not split, it endures better under water, and yields better to the ship's side. The manner is thus; Before the sheathing-board be nailed on, upon the inner side of it they smear it over with tar, half a finger thick, and upon the tar another half finger thick with hair, such as the white limers use, and so nail it on, the nails not above a span distant one from another.

Some impute the killing of the worm to the tar, others to the hair, that involves and choaks it; this is the best, and of least cost.

The worm begins with a hole no bigger than a needle's-head, and by degrees becomes as great as a man's finger; the thicker the plank is, the greater it grows: they are the most near fresh waters and rivers.

Creatures bred and nourished in the sea, coming into fresh waters die; and they die presently that are bred in fresh rivers, and come into the salt.

The pitch of the *Canaries* melts not with the sun; therefore good for the upper works in ships.

Near a town called *Buco*, in *Persia*, there issues out of the ground a great quantity of oil, which oil they fetch from the furthest part of all *Persia*; it serves them in their houses for lamps.

Not far from that place, tar issues out of the ground, which will serve for ships; proof whereof was made by the ships the *Englishmen* built in the *Caspian* sea. At cape *Brea*, not far from the isle of *Trinidad*, in the *West Indies*, there is a pitch of the nature of that of the *Canaries*.

*The Purser.*

In the nature of a cape merchant in a ship of merchandize, that keeps an account of all things brought into the ship, he ought to be an able clerk; he has the

charge of the victuals sent aboard by the victualler for the company serving in the ship, for such time as by his warrant he is requir'd, according to the proportion allowed by his majesty, and to see the same delivered daily by the cook and steward to all men at their meals; and at the end of the voyage to deliver back such cask and basket-bags as are not spent in the voyage. He is likewise to enter the names of all the men in a sea-book, (as we term it,) which he should originally receive from the clerk of the check of the place where the ship was rigg'd and made ready, mentioning the places where they were press'd, and the day of their entry, with such denominations of offices as properly belong to them: and likewise, if during the voyage any of the men happen to die, run away, or for good cause be discharged by the captain's order, to enter likewise the particular day of the month against each of their names in a margent of the books: he should also distinguish in the front of the book, at the beginning, when the ship entered into sea victuals; for that in all the king's ships the captain and officers do then commence into sea wages.

He is, upon any lawful discharge, to make a pass to the party, relating the time of his service, the place where he was press'd, his office, if he have any, and the place where he went from the ship, and to vouch the same under his own hand; whereunto he is to procure the captain's also, and to deliver it to the party, to carry with him to the treasurer of the navy's office at Deptford, to receive his pay accordingly.

*The Allowance of Victuals in the King's Ships at Sea.*

Every man and boy is allowed a pound of bread a day.

Every man and boy is allowed a gallon of beer a day, (that is to say,) a quart in the morning, a quart at dinner, a quart in the afternoon, and a quart at supper.

Every man and boy is allowed a day, on flesh days, one pound of beef, or else one pound of pork with pease, that is, on *Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday.*

On fish days every mess, which is four men, are allowed a side of salt fish, either haberdine, ling, or cod, seven ounces of butter, and fourteen ounces of cheese, *Friday* excepted; on which day they have but half allowance.

The purser is allowed by every man six pence a month to provide necessaries, as wooden dishes, cans, candles, lanthorns, and candlesticks, for the hold.

*Trumpeter.*

For the more reputation of this man's service in a ship of the king's, and under an admiral, it is fit he should have a silver trumpet, and himself and his noise to have banners of silk of the admiral's colours: his place is to keep the poop, to attend the general's going ashore and coming aboard, and all other strangers or boats, and to sound as an entertainment to them; as also when they hail a ship, or when they charge, board, or enter her: they set the watch at eight of the clock at night, and discharge it in the morning, and have a can of beer allowed for the same. This is not only incident to an admiral, but to all captains that carry a noise of trumpets with them.

*A Surgeon.*

He has his mate: they are both exempted from all duty, but to attend the sick, and cure the wounded: there must be trial of his sufficiency, by certificate from able men of his profession: his chest must be well furnished both for physick and surgery, which should be viewed before his going to sea by men of skill. The surgeon is to be placed in the hold, where he should be in no danger of shot; for there cannot be a greater disheartening of the company than in his miscarrying, whereby they will be deprived of all help for hurt and wounded men.

*The Corporal*

Is to see the foldiers and failors keep their arms neat and clean, and to teach and exercise them every calm day, sometimes with powder, and sometimes with false fires; in a fight to have an eye over the rest of the shot, that they do their parts, and not to start from the place they are assigned.

So long as the fight shall last, they are to put some budge-barrels of powder in the galley, or some close cabin, whither people may resort to have their bandeliers filled, and their bullets and match supply'd; with a special care, that no matches with fire come near the said galley or cabin.

*The Cockswain and his Mate.*

The cockswain is, as it were, captain of the boat: he is to steer the skiff, and to be sent ashore on all occasions, or aboard all ships at sea he shall meet, and to be directed by the captain: he is to make choice  
of

of a gang, to be able and handsome men, well clothed, and all in one livery. It is necessary he be a good pilot for the harbours or shores he goes into, and to know the course of the tides: he ought to be a man of discretion and good shape, to countenance the employment he shall be sent on; and if he had language, it were much the better.

*The Quarter-Masters*

Are four, and every one has his mate; they have the charge of the hold for stowage, romaging and trimming the ship in hold: they have their squadron in the watch, and see that every one do his office both by day and night: they have a care to look to the steerage and the traverse-board.

*The Cooper and his Mates*

Are to look to the cask, hoops, and twigs, to stave and repair the buckets, barrels, cans, steep tubs, rundlets, hogheads, pipes, &c. for wine, beverage, cyder, water, and other liquor; and as often as they shall fill fresh water, the cooper is to give his attendance for the fitting the cask.

*The Swabber and Lyar.*

The swabber is to keep the cabins, and all the rooms of the ship clean within board, and the lyar to do the like without board. The lyar holds his place but for a week; and he that is first taken with a lye upon a Monday morning, is proclaimed at the main-mast with a general cry, *A lyar, a lyar, a lyar*; and for that week he is under the swabber, and meddles not with making clean the ship within board, but without.

*The Steward and his Mate.*

His office is to be the purser's deputy, chosen by him, and keeps always in the hold, to deliver the victuals to the cook, who is trusted to retail the victuals in meet proportions, and is only accountable to the purser, though he has some allowance from the victualler, for well husbanding and keeping the provisions from waste or putrefaction: he must not suffer banqueting or disorder in his room, but keep it clean and sweet; and, as occasion shall serve, cause the quarter-masters to romage, for the better coming to his victuals.

*The Cook*

Is to dress and deliver out the victuals, and is assisted by a mate or two; the meat being sod, either of fish or flesh, he delivers it out to them appointed to mess the company, and after to put out the fire, and suffer none to be kindled, or people to resort into the cook-room, but in case of necessity; as namely, when the cockswain's gang comes wet aboard, or sick men have occasion to use the fire for their comfort.

All these officers aforesaid have many people under them in their rooms, not able upon any occasion to tackle the ship, or do any other work, more than that they are bred to: therefore, according to my directions in the first book, it is fit and necessary that such people be put to the use and practice of the musket, or to the labour in hawling, and doing other helps to the gunner about his ordnance in the time of fight, otherwise the ship will be weaken'd, when there is use of men, by so many people, who otherwise would do good service if they were taught what to do.

Having declared the use of every man's office and place in his majesty's ships, and how conveniently all men are provided for that service in them, without confusion or trouble one to another, I will now shew how *England* exceeds *Spain* in this kind, and to that purpose will set down the managing and marshalling of the king of *Spain's* galleons, and shew the confusion and ill order aboard them, in comparison of the kings of *England*.

*The ill Management of the Spanish Ships.*

THE *Spaniards* have more officers in their ships than we: they have a captain in their ship, a captain for their gunners, and as many captains as there are companies of soldiers; and above all, they have a commander in the nature of a colonel above the rest.

This breeds a great confusion, and is many times the cause of mutinies among them; they brawl and fight commonly aboard their ships, as if they were ashore.

Notwithstanding the necessity they have of sailors, there is no nation less respectful of them than the *Spaniards*, which is the principal cause of their want of them; and till *Spain* alters this course, let them never think to be well served at sea.

The meanest soldier will not stick to tyrannize over the poor sailors, like a master over his spaniel, and shall be countenanced in it by his land commander.

Their ships are kept foul and beastly, like hog-sties and sheep-coats, in compari-

son of ours; and no marvel, for there is no course taken to correct that abuse, by appointing men purposely for that office, as we do in our ships.

Their allowance of diet is small; and yet not so small as ill-order'd; every man has his proportion of victuals in the morning to serve him the whole day, and every man is his own cook; and he that is not able to dress his meat, may fast. The soldiers will as ordinarily play away their allowance of victuals as money; and others, out of covetousness, will sell their victuals for money to maintain play: this makes them grow weak and lean, like dogs, and unable to perform the service they are commanded upon.

Our discipline is far different, and indeed quite contrary, as I have shewed before.

We have only one captain of the ship, sailors, soldiers, and gunners; and this captain had not so much as a lieutenant by the allowance of the queen, till of late; so that matters of command, direction, and correction, depend upon his discretion.

He sees that every officer humbles himself to his command, and that every ordinary man be as obedient to their inferior officers: he takes account of the expence of victuals, powder, and shot: he punishes every offence, and especially mutinies and quarrels, with great severity: he sees no injury shall be offered the sailors by the soldiers, but carries himself indifferently betwixt both. If he affect one more than the other, it is the sailor, because of the necessity of them: he overlooks the ship once or twice a-day, that she be kept sweet and clean, for avoiding sickness, which comes principally by slothfulness and disorders: he will not exceed the proportion of his men by allowance of his victuals, and will see every man be provided of his diet at a due and seasonable time; and for the better ordering of victuals, there are divers officers appointed in sundry rooms, as stewards to give it out, meaner persons to serve it, men to look to the shifting of it in water, and cooks to the dressing of it; so that no man but upon courtesy is admitted to have access into the cook's room, except the officers of the room. There are some appointed to make clean the ship within board, who are called swabbers, and without board by the name of liars, as I have shewed before. No man is suffer'd, either to sell or play away his victuals, but to take it orderly and in due season, which keeps them in health and heart.

The greatest inconveniency in his majesty's ships is the placing the cook-room in the midships, and so low in hold, that many inconveniencies and dangers arise by it; if it take fire, it is not so easily quenched

as if it were aloft, and in the fore-castle. Secondly, it will make the ship camber-keel. Thirdly, the continual fire that is kept in that part of the ship, casts such a heat amongst men and victuals, that it begets sickness, and disperses such an offensive smoke in the ship, that it putrefies victuals, and makes it both unwholsome and un-toothsome to be eaten.

*The Difference between the King of Spain's Ships in former Times and these Days, and the true Distinction of the Strength of Ships.*

I HAVE heard divers sufficient men, as merchants and others that lived in *Spain*, before the wars with queen *Elizabeth*, very much cry down the king of *Spain's* ships in comparison of ours; as in particular, that they were huge and mighty in burden, weak and ill-fashioned in building, lame and slow in sailing, fitter for merchandize than war; and I remember, that old seamen, as Sir *John Hawkins*, and others, have maintained, that one of her majesty's ships was able to beat four of them.

I confess we may the rather believe it, because the event has shewed it; for if we examine the particular loss on both sides, her majesty's ships have devoured divers of the king of *Spain's*; whereas there was but only one of hers taken, and that merely by the indiscretion of the captain Sir *Richard Greenville*; for which one there have been burnt, sunk, and taken, twice as many as the queen has in number; insomuch, that if the queen's loss had equalled the king of *Spain's*, she could hardly have maintained the navy in that flourishing state it is in.

But if we should attribute these misfortunes to ships, which are made all of one sort of wood and iron, and after one manner of building, it were great folly; but give *Cæsar* his due, and allow the ships their due; for a ship is but an engine of force, used for offence or defence; and when you speak of the strength of ships, you must speak of the sufficiency of men within her; and therefore, in comparing the *Spanish* ships with ours, I enter into the comparison of men; for if it were in my choice, I rather desire a reasonable ship of the king of *Spain's* manned with *Englishmen*, than a very good ship of her majesty's manned with *Spaniards*; so much account I make betwixt the one and the other.

But if you will agree of the true strength of ships, and the difference betwixt the queen's and the king of *Spain's*, as heretofore I have said, the king's are of greater burden, which is a great advantage in boarding; spacious within, and will contain more  
men

men than ours; have more decks, and therefore carry more ordnance.

But you will say, all this is nothing without swift sailing, which advantage we have of them. It is true, it is the only advantage on our side; which advantage may be compared betwixt a greyhound and a bear, betwixt a galley and a good ship in a calm, or betwixt a swallow and an eagle; that though they be of little force to hurt bear, ship, or eagle, yet are they of agility and nimbleness to run and fly from them.

But if we will enter into the true strength of shipping, without advantage of men or sailing, but that you must fight according to the old saying, *Fight dog, fight bear*, that is, till one be overcome, which cannot be better decided than at anchor in harbour. I say, no man can deny but that the king of *Spain's* ships are stronger than ours, by the reasons before alledged, That they are bigger, and contain more men and ordnance, the number more, of greater burden, and therefore of greater strength; as I have already shewed in the voyage to *Cadiz*, in 1625. But according to my first argument, considering the irresolution and insufficiency of the men, I would rather chuse to be one of the ten of the queen's to encounter with twenty of them, than one of the twenty to encounter with ten of her majesty's.

Notwithstanding these reasons, I do not disallow the opinion of such men as defend the difference betwixt the *English* and *Spanish* ships; for to speak the truth, till the king of *Spain* had war with us, he never knew what war by sea meant, unless it were in galleys against the *Turks* in the *Streights*, or in the islands of *Terceras* against the *French*; which fleet belonged to him by his new-gotten kingdom of *Portugal*.

The choice of ships he had of his own in his expedition of 1588. belonged to *Portugal*; most of the rest consisted of several nations, as *Levantine*, *Biscainer*, *Fleming*, and merchants of his own country. Whosoever since have seen the difference of their building, would scarcely know the others to be ships, in respect of them that are now.

The first time the king shewed himself strong at sea, was in the year 1591. when the *Revenge* was taken; since which time I will make out there have been built at the king's charge sixty nine ships, as shall appear in the ensuing and fourth book, and most of them of a thousand tons in burden, and upwards; as to instance in the two galleons we brought from *Cadiz*, which sufficiently satisfy us.

God has endued *England* with a singular blessing above the southern countries, both with shipping and mariners; and to speak the truth, *England* lies more convenient for

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the breeding of seamen than *Spain*; for what makes skilful and expert mariners but dangerous and painful navigations, where the weather and seas are boisterous and rough, the coasts perilous, and the tide forceable; all which our country is subject to: then on the contrary, what makes idle, loitering, and unskilful seamen, but such navigations, where the seas are calm, and the weather fair, the coasts not perilous, nor the tides strong; all which commodity *Spain* has; for betwixt them and their *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brasil*, to which place their chiefest trade is, the seas are calm, and the winds certain outward and homeward, seldom foul weather, or not long, the coast less dangerous than any other, and a small or no tide at all to annoy them.

Where there is so great an ease in navigation, it breeds idle and unable mariners. What makes so great a difference betwixt the *Biscainer* and natural *Spaniard* for sea, but the difference of the voyage? The one I have shewed is easy and full of pleasure, the other painful and troublesome.

The *Biscainers* greatest trade is in fishing on the coast of *America*, where, with great labour and pains, they kill the whale, and take their fish: this breeds perfect and skilful mariners, and makes them not only exceed all other *Spaniards*, but get a reputation and employment in the king's ships.

There is no officer, from the degree of a captain to the meanest officer, but commonly is a *Biscainer*; and the *Biscainers* have divers privileges, not granted to any other subject of *Spain*, to encourage them to persevere in their sea courses; and to give them their due, no nation is able to compare with them: few (for many there are not) that in knowledge, hardness, and valour, are able to equal them; and were it not for the *Biscay* sailors, I know not how the great armada's of *Spain* would be maintained.

*The Allowance of Victuals in the King of Spain's Ships and Gallies.*

EVERY soldier in a ship or galley has a pound and half of bread allowed him every day.

Of fresh beef three quarters of a pound, of salt beef half a pound and an ounce.

A quart of wine a day, and a pottle of water.

The slaves every day half an ounce of oil, two ounces of rice, beans, or garnanfes; one of these three.

They have six meals of flesh in a year, two at *Christmas*, two at *Shrovetide*, and two at *Easter*.

The master, boatswain, corporal, goaler, purser, oar-maker, and caulker, have double the soldiers allowance a day.

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The

The barber, two gunners, and boat-swain's mates, have but one allowance and half a day.

Those that have two allowances a day, have twenty shillings a month.

Those that have but one and half, have fifteen shillings a month.

A single allowance but ten shillings.

A pilot has four allowances, and fifty shillings a month.

A captain is allowed five ducats a month, and two allowances.

There are allowed in every galley two slaves to row in the boat to shore, who have one allowance a day betwixt them both.

The king of *Spain* pays yearly six thousand ducats for the maintaining of a galley, and before one be launched, she stands him in seven thousand ducats; I mean only her bare hull.

All his galleys are built in *Barcelona* of pine-tree.

There is in a main-fail of a galley, fifteen hundred yards of cotton; in a fore-fail, three or four hundred yards.

*The Number of Ships, their Names and Burden, that have been built in Spain at the King's Charge, since the Year 1590. to this present Year of 1600. How many of them are lost, and where; gather'd by me in the Queen's Service.*

**I**N the year 1591. *Twelve Apostles*, six built in *Bilboa*; their names as follows; their burdens betwixt thirteen and fourteen hundred tons.

*St. Philip*, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

*St. John*, burnt at *Havana*; she was the vice-admiral that fought with *Sir Francis Drake's* fleet in 1595.

*St. Tadeus*, lost in 1599. when the *Adelantado* pursued the *Hollanders*.

*St. Barnaby*, lost going into *Lisbon*.

*St. Matthew*, taken by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

*St. Bartholomew*, lost in *Biscay* in 1597. when the *Adelantado* returned from *Falmouth*.

The other six at *St. Ander*.

*St. Paul*, always admiral, laid up for weakness at the *Horcado's*.

*St. Stephen*, vice-admiral, the like in *Lisbon*.

*St. Simon*, made a carrack, and since broke up.

*St. James the Elder*, lost coming to the *Groyne* with the *Adelantado* in 1597.

*St. Andrew*, taken by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

*St. Thomas*, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

In the same year two small ships of two hundred tons.

*St. Ursula*.

*La Castidad*.

The same year two ships built in *Portugal*, of eight hundred tons, by command of *Don Alonso de Bassan*.

One of them lost upon cape *Finister*, when the *Adelantado* went to the *Groyne* in 1597.

In the year 1592. seven ships of five hundred tons, built in the *Rantaria*: these ships use to fetch the king's treasure from the *Indies*. I met with them at the *Terceira's* in the island voyage in 1597.

*Nuestra Senora de Aranca*.

*Nuestra Senora de Monferrate*, lost on the coast of *Spain*.

*Nuestra Senora de Guardalupe*, lost in the *Indies*.

*Nuestra Senora de Valverde*.

*Nuestra Senora de Alistes*.

*Nuestra Senora del Rosario*, lost on the cape *St. Mary's*, and with her

*Nuestra Senora de la Merced*; (plate most of it saved.)

Built in the *Canary Islands* the same year four frigates of four hundred tons each: they fetch'd the plate from the *Indies*.

*St. Barbara*, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

*St. Mary Magdalen*, burnt herself at *Puerto Rico*, when *Sir Francis Drake* was there.

*St. Helena*, was burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

*St. Clare*.

In the year 1595. built in the *Rantaria*, seven ships of thirteen hundred tons each.

*St. John Evangelist*.

*St. Matthias*, broke up at *Lisbon*.

*St. Mark*.

*St. Lucas*, lost coming out of *Ferrol*, when the *Adelantado* came for *England* in 1597.

*St. Augustine*.

*St. Gregory*.

*Flor de la Mar*.

The same year, and in the same place, three small ships of sixty tons.

*La Justicia*, lost at sea.

*La Esperança*, taken on our coast by an *English* man of war.

*La Verdad*.

The same year built in *Lisbon* three ships, by *Lambert* an *Englishman*, of four hundred tons.

*El Espiritu Sancto*, lost in 1597. coming to the *Groyne* with the *Adelantado*.

*La Fee*.

*La Caridad*.

In the year 1596. built at *Fuenteravia*, two ships of three hundred tons, which were sent into the *South Sea*.

*Nuestra Senora de Loreto*.

*Nuestra Senora de la Pena*.

In the year 1597. built in the port of *Portugal*, two ships of fifteen hundred tons, that were made carracks.

*St. Antonio*.

*St. Vincent*.

In the same year 1597. six ships in the *Rantaria*, of eight hundred tons each ship.

*St. Feronimo*,



*St. Feronimo*, lost in 1599. pursuing the  
*Hollanders* with the *Adelantado*.

*St. Domingo*, lost the same time.

*St. Francisco*.

*St. Ambrosio*.

*St. Christopher*.

*St. Joseph*.

The same year, and in the same town,  
two ships built of two hundred tons.

*Santa Margarita*.

*Santa Martha*.

In the same year, 1597. built in *Leſo*,  
two galleons of three hundred tons.

*Santa Margarita*, sold to merchants.

*Santa Joanna*.

In *St. Ander*, the same year, built two  
ships of three hundred tons.

*La Paciencia*.

*La Templança*.

In the year 1599. built thirteen ships of  
thirteen hundred tons.

*St. Andrew*.

*St. Philip*.

*St. John*, cast away at *St. Lucar*.

*St. Thomas*.

*St. Barnaby*.

*St. Salvador*.

*St. Nicholas*, cast away at *St. Lucar*.

Six ships built in *Bilboa*.

*St. Matthew*.

*St. Simon*.

*St. James the Greater*.

*St. James the Less*.

*St. Bartholomew*.

*St. Lucas*.

*St. Diego de Guardalupe*, of a thousand  
tons, built by a merchant in *Biscay*,  
but bought by the king.

The number of them all is sixty nine,  
whereof burnt, taken, and lost, sixteen; but  
besides these sixteen, the king has lost divers  
more, some of his own, some hired, and  
others pressed to serve. It is thought the  
dominions of *Spain* lost in time of war, six  
hundred vessels, one with another.

Now I am upon the *Spanish* acts and acci-  
dents at sea, I will add such instructions as  
generals of fleets use to deliver to the cap-  
tains under them; and how their captains  
of land soldiers, and captains of ships are  
to carry themselves one to another, that  
every man's command may be known and  
distinguished, and particularly in their ex-  
pedition for *England* in 1597. where the  
*Adelantado* was general, intending to have  
landed at *Falmouth*.

*Don Martin de Padilla Adelantado, Mayor*  
*of Castile, Earl of Buendia, Captain-Gen-*  
*eral of the Gallies of Spain, and of the Na-*  
*vay Royal of the Ocean Sea, and of the Ca-*  
*tholick King's Army, Anno Domini, 1597.*

**I** *Mprimis*, all servitors, as well by sea as  
land, of what state or condition soever,

shall be always ready to keep and observe  
these orders that are delivered them, to live  
a christian and virtuous life, under the pe-  
nalties contain'd in these articles.

2. You shall be ready, as well land as  
sea captains, with your officers and com-  
panies, to ship yourselves without any de-  
lay, when you shall hear the admiral fire,  
to call your companies aboard; you shall  
muster your people, and make ready your  
ships to set sail, and so to follow the ad-  
miral, as well sea captains as land captains  
that shall be in any such ship; and shall  
fail to do the same, shall be punished with  
all rigour; and all mariners, officers, or  
soldiers that shall tarry behind the fleets, I  
from this time condemn to lose all such  
wages as shall be due to them, and to serve  
the king at an oar in the gallies four years;  
and the officers to be broke and deprived  
of office for ever.

3. As soon as ever you are out of har-  
bour, as well sea as land captains of every  
ship, shall muster their sea and land men,  
and shall make a list as well of their men  
as their arms; and they shall give order,  
that they who have no arms may be pro-  
vided; the harquebusiers, and musketeers  
that have no shot, you shall cause them to  
cast it presently; you shall provide them  
match ready; you shall carefully see your  
soldiers powder dry in the flasks, and those  
ready, as it were, to present fight; this  
readiness must you be in at all hours: their  
touch-powder also, their muskets, and har-  
quebusiers must be very clean; and that  
they neither want vice-pins nor scourers;  
that they keep their cocks and pans very  
clean, and in good order; and if in the  
muster you make, you want any of those  
soldiers you had ashore, then let me have  
notice thereof, that they be sought out and  
punished.

4. The captains of land men shall exer-  
cise their musketeers and harquebusiers by  
their companies, at first with powder in  
their pans, and afterwards to shoot at a  
mark set up against the foremast; your ser-  
jeants and corporals must be very careful to  
see them exercise, and to keep their weapons  
very clean.

5. Every land captain shall be very care-  
ful, and make his soldiers know how to  
serve in shipping, and so to quarter them  
that they may know their places where they  
are to stand to fight; so that at the time of  
need they may not go thwarting one another  
in the ship, nor trouble one another. The  
captain of the sea shall likewise make his  
great ordnance ready, and the ammunition  
must be in lockers fast by the pieces: there  
must be always in readiness spikes, lant-  
horns, cartrages, armours, corselets, to have  
them clean, and every man his own.

6. The

6. The gunners shall divide themselves into companies, and every man shall know his charge, what ordnance he is to look to, and to acquaint the captain withal, and he to appoint such help as shall be necessary; the captain shall be very careful to visit his ordnance, and if there be any fault, he may see it remedied; and the gunner that hath not his piece in readiness, to be punished giving me the general notice thereof.

7. Every pilot and captain of a ship, shall have a special care to speak every day with their admiral, and to take the word, and so coming in good order, one ship to give another room, without molesting one another, and if they cannot take the word for some extraordinary occasion, then follow this order:

|                    |                                 |           |                      |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| The word<br>of the | {<br>{<br>{<br>{<br>{<br>{<br>{ | Sunday    | <i>St. Mary.</i>     |
|                    |                                 | Monday    | <i>St. James.</i>    |
|                    |                                 | Tuesday   | <i>St. Barbara.</i>  |
|                    |                                 | Wednesday | <i>St. Eugenius.</i> |
|                    |                                 | Thursday  | <i>St. Raphael.</i>  |
|                    |                                 | Friday    | <i>St. Benedict.</i> |
|                    |                                 | Saturday  | <i>St. Martin.</i>   |

8. No ship by day or night shall go ahead the admiral, without he have express order to do it.

9. No ship shall go to windward, nor stop in the wind, without he be forced to it, or have order so to do.

10. If any ship fall foul of another, whereby any of them be damnified, there shall be enquiry made, which of the pilots was in fault, and he shall pay any hurt so done; besides that, he shall be put in prison for his fault, during my pleasure.

11. If we chance to sail with a scant wind, and by night, and the admiral designs to tack about, she shall fire a gun, and shew her lanthorn upon her poop, that thereby you may know it; and then shall every ship put out a light, that the admiral may perceive you know his meaning.

12. If the admiral, by force of wind and weather, or else to repair or amend something amiss, shall be driven to strike a hull, then she shall fire a gun, and set fire upon her beak-head; as soon as ever you shall see this sign, every man shall strike a hull, and put out his light, that the admiral may tell them, and so be satisfy'd that they know his meaning; and that they are a hull as well as she; and when this is done let the pilot take head that they give the ship scope enough, and keep good watch, that you do not fall aboard one another, and so spoil yourselves.

13. When the admiral sets sail by night, she will fire a gun, and set a light on the middle of her main shrouds, and so every man shall set sail and follow.

14. If the admiral come to anchor in any

bay, or upon any coast, she shall set a light upon the head of her fore-mast; and when the rest of the ships see this sign, they must come and let fall their anchor, as near the admiral as they may see they be not foul of her ground tackle.

15. All captains and officers shall diligently search what wants they have in their ships, and then to be sutors that they may be provided in time, that when need is, they be not at a loss. It is no reason that he who is provident beforehand, and does not only provide for his wants, but preserve what he has by his industry and diligence, should have any thing taken from him, and given to slothful captains, who do not perform their duties as they are bound.

16. All shipping that shall shoot off any ordnance, shall within two days, come to me, the said general, with a note under the captain of the soldiers hand, drawn by the purser, and also the captain of the ship, for what cause it was shot off, and what piece it was, that if it be found that the cause be just, he may have allowance; if he exceed the time of two days, his note shall not be received, except it be known he was not able to come to the admiral.

17. If any ship break a mast or a yard by night, she shall fire a gun, and put a light on the beak-head, and another upon the poop, that I, and the rest of the ships, may know that she is in distress; and all ships shall make haste to succour her.

18. When the admiral comes to anchor in harbour or bay, let the pilots take good heed to give a good scope, that one may not hurt another; and he that comes latest to an anchor, not to come foul of any ship anchor'd; for if he do, the pilot is to pay the loss and hurt that is done.

19. All the ships shall be careful to keep a man at the top-mast head; and he that spies a sail shall fire a gun that way the sail bears, and strike his top-sail; and so many sails as he spies, so many times to strike his top-sail; and other ships to bend themselves towards him.

20. If you discover any vessel in the night, and are not able to come to the admiral, then to shew so many lights as you spy sails, and to place them fore and aft; and he that spies the first light of the enemy, shall have a jewel given him by me for his pains.

21. When the admiral putteth her ancient in the main-shrouds, then all the fleet is to come to speak with him; but if she fire a gun withal, then the captains and pilots are to come on board.

22. In bearing in with the shore, the ship that first spies the land, shall fire a gun, and put an ancient in the head of her fore-topmast; and if it be in the night, to shoot off

off a piece, and to come to speak with the admiral.

23. If in the night there happen a storm, the admiral to put out two lights besides his ordinary lights, and every ship to shew one light upon the poop, to avoid any hurt.

24. If ships be divided in foul weather from the fleet, and have none of the three flags to follow, they shall obey the biggest of their company till they meet with the admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral.

25. Before you go from the *Groine*, you shall have the order of the cross, which you shall keep whilst you are at sea.

26. When the admiral shall vail his main-top-sail, and pike it a little, then shall every ship put himself into order of battle.

27. When the admiral and his fleet arrive in an harbour, or upon a coast, no man or boat must go ashore without my leave.

28. If any captain of a ship be out of his ship, though it be with licence, yet he shall appoint no lieutenant without my order.

29. If we meet the enemy, you are to make yourselves ready to fight, and to place the soldiers in their places; if in the night, to keep their matches from being discover'd.

30. If we meet with the enemy, and the admiral and his squadron resolve to board, other ships must do the like; but if the pilot be of another opinion, yet notwithstanding they are to do it; and another sufficient man to be put in the place of the pilot; and if there be a fault in doing thus, the general to answer it.

31. If any of our ships fetch up an enemy, and fight her, the ship that shall next come to board her on the other side, shall share in the pillage, the jewels, and money, not exceeding an hundred ducats; the arms of them taken, and apparel to be theirs, so it be not stuff uncut: and whosoever shall light upon jewels and stuff, to make it known in three days; if not, to lose his pay, and be punished; and what he has taken to be divided, according to the king's instructions.

32. A ship that takes a prize, no other ship shall have to do with her, but follow the rest, if there be more; but if he chance to go on board her, and take any thing out of her, he shall pay the captain four times the value of it.

33. If any such ship yield, not to board her, but to send on board to fetch away the prisoners; and such pillage as is in her to be divided, according to the last article; and he that puts himself aboard without leave, shall lose his pay, and be punished; and if he will do it *per* force, it shall be lawful for the company to kill him; and in like case, if a man shall go into a boat without leave, to be killed.

34. The first, second, or third man that enters a ship, shall have a jewel given

him, according to the discretion of the general.

35. Whosoever enters an enemy's ship without arms, fighting, shall lose all that he gets in her, and his own cloaths beside.

36. If an admiral give chase, and suddenly tack about, or lie by the lee, it is a sign he sees many ships, and every ship must then draw near his admiral in order of fight.

37. The captains of soldiers and ships must command store of tubs of water to stand upon the deck, and blankets and coverlets in them, to be ready to quench any fire that shall happen.

38. Before you come to battle to have your yards slung.

39. If you lose company in foul weather, and descry one another, the greater number to go to the lefs; if by night, the greater number to shew two lights, the one ahead, the other abaft, putting them in and out two or three times, as when they come to anchor in the night.

40. You must have a care of your powder and carriages, and set down the number of every carriage, according to his piece.

41. That every carpenter and caulker be ready with his lead and other things for stopping of leaks.

42. That you make no fire till the sun rise, and then to dress the meat for the company; the soldiers to watch in the day time in the quarters, till an hour before sun-set, and then to put out the fire, and light it no more till the next day.

43. The soldier that has the watching of the fire, shall not suffer any to be carried out of the hearth; and he that does it, to be severely punished.

44. To keep an ordinary light in the bit-take, and a lanthorn under the spare deck, for the soldiers to watch; and he that takes away either, to be condemn'd to the galleys for two years, to serve for a soldier without pay.

45. The captain of the soldiers is to lodge with the captain of the ship; the pilot, master, ensign, and serjeant together, in the second cabin; and the rest of the officers accordingly; and to have an eye over the soldiers for brawling.

46. That no soldier, mariner, nor officer, pass from one company to another, or from one ship to another without my licence.

47. If we discover any vessels, and the admiral make a signal of giving battle, the officers that have the keeping of all kind of stores, shall have warrant from the captain for the delivery of them.

48. For that many hulks and strangers in them are deceitful; therefore, if you find any such suspicion, you shall fire three flashes of powder, and the ships next you seeing it, to repair to you with all speed, to give you succour.

49. And though in my instructions I have given you sufficient order for your navigation, which must not be violated, yet the thing of greatest importance, is, That the captains by sea and land be prudent, vigilant, and careful, as I understand all are in this service.

50. I have ordered that all the squadrons shall carry their flags severally of one colour, that they may be known, and gotten together the sooner; and because sometimes order cannot be given by word of mouth, you are to fix your eyes upon your admiral, and when he sets upon his poop the colours of any of his squadrons, the admiral of that squadron is to behold which way the sign is made by the same colours, that so he may follow any fleet so discovered.

51. If any of the strange ships shall have a leak, let it be searched by the two captains by sea and land; and if they find it to be done on purpose, let him be hanged, and his ship forfeited.

52. That no captain or pilot do set any other course than the admiral directs; and if they do, no excuse shall serve their turn.

53. That no captain, or other, ship any woman, except she be married, and proof thereof brought from the general's priest, upon forfeiture of his office, and serving the king two years without pay.

54. If any servitor stand in need, let him go to his captain; and if he cannot help him, then to the admiral, where he shall have help.

55. If any ship be in distress, then to shoot off a piece, and those next to her to hasten to her; and if they fail, to be severely punished.

56. If we meet with an enemy, great or small, let none of the fleet follow him, but follow the admiral of his squadron, and do as he does, or shall direct, except pinnaces and small ships, which shall be at the disposal of the admiral.

*N. B. Some of these Instructions are frivolous, some of them needless, but most of them tedious, and may be comprehended in fewer words, and to greater purpose: but for my part, I will rather desire to know what they do, than seek to follow and imitate their directions in sea affairs.*

*How to fight at Sea one Ship with another; or in Fleets; or Ships against Gallies; or Gallies against Ships: and the Manner how every Country preserves Men from Danger in a Fight.*

**B**Efore ships and fleets encounter, or enter upon action, these things following are necessary to be done; To divide the

company into three parts; the one appointed to tack the ship, the second to ply the small-shot, and the third to attend the ordnance; but not so precisely, but that one may be assisting to the other in the three several places.

The ship is to be brought into its short and fighting sails, (*viz.*) her foresail, her main and fore-top-sail; for the other sails are troublesome to handle, and makes the ship heel so, that her ordnance cannot be used, beside the danger of firing her sails with arrows and other wild-fire from the enemy.

The master is to appoint a valiant and sufficient man at helm; and to receive his directions from his captain how to order the fight, and where to board; which must be done with most advantage, and according to the placing the enemies ordnance; and therefore it is requisite to have a captain of experience.

Every officer is to do his part; the boat-swain to sling their yards, to put forth the flag, ancient, and streamers, to arm the tops and waste-cloths; to spread the netting, to provide tubs, and to command the company to make urine in them, for the gunners to use in their sponges to cool their ordnance in the fight, and all other things that belongs to his charge.

The gunner is to appoint his officers to their quarters, to have care to their files, budge-barrels, and cartrages; to have his shot in a locker near every piece, and the yeoman of the powder to keep his room, and to be watchful of it, and to have his eye upon any leak that shall happen in hold.

The carpenters are to be vigilant, and to have their oakham, lead, nails, and what else belongs to the stopping of leaks in readiness. He must have a man always ready to sling overboard, if there chance a leak. Or if there be cause to take in the lower tier of ordnance, by the sudden growing and working of the sea, he must have all things ready to caulk the ports.

#### *The Building of Ships.*

There are two manner of built ships: the one with a flush-deck, fore and aft, sunk and low by water; the other lofty and high charged, with a half-deck, fore-castle, and copperidge-heads.

This ship with a flush-deck I hold good to fight in, if she be a fast ship by the wind, and keep her self from boarding: she is roomsome for her men, and yare to run to and again in; but she is not a ship to board, unless it be a merchant, or another ship that is inferior to her in strength and number of people.

For if it happen that she be boarded, and put to her defence, she lieth open to her enemy; for gaining her upper deck you win her, having neither fore-castle, nor other close-fight to retire unto; and in that case the defensive part of the ship is the strength of the fore-castle.

When her deck shall be gained, and her people beaten down into the second deck, the only help is to use stratagems by fire, in making trains of divers fashions to blow up the upper deck, and men upon it; and this did the *Biscainer* I have formerly spoken of in my first book, in the voyage I first went to sea, and the first fight I did ever see, in 1585.

This ship had a flush-deck, fore and aft, which in boarding we won upon her, and her men retiring into her other deck, spent the most part of her powder in making trains to blow us up; which by fortune we prevented, and our fire-pikes took fire before it could be brought to perfection; and thus after twelve hours fight in the night, we being upon a flush-deck, and commanding their scuttles aloft, that they could not come up to us, and they commanding the scuttles below, that we could not go to them, they grew so weary for want of powder, and the death of their people, that they yielded, as I have before described, after twelve hours sail on board her.

As I have said, such a ship that has neither fore-castle, copperidge-head, nor any other manner of defence, but with her men only; that hath no fowlers, which are pieces of greatest importance, after a ship is boarded and entered, or lieth board and board; for the ordnance stands her in little stead, and are as apt to endanger themselves, as their enemy; for in giving fire it may take hold of pitch, tar, oak-ham or powder, and burn them both for company: but a murderer or fowler being shot out of their own ship, laden with dice-shot, will scour the deck of the enemy, and not suffer the head of a man to appear.

The advantage of a ship with a flush-deck, that boards another to windward, is this, She may with her lee ordnance shoot the other under water, and her self in no hazard; the ship that is boarded to leeward of her, is at the other's mercy, and becomes weak in comparison of the other to windward.

Whoever enters and takes possession of the upper deck of such a ship, shall be able to cut down her masts, shrowds, and all things over head; that though he take her not, yet she shall be left a wreck in the sea, and perish.

I will make a comparison of the *James Regis* of his majesty's, (of whom I will say,)

that for her mold and condition, she is a paragon of ships, and not to be equalled; but in her built with a flush-deck, and her close-galley abaft, she is to be excepted against in a defensive part; but how it may be amended, and she be made serviceable, as well for defence as offence, I will refer to my own direction, with his majesty's approbation; though something I will say of her close-galley, that is made only for a shew, and to accommodate captains, when I shall have occasion to treat of galleys.

The only strength of the *James* at this present is in her broad-side, where she hath two brave platforms of ordnance to over-dare any ship to board her; nor no enemy in discretion will do it, if he can find a weaker part in the ship to attempt: but suppose she be boarded in her prow, or abaft at the poop, and be entred by more men than the hands of her company can resist, she neither having fore-castle ahead, nor close-fight abaft, all must rest upon the strength and valour of a few men; which if they be overcome, both ship and they must fall into the hands of an enemy, in the manner I have shewed.

The best manner of a fight in a ship of a flush-deck, or any other, indeed, being to windward of his enemy, is to bring himself within pistol-shot of her, and to ply her and her ports with small-shot at that distance; to lade his ordnance, some with musket-bullets, others with cross-bar, and langrel-shot, or billets, to be the destruction of men; but to avoid boarding or being boarded: this I hold the best manner of fight betwixt ship and ship; it will make short work, and the quarrel will be soon decided; as fighting further off is like a *Smithfield* fray, in times past with sword and buckler, which is nothing but the wasting and consuming of powder to no purpose.

A high-built ship is the better for these reasons, majesty and terror to the enemy, more commodious for the harbouring of men; she will be able to carry more artillery, of greater strength within board, and make the better defence; she will overtop a lower and snug ship; her men cannot be so well discerned, for that the waste-cloths will take away the view and sight of them.

And lastly, to speak of a ship with three decks, (thus it is,) She is very inconvenient, dangerous, and unserviceable; the number and weight of the ordnance wrings her sides, and weakens her: it is seldom seen that you have a calm so many hours together as to keep out her lower tier, and when they are out, and forced to hail them in again, it is with great labour, travail and trouble to the gunners, when they should be fighting; she casts so great a smoak within board, that people must use their

their arms like blind men, not knowing how to go about their work, nor have a sight of the ship with whom they encounter.

*How to preserve Men in Fight.*

Several nations have several ways to preserve their men in fight at sea: the *French* use to stow half their soldiers in hold, and to draw them out, causing the others to retire as there shall be occasion or necessity. This I hold dangerous, troublesome, and inconvenient, when all men are otherwise busy in their several places, to pass to and again with their matches lighted, which may unhappily fall on something to take fire.

The *Spaniards* imitate their former discipline at land; as namely, a van-guard, a rear-guard, and a main-battle; the fore-castle they count their head-front for van-guard, that abaft the mast the rear-guard, and the waste their main-battle, wherein they place their principal force.

This in my opinion will breed great disorders, especially if the ship should fight with all her sails standing; for the labour of the mariners in tacking and handing their sails will confound them, that they know not what to do; but if they fight with their small sails, it will prove the better; but howsoever here is no provision for safeguard of men, who lie open to their enemy.

The *Dunkirkers* use in fight to place their small-shot flat on their bellies upon their decks, that the shot, great or small, coming from an enemy, shall have only their head for their aim: this is to be allowed of in small ships, that carry not many men nor ordnance; but inconvenient in greater vessels, where men are ever in action, running and stirring up and down in the ship.

There is a device made with a plank of elm, because it does not shiver like oak; this plank is musket-proof, and removed with trunks from one part of the ship to the other, which is a good safeguard for small shot: but in my opinion I prefer the quailing of cables on the deck, and keeping part of the men within them, (as the *French* do theirs in hold,) above all the rest; for the soldiers are in and out speedily, upon all sudden occasions, to succour any part of the ship, or to enter an enemy, without trouble to the sailors in handing their sails, or the gunners in plying their ordnance.

The *Hollanders* of late years have got a reputation at sea; though for their warlike affairs they have little deserved it, as I have shewed in the first book; for they never made fight of six ships to six, as is there to be seen; but now of late, and since the truce ended with *Spain*, and that the *Dun-*

*kirkers* are grown strong and powerful by sea, they have often encounter'd ship to ship, or two to two, but never with fleet, and more to the commendations of the *Dunkirkers* than themselves.

Whereas I have shewed every country's manner of fight at sea, and their care to preserve their men from danger, and to annoy the enemy with advantage, instead of cables, planks, and other devices, to preserve their men, the *Hollanders* wanting natural valour of themselves, use to line their company in the head, by giving them gunpowder to drink, and other kind of liquor to make them soonest drunk; which, besides that it is a barbarous and unchristian-like act, when they are in danger of death to make them ready for the devil, it often proves more perilous than prosperous to them, by firing their own ships, or making a confuseness in the fight, their wits being taken from them; whereas if they had been sober, they might have fought in good order.

*The Direction of a Fight in a Naval Battle.*

The most famous naval battles these late years have afforded, were those of *Lepanto* against the *Turks* in 1577. of the *Spaniards* against the *French* at the *Tercera* islands in 1580. and betwixt the armada of *Spain* and the *English* in 1588.

In these encounters, wherein the *Spaniards* had the chiefeft part, as I have said before, they imitated the discipline of war by land, in drawing their ships into a form of fight, which, in my opinion, is not so convenient; though I confess in a sea battle, that shall consist of galleys, in a calm, it is better to observe that order than in ships; for men may as well follow direction by their hands in rowing, as an army by words of the tongue speaking, or their legs moving.

But ships which must be carried by wind and sails, and the sea affording no firm or steadfast footing, cannot be commanded to take their ranks like soldiers in a battle by land.

The weather at sea is never certain, the winds variable, ships unequal in sailing; and when they strictly seek to keep their order, commonly they fall foul one of another; and in such cases they are more careful to observe their directions, than to offend the enemy, whereby they will be brought into disorder amongst themselves.

Suppose a fleet to be placed in the form of a half-moon, or other proportion, to fight, if an enemy charge them home in any of the corners of the half-moon, they will be forced to bear up room into their main battle; and then will ensue dangers and

and disorders of boarding one another; in-  
somuch that it will not be possible for a  
general to give new directions, but every  
ship must fight at its will, not by com-  
mand.

For the avoiding of such confusion, the  
instructions of a general ought not to con-  
sist of many words; for the greatest advan-  
tage in a sea fight is to get the wind of one  
another; for he that has the wind is out of  
danger of being boarded, and has the ad-  
vantage where to board, and how to at-  
tempt the enemy: and thus did the mar-  
quis of *Santa Cruz* labour to do three days,  
before he could get the wind of *Monfieur  
l'Estrous* at the *Tercera* islands, whom he  
afterwards overcame, and had a great victo-  
ry over him.

The wind being thus gotten, a general  
need give no other directions than to every  
admiral of a squadron to draw together  
their squadrons, and every one to under-  
take his opposite squadron, or where he  
shall do it for his greatest advantage; but  
to be sure to take a good distance of one  
another, and to relieve that squadron that  
shall be overcharged or distressed.

Let them give warning to their ships not  
to venture so far as to bring themselves to  
leeward of the enemy; for so shall they ei-  
ther dishonour themselves, to see such a ship  
taken in their view, or in seeking to re-  
lieve her they shall bring themselves to lee-  
ward, and lose the advantage they had for-  
merly gotten; for it will be in the power  
of the enemy to board them, and they not  
to avoid it; which was the only thing co-  
veted by the *Spaniards* in our time of war,  
by reason of the advantage of their ships,  
as I have before expressed.

The strict ordering of battles by ships  
was before the invention of the bowling;  
for then there was no failing but before  
the wind, nor no fighting but by boarding;  
whereas now a ship will fail within six  
points of thirty two, and by the advantage  
of wind may rout any fleet that is placed in  
that form of battle.

*A Fight with Galleys to Galleys, and Galleys  
to single Ships.*

There is no precedent of these latter  
times that galleys have been in use in our  
seas, till the latter end of the queen's reign,  
when two squadrons of galleys were brought  
out of *Spain* into *Flanders*, the one in the  
year 1599. the other in the year 1602. the  
latter commanded by *Frederick Spinola*,  
brother to the late marquis *Spinola*, who af-  
ter was slain in the same galleys.

All the designs of the *Spaniards*, under-  
taken against *England* by sea in the days of  
queen *Elizabeth*, proved unlucky and fruit-

less, the reason thereof to wise men is not  
to be marvelled at; for their actions have  
been grounded on so little judgment, that  
it was no great art to divine their evil suc-  
cesses before they were undertaken.

Let this act of bringing down the gal-  
leys aforesaid be paralleled with their great  
expedition in 1588. and it will appear they  
both failed in one kind, (that is to say)  
for want of an able and secure port to en-  
tertain them upon their arrival in *Flanders*;  
for though the galleys had the harbours of  
*Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Sluice*, at that  
time, yet such is the nature of these ports,  
that no vessel of their draught can go in or  
out of them but from half-tide to half-  
tide; for they are bare harbours, and all  
the rest of the tide they are dry; so as if  
a galley observe not her just time of en-  
trance, she is exposed to the mercy of the  
sea, the danger of the shore, or to fall in-  
to the hands of an enemy; and therefore  
whosoever thinks to make use of galleys,  
and not to be secured of a port at all times  
and tides, will shew himself weak in sea  
affairs, as the *Spaniards* have done in this,  
and in their expedition of 1588. as I have  
before declared.

The proper use of galleys is against gal-  
leys in the *Mediterranean* sea, that is sub-  
ject to calms, and where both turks and  
christians strive to exceed one another in  
that kind of vessels, he accounting himself  
master of those seas that has the greatest  
number, and best ordered galleys.

And such was the goodness of God to-  
wards the christian commonwealth, that in  
the battle of *Lepanto* in 1577. he gave a  
most happy and victorious overthrow to  
the cruel and misbelieving turks, who since  
that time have not been able to hold up  
their hands or heads against the christian  
forces within the *Mediterranean* sea.

Next to the valour and well marshalling  
order of the christians navy of galleys, the  
next attribute is to be given to the galleas-  
ses of *Venice*, which, though they were but  
six in number, yet such is the advantage of  
those vessels against galleys, that they did  
the christian galleys treble the service of  
their number.

You must know that a Galleass is built  
like the *Vanguard* or *Rainbow* of his ma-  
jesty's, low and snug by the water, and car-  
ries the force of a ship in men and ordnance;  
but the thing that gives her advantage in  
fight, is her oars; not that there can be ex-  
pected any swiftness in rowing, but with  
her oars she is of that agility, that she is  
able to wind about as she sees occasion to  
damnify her enemy; whereas a ship lies  
like a log of wood, not able in a calm to  
help herself, or to have the help of a rud-  
der to guide her.

If galleys be forced to fly from other galleys, and not of speed to overgo them, they fall into the mercy of those that chace them; for it is to be considered, that the strength of a galley is in her prow, where she carries her ordnance, as I have before declared; for unless it be some few choice ones of *Malta* and *Florence*, no other christian galley carries artillery to fire astern; so that of necessity those galleys chased must either yield, be burnt, or sunk.

In a desperate case, where galleys in battle are in danger to fall into the hands of an enemy, the present remedy is to proclaim liberty to all the slaves, and to put arms in their hands to fight for their defence, and to deliver them out of chains, and make them freemen: this was the safety of Don *John of Austria*, in the great and famous battle of *Lepanto*.

The chief annoyance that can be done a galley in fight, is to seek the destruction of the slaves and oars; for without them galleys are of no use; and therefore whosoever fights with galleys, must seek with cross-bars and langrel-shot, to hurt and spoil their men and oars.

And in this case a ship that carries her ordnance low, and her hull high-built, has a great advantage of a galley, for her ordnance will lie level with her oars; and if she have the fortune to take away a row of them on either side, she falls into the mercy of the ship; or if she be desperately forced to board the same ship, she will not be able to enter her, in respect of her height and high-carving.

As I have promised before, I will take occasion to speak something of his majesty's royal ship the *James Regis*, and her disadvantage to make a defensive fight, as she is now built.

Ships of much less burden than the *James* have four pieces of ordnance placed to shoot astern, as namely, two in the gun-room, and the other two in the upper gun-room, which is commonly used for a store-room, lodgings, and other employments for a general or captain's use, and his followers; which is done without prejudice to the two pieces.

Above these two gun-rooms aforesaid, was placed the captain's cabin, with the open galleries astern and on the sides, that fowlers and lesser pieces might be thrust out for defence, and small-shot placed to defend that part of a ship.

In these two gun-rooms aforesaid, where the four pieces are usually placed, the *James* carries only two, and that is in the lower gun-room; for the upper gun-room is converted into the captain's cabin, and a rafter and two sided galleries are made close, that cannot afford so much convenience as

for a man to look out of them, but through some narrow windows; insomuch, that if a general or captain have occasion to give or receive directions, he must do it upon the poop or the deck of the ship, to the great inconvenience, and loss of time and opportunity, what sudden occasion soever should offer.

Moreover, if a ship by mishap shall take fire, out of her open galleries water may be suddenly drawn, and prove both the safety of ship and men; whereas being close, as now they are, there will be no remedy to quench them. It may be compared to a round pigeon-house, into which people fly from an enemy for refuge; and what defence can such a house make, that is compassed about with foes? No more than to yield to fire and water.

Now compare the *James*, by the true description I have made of her, but with one or two galleys in a calm, having no ship near to assist her, considering she carries but two pieces in her gun-room, with what ease and little danger a galley may run up in her stern, and with her prow and small-shot put her from her two pieces; for every galley carries four pieces ahead, besides her cannon in the cruzea, which piece lies more to the advantage than the other two, in that they are placed low by the water, and the galleys standing still, they may shoot as steady out of her as out of a platform.

Indeed this cannon in the cruzea is of greater danger and annoyance than all the rest; for it lies at an even stay, and not to be moved nor traversed one way or other; and the use to be made of it is for the master to bring the mast of the ship and the mast of the galley both in one, and then to call to the gunner to give fire; by which means it is impossible to miss the ship, and hazard sinking of her.

And as the *James* lies open to galleys, as I have shewed, so does she in like manner to such ships as shall board her, either afore in her prow, or abaft in her stern; where she has no defence, either of her fore-castle or close-fights. There are many other necessary uses to be made of an open gallery, which at this time I forbear to speak of, and will return once more to treat of the nature of galleys.

If it were in my choice, I would rather have two ships of two hundred tons each to encounter six galleys, than one ship of a thousand tons to fight two galleys, for these reasons;

My two ships of two hundred tons, I will bring athwart the hawse of one another, that wheresoever the galleys shall charge me, I will have a broadside to play upon them; whereas in one ship alone, I have



have only my stern for my defence, where two galleys with their small-shot will soon beat the gunners from their ports, with little danger to themselves; for no great number of small-shot can play upon them out of the narrowness of the poop; by which means they will burn, sink, or destroy any such ship, with long fire-pikes made on purpose.

And for security of myself and men, I will displace three or four banks on a side in my galleys, and in that space make a bulwark with gowns, beds, sails, and other things, that no shot from the ship shall do me hurt.

And if in fight I shall happen to be shot under water, it will be an easy thing to stop any such leak, by making the slaves heel all on one side of the galley; so that if it were as low as the keel, I will come speedily to it, and stop it.

*How to employ such People and their Stocks in Gallies, as are sent to Houses of Correction; and the Use that may be made of Gallies in England.*

**W**HOEVER have the charge of these houses, seek only their own gain, not the use for which they were instituted. People are punished or pardoned as they are able to gratify their keepers: their labours or liberties are according to their abilities; for as I have said, the rich buys his ease, the poor is threaten'd with cruelty, which has caus'd that desperateness in men towards their keepers, that to be revenged they have slain them; and yet I see no decrease of vagabonds by the course taken in the houses of correction.

*The Benefit of employing these People and their Stocks in Gallies in England.*

**T**HE time of mens imprisonment in galleys is to be limited, some for life, some for years, more or less, according to their offence, but none under seven years; by this means there will be a riddance of lewd people for life or years.

At the end of which time they ought to procure services, or be bound to work in their occupations, which they shall be taught in their galleys; but if they shall refuse it, and continue still loitering, then to send them into *Virginia*, or other colonies planted by us.

If they shall escape out of their galleys before the expiration of their time, to have a proclamation, That no man, upon certain penalties, should harbour or give them entertainment; and that they may be known from others, they must be shaved both head and face, and marked in the cheek with

an hot iron, for men to take notice of them to be the king's labourers; for so they should be term'd, and not slaves; and if any such be found, that cannot give a good account of his discharge out of the galleys, to be apprehended and sent back again; which would be a means that none of them ever after will offer to escape.

This course being carefully observed, the vagabonds will be soon lessen'd; for the terror of galleys will make men avoid sloth and pilfering, and apply themselves to labour and pains; it will keep servants and apprentices in awe; it will take away the occasion of pirates and piracies; it will save much blood that is lamentably spilt by execution of thieves and offenders, and more of this kingdom than any other; it will take away the occasion of women-vagabonds, when such rogues and thieves shall be restrained; for such men are enticers and drawers of women to lewdness. If all these mischiefs may be prevented, and the kingdom strengthen'd, without further expence than now it is, no man but must commend this project, and give his furtherance to it.

*Provisions to maintain the King's Labourers, and the Labour they shall be put to, Winter and Summer.*

**T**HEIR diet shall be certain, not according to the miserable rate they are allowed in houses of correction, where it is proportioned according to their earning by their labour; for in the galleys each man shall be allowed two shillings and six pence a week for his diet, to be husbanded by men appointed by the labourers themselves for their best advantage.

Every galley shall be allowed a surgeon, a physician, and an apothecary-general for them all: their apparel to be two suits a year, the one for summer, the other for winter, with a gown of frize: their labour to be at the oar in summer; and when they are not so employ'd, they may lawfully use any means for their maintenance, as in knitting, sowing, or any other such kind of work; for no summer labour, more than rowing, shall be required at their hands; and by the way I will tell you for a jest, That when I was prisoner in the galleys of *Spain* in 1591. all our *Englishmen* that were thither committed, amongst other occupations, framed themselves to the trade only of making dice, as an occasion to set the *Spaniards* together by the ears.

In winter they must be had ashore, and kept safe in some strong castle, where lodgings and beds, with necessary stocks and tools must be provided to set them to work, as namely, forges for smiths, leather for shoe-

shoemakers, hemp to make ropes, mills to grind corn, or any other thing that can be thought of for their benefit: and for such as have been bred to husbandry, they may be hired to farmers for their winter's work, binding the farmers to return them at the season of the year to the galleys; which they may securely do, for it will not be in their powers to escape, by the course which is formerly taken.

*The Use of Gallies in time of War.*

I have formerly in the second book said something concerning the use of galleys, which you will find there; and in this book the manner of fight with galleys. But having occasion to treat more largely of that subject, I will reiterate something that I said before concerning galleys.

1. Gallies are of no use to encounter a fleet at sea, in respect of their strength, but against single ships in calms, that cannot come to rescue one another.

2. The use of galleys is to tow a fleet out of harbour which is kept in by wind and tide, which is a thing of consequence either in peace or war.

3. The use of galleys is the conveniency to land an army, both suddenly and safely; and to take advantage in landing, both when or where they list: by example of the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who arriving at the *Tercera* islands, attempted landing at *Angra*, the chief town of that island, and whether the inhabitants drew their forces to withstand him; but when he saw and imagin'd the other part of the island lay open for his entrance, he altered his purpose, and suddenly winded his galleys about, and landed at *Leplala*, five leagues from thence, without resistance.

4. The use of galleys is to annoy an enemy in his landing, by cutting off his boats and men, as they shall offer to land: and the like would have happened to us at *Cadiz*, if we had landed where we attempted it the day before, and where our projectors of that voyage had designed us, if we had not been prevented by foul weather; for there we found four galleys placed, to lie betwixt the shore and us, to cut off our boats, and thereby to have overthrown our action.

5. The use of galleys is against a fleet at anchor, who may tow fireships amongst them, and either burn, or put them from their anchorage; and it may happen in a place near shoals or sands, or upon a lee shore, and so destroy a whole navy.

6. The use of galleys is to prevent the like stratagem; for if such ships be set on fire, with galleys they may be rowed unto, and cast hooks on board them, and

so tow them clear of their fleet, where they may burn without endangering the ships they attempt.

7. The use of galleys is in succouring an island that is invaded by an enemy; as for example, The *Isle of Wight*, with galleys, may be suddenly supply'd both with men and ammunition from the main land, in spite of what ships or force shall lie to hinder or intercept them.

8. They ought to be kept for reputation; for as his majesty is king of all kingdoms for goodness and greatness of his navy, so it should be said there is no kind of vessels that other princes can shew, but what his majesty has the like in use; and it will be the more strange, in that no country nor harbour in *Europe*, to the northward of *Lisbon*, can shew the like.

If at any time a war happen betwixt his majesty and the king of *Spain*, or betwixt him and the *Hollanders*, having the port of *Flushing* and *Sluice* for the receipt of our galleys, we may much annoy the harbours of *Flanders*, and their trade; or having the ports of *Ostend* and *Dunkirk* to enter, we may as much, or rather more, impeach *Holland*, but especially the province of *Zealand*, and the island of *Wakerland*; for besides the hurt we shall do them at sea, we may watch and take the height of a spring-tide in a calm, and be able to cut their banks to give the sea entrance into their country, and hazard their destruction.

But speaking of galleys and *Lisbon* in the eighth article, I will say something that had been more proper to have been inserted in the first book, where the taking of the Carrack is treated of; because one of my scopes, in that book, is to shew the errors committed in the warlike sea-actions betwixt *England* and *Spain*.

In the describing the manner of that fight, you shall find, that the eleven galleys were placed under the neck of a rock, as we should enter into the road; and that at my coming to an anchor, I routed and forced them to fly under the castle of *Zezimbra*, where they drew themselves into a body, as they had done before; but yet they found my ordnance of the same nature as when they were under the rock, for when I hit one of them, my shot passed through most part of the rest, with so great hurt to them, that, in conclusion, disgracefully they quitted the road, and escaped to sea, two excepted, which we took and burnt.

But if these galleys had, when they quitted the neck of the rock, as I have said, retired, whither they did, under the protection both of the castle and carrack, and instead of linking themselves, as it were, together, had divided themselves one hundred paces from one another, and play'd

play'd upon us with their prows, each of which carried five guns, they had been a narrow mark for us to hit; and what hurt we could then do them, was only to her we lite upon; whereas in the course they took, hitting upon one, we pass'd through them all.

And moreover, where they retired, they brought themselves into shoal-water; so that our ships could not come at them; and if they had not quitted the road, they would have cut off all treaty betwixt our boats and the carrack, and given relief to the carrack from the shore, that it had been impossible for us to have taken her. The *Spaniards* may allow of this oversight, as one of the greatest they committed during the war.

*Other Uses Gallies might be put to.*

Galleys may attend his majesty's navy at all times when they go to sea, from *Chatham* till they bring them clear of the sands; and if it happen any of the ships should unluckily come aground, by the force of galleys she may be instantly haul'd off again, without hurt to the ship; and in this case a galley might have been the preservation of his majesty's ship the *Prince Royal*, at the time the queen of *Bobemia* went over, who struck upon a sand at the *Nes*, and put her into great peril, if it had not been for present help of boats of other ships of the kings that rid there.

Galleys may pass the seas in a calm, when ships and barks cannot, and boats dare not for fear of enemies; and so prevent the surprize of packets or intelligencies, as lately we found, to the prejudice of merchants affairs, and dishonour to the king.

The galleys may at all times, both winter and summer, carry provisions for his majesty's ships from *London* to *Chatham*, and ease the charge of transportation; as also in summer they may do the like to his majesty's ships at *Portsmouth*; for barks often go in danger, and more especially if we have wars with *France*, *Holland*, or *Dunkirk*.

*The fittest Place in England for Gallies.*

Because I have formerly named the *Isle of Wight* by way of comparison, I will say of that island, that it is not only the best and fittest place in *England*, but in *Europe*, to entertain galleys, considering the two harbours within it, the one *Newport*, and the other *New-Town*; besides three others in the main land opposite to it, viz. *Portsmouth*, *Hamble*, and *Hampton*, where galleys may ride and float without coming aground, which no other harbour can do betwixt the river of *Thames* and *Portsmouth*.

For suppose the galleys coming betwixt the *Thames* and the *Isle of Wight*, are taken

with a storm at fouth, or being chased by an enemy, and forced to seek an harbour for succour; if they bring not the tide with them they perish, either upon a lee shore, or upon the pursuit of an enemy: and as I have shew'd, there is no place to compare to those aforesaid for the receipt of galleys; so there is no place so commodious for the labourers to reside in the winter time as those; adding to them the castle of *Portchester*, two or three miles from *Portsmouth* by water, being a place secure for the labourers to abide in; room sufficient to entertain five or six hundred of them, with their manufactures, instruments, and tools, that may be set up to get their livings withal.

*A Proportion of Soldiers and Sailors for five Gallies, and the Charge to maintain them.*

You cannot allow less than fifteen soldiers and an hundred labourers for each galley, every labourer to have allow'd him 2 s. 6 d. per week, for his diet, two suits of cloaths, and a gown; one physician-general, and every galley its surgeon, with ten sailors to hand the sails; the soldiers not to have any allowance of pay but in victuals; for they should be such soldiers as have entertainment for hurt and lame soldiers in the shires.

*How this Money may be raised.*

A certificate from all the shires in *England*, what the contribution of the houses of correction do amount unto by the year, and to have it thus employ'd in galleys; and what shall want thereof to maintain them, to be saved out of vain and superfluous gormandizing, which is too much used in many set feasts, and more to the shame than commendation of our nation, especially in the halls and companies of *London*; the half of which may very well be spared and employ'd to this necessary use; for people may meet in a friendly conversation to maintain their customs, and to determine their affairs, with half the expence they are now at.

Thus will no man be put to any charge, nor any feel the loss of it; for there is no body invited to these feasts, of so mean a rank and condition, as to value the gift of five or six meals, more or less, in a year.

Another means to raise money towards this good work, is, out of hospitals, now become a marvellous abuse; and that especially erected by *Sutton* in the *Charter-House*; for no man is now admitted into it, but such as can buy it for money; and having money, there is no exception to his quality, whether young or old.

Neither is this hospital alone, but all others in the kingdom, which I refer to the

examination and reformation of those that shall be appointed to overlook them.

I verily believe, if the founders gifts of those hospitals were now to be bestowed, and galleys, upon the reasons aforesaid, to be erected, they would, or such hereafter will, convert the charitable benevolencies to the use of galleys, rather than to hospitals, since they live to see the abuses of such houses.

For what they shall give to maintain galleys, it would prove a strength to the kingdom, a means to save the lives of many men that otherwise should die by the gallows; a remedy against enormities, thefts, and idleness of people; a cause to make safe and peaceable travelling by land and sea, and a course to relieve more poor people, five to one, than the hospitals do.

There are many other ways, too tedious to set down, how to uphold this work, that shall no way prejudice either king or commonwealth; which I refer to after-times to consider of, when it is on foot by certain commissioners that must be appointed for that purpose.

*The Ceremony of wearing the Flag, and the Use that is, and may be made of it.*

I Have formerly shewed, when I treated of the office of the vice-admiral, how every admiral, and admiral of a squadron, was to carry their flags, and each ship under them in their squadron: now it remains for me to speak more particularly of the flag, and the use and custom of it at sea; for it is the standard, under which all the fleet marches, as soldiers do under their ensign by land.

*England*, as I have declared, truly challenges the prerogative of wearing the flag, as the sole commander of our seas, and so has held it, without contradiction, time out of mind.

The privileges are these, That if a fleet of any country shall pass upon his majesty's seas, and meet the admiral's ship serving on those seas, they are to acknowledge a sovereignty to his majesty by coming under the lee of the admiral, by striking their topsails, and taking in their flag; and this hath never been question'd, out of stubbornness, resisting the king's authority; but rather out of want of knowledge and ignorance, as appeared in the case of king *Philip II.* when he met the lord admiral of *England*, when he came to marry queen *Mary*.

But though this privilege be granted to his majesty, and his deputy upon the seas, yet every ship of the king's, that serves under an admiral, cannot require it, if he be out of sight of the admiral; but the other stranger, be he admiral or no, is to strike

his topsail and hoist it again, to any one ship of the king's that shall meet him.

Or if any such ship or fleet belonging to any other prince, shall arrive in any port of his majesty's, or pass by any fort or castle of his, in their entrance, and before they come to an anchor, they must take in their flag three times, and advance it again, unless the admiral's ship be in the same harbour, and then they are not to display it, but to keep in so long as they shall remain in the presence of the admiral. But if any other ship of his majesty's be there but the admiral, they are not bound to keep in their flag, but only to strike it thrice, as aforesaid.

This case bred a great question in 1613. when the earl of *Gundamar* came ambassador into *England*, being accompanied by two galleons of the queen of *Spain's*, who arrived at *Portsmouth*, and as he passed by *Stokes-Bay*, there rid a ship of the king's, that was neither admiral of the narrow seas, nor had employment under his commission.

This ship required the two *Spaniards* to take in their flag, as a duty due to his majesty's prerogative on the seas, which they refused to do, only they struck their topsails, till they were compelled to it.

This act was complained of to my lord admiral by the ambassador, who found himself and his master injured by it. It pleased my lord admiral to confer with me about it; and out of his long and ancient experience concluded, That they were not bound to strike their topsail, as they were required, unless the king's ship had been admiral of the narrow seas: and this I set down from the long experienced admiral the earl of *Nottingham*.

But I am not lavish in speaking of it, whensoever I hear an argument upon this subject of the narrow seas disputed; because in these latter times, both the *French* and *Hollanders* seek to usurp on his majesty's right; I will therefore wish, that his majesty's ships would take more authority upon them than is due, because I would have their insolence curbed.

If any merchant's ship shall neglect to do their duty, as aforesaid, either to ship or pinnace of his majesty's, that ship or pinnace is to fire at her, and to bring her to acknowledgment of her error by force; which being done, the ship thus offending is to pay double the value of powder and shot spent against her by the king's ship.

If any ship of the king's shall pass by any fort or castle on the shore, out of ancient and foolish custom, they have used the same reverence that merchants and strangers use to do, save only striking their flag, which

is a thing improper, and indeed most ridiculous for one of the king's ships to strike to his castle, both of them being his own; and it is as much as for a man to put off his hat to himself.

And besides, it may happen at such a time, tide, and place, as the striking a top-sail may endanger a ship upon a rock, shelve, or sand; and therefore necessary to take away this ceremony, that has neither ground nor reason in it.

All admirals in the king's service, were wont to carry antiently the *St. George's* flag in the head of the topmast; but since king *James's* coming to possess this crown, he has added to it the cross of *St. Andrew*, as due to *Scotland*, which though it be more honour to both the kingdoms to be thus linked and united together, yet in the view of the spectators, it makes not so fair a shew as the cross of *St. George* only, if it would please his majesty to consider it.

Besides those crosses of *England* and *Scotland*, carry'd as aforesaid, the cross of the arms of *England* is peculiar to the lord high admiral of *England*, who is, and no other, bound to bear it when he goes to sea, which flag, in truth, carries a princely shew when it is display'd.

As the lord admiral of *England* has the only privilege to wear the standard of *England* in the main-top, so has he likewise power to permit and suffer another man to wear the bare *English* flag in the main-top in his presence; which case I am able to instance; and, besides this that followeth, there are few precedents, as I conceive.

In the year 1596. and the *Easter* before the taking of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, *Calais* in *Picardy* was beleaguered and taken by the archduke *Albert*, and his *Spanish* forces, which made the queen weigh how much it concerned her, not to permit the neighbourhood of the *Spaniard*, her then enemies, so near her: hereupon with all celerity she rais'd land forces, to give succour to *Calais*, and appointed the earl of *Essex* commander of them. No nobleman or gentleman of spirit, but voluntarily put himself into the action, as, namely, the earl of *Southampton*, the lord *Borowe*, the lord *Monjoy*, the lord *Riche*, the lord *Compton*, the lord *Burke* of *Ireland*, *Don Christopher*, son to the pretended king of *Portugal*, with divers others, who were on board me in the *Rainbow*, at supper, and our fore-sail cut to stand over, even as news was brought of the taking of *Calais*.

The lord admiral, who was never backward to do his prince and country service, hasten'd down to *Dover* to secure the seas, and embarked himself in the *Vanguard*, as my lord of *Essex* had done in the *Rainbow*

with me. Whereupon I took in my flag, and acknowledged my duty to my lord admiral, notwithstanding the greatness of the persons on board me; which my lord admiral perceiving, commanded me, though my lord of *Essex* should oppose it, to wear the flag with him equal in the top, as long as we were in company together, which I did, though at first it was resisted by my lord of *Essex*.

And though the journey to *Cadiz* succeeded immediately after this, and my lord of *Essex* had the privilege to wear the *English* flag in the main-top, in company of my lord admiral, who went likewise in that expedition, yet the time and case must be considered; for they had both equal authority by land and sea, under the great seal of *England*, which made their command alike.

In the year 1588. when the *Spaniards* appeared on the *English* coast with their fleet, a galleon of theirs being distressed, arrived in the port of *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, which being known in *England*, three ships of the queen's, and one pinnace were sent to surprize her in harbour, as I have shewed before, myself being in that fleet.

Mr. *Knevet*, a gentleman of the queen's privy-chamber, was sent to sea at that time, with certain merchants ships, to strengthen my lord admiral's fleet, fearing the *Spaniards* would return again from the northward, whither they were gone. This fleet of merchants, and Mr. *Knevet*, was to join with four ships of the queen's, of which he was appointed admiral, though it was a merchant ship in which he served.

And that power may the king of *England* grant to any subject of his, notwithstanding his former patent to my lord admiral of *England*; and yet I am of opinion, that within the compass of the narrow seas, if any such admiral shall be appointed by the king, and meet the admiral's ships serving on the narrow seas, who is deputy to the great lord admiral, that such ship there serving, the other is to take in his flag in his presence, who doth wear it as substitute to the lord admiral, within the jurisdiction of the narrow seas, he having a former grant, and supreme authority before the other's employment.

How far the narrow seas extend, is much controverted betwixt the *French* and us, they challenging, rather by words than right or precedent, half the seas betwixt *England* and *France*, as some of *Flanders* do by the same reason; but I could never hear that ever they contested with us about it. *England's* claim to the narrow seas needs no other repetition than I have formerly related.

lated, (*viz.*) a consent of all nations, an everlasting possession, and an invincible power to maintain it.

Though to speak truly, in my opinion, if from headland to headland be measured in *France* with a line, what seas, or rather bays, shall fall within that line, or within them capes, do properly belong to *France*, and may be termed the *King's Chamber*, if so be we had no title to *France* ourselves; but if you will see what share of the sea may belong to them by this measure, it would not be worth contesting for, as may appear by the following:

Beginning at *Calais* cliffs, with a direct line from sea-head to sea-head to the *Hogue*, and from the *Hogue* to *Ushant*; but this last we will not acknowledge, though there were right in the other; for in that bound lie the islands of *Jersey*, an antient patrimony of *England*, and possessed by us near four hundred years; and what title soever *France* can invent to themselves for that circuit of the sea, the same we may plead by *Jersey*, that fronts upon the continents of *France* and it.

A general that shall be invited to banquet on board another ship, or otherwise come on board any other ship, how small soever she be, that ship shall carry the flag of the admiral, and be so reputed, so long as he shall remain on board her; and the flag born in his own ship to be taken in till his return; for it is the man, and not the ship that has the authority of an admiral from a prince.

The shewing or taking in the flag in the admiral's ship, being well considered and resolved of beforehand, is able to direct a fleet in many cases, as fully as though he had given his instructions by writing.

The flag carried under the poop of a ship shews a disgrace, and never used but when it is won or taken from an enemy.

Many times ships wearing contrary flags, and especially the colour of an enemy, it hath wrought many effects to the advantage of him that carries it, or may do again, as occasion offers.

When an admiral is in harbour or road with the rest of his fleet, at the taking in of the flag in the evening, and shooting off a piece of ordnance, he sets his watch, which his fleet must take notice of, and accordingly set their watch. The like is to be done at the discharge of the watch in the morning; as also when he shall weigh anchor, and set sail.

The flag in the top half furl'd up, and so worn, some are of opinion, is as great an acknowledgment, as though it was absolutely taken in; but neither that ceremony, or the taking in the flag, and advancing it thrice, gave me satisfaction when I served

on the narrow seas; but I compelled the *Hollanders* to take in their flag absolutely; which was the beginning of their malice towards me.

Many times an admiral will take in his own flag, and suffer a smaller ship to wear it as admiral, to deceive his enemy, till he hath brought him into his clutches.

In some cases an admiral will suffer many ships to wear their flag as admirals, and seeming to be of divers nations by their colours, because they shall not be suspected to be a fleet of war, till he has an opportunity to charge them, and then to take upon him his right shape.

*Laws enacted for the Punishment of Offenders at Sea, in the Days of King Richard I. in his Expedition to the Holy Land.*

IT shall now appear, that the war by sea is no new practised thing by this nation, as I have shewed in the days of *Edward III.* when there were armed out of *England* a thousand warlike vessels, a number far exceeding us in this age; and yet not equal to us, if we consider what art, experience, and skill hath taught us in sea-affairs since then, that the invention of artillery, shot, and powder has been in use; for by all likelihood and reason, the condition of ships then and now, is much differing; and besides, since the days of *Edward III.* new worlds have been discovered, able to equal more than the rest known before, which discoveries have caused greater traffick, and by consequence the increase of more ships than in those antient times: and for the furtherance and ease of navigation, to perform their voyages with greater celerity, the secret of the bowling hath been found out. I am therefore of opinion, if the goodness of their ships had equalled their numbers, some future sign or other would have appeared for our satisfaction.

Which makes me believe, that most of their ships were made of osiers, or other kind of light substance, and covered with hides for defence and safeguard of the sea: but we may say, That a ship so built, now in this age, cannot be made to brook the waves of the sea, the winds and weather being so outrageous; therefore in all likelihood the difference of times has made the difference of weather; for the weather is like the world, and people dwelling in it, that as they grow old, they have the less vigour and strength, and consequently will be worse and weaker by the continuance of it, and will by little and little decline, as no doubt it has done since the days of *Edward III.* For there is no old man now living, but will confess, the temper and calmness of the weather in the time of his youth did far

far exceed this of our elder years; and the like will his son do after him, when he come to the state of an old man; and still follow one another as long as the world continues.

Mariners have an observation, That the three years before, and three years after the prime, which happens every nineteenth year, the weather proves more boisterous and stormy than the rest of the time, and every nineteen years worse than the other: then what would a ship do, if she were built after the manner of vessels four hundred years ago, and sent out into the main sea?

But leaving this argument to men of better capacity and learning than myself, I will prove the antiquity of sea actions, undertaken by our nation, and the kings thereof, long before the enterprize of *Edward III.* formerly spoken of: and I will begin with *Julius Agricola* under the *Romans* government, that first sailed about *England* and *Scotland*, and the first that discovered the islands of *Orkney*, which he subdued.

The second was the great action of king *Edgar the Saxon*, and king of this land, who with eight hundred sail of ships, sailed round *England* and *Scotland*, not once, but often.

And the third I am to take notice of, is *Richard I.* and his glorious expedition to the holy land, against the heathen *Saracens*, in which expedition he established the following laws; which in some points have continued to this day, but not with that rigour and severity, as in times past.

*Laws established by King Richard I.*

- I. Whosoever shall kill any man a ship-board, shall be bound to the back of the party killed, and thrown into the sea with him.
- II. If one should be killed on land, the party should be bound in like manner, and bury'd alive with him killed.
- III. Whosoever shall draw any knife or weapon, with an intent to draw blood, or by other means shall draw blood, shall lose his hand.
- IV. Whosoever shall strike one, without drawing blood, with his hand or otherwise, shall be ducked three times at the yard-arm.
- V. Whosoever reviles or curses another, for so often as he has reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.
- VI. Whosoever steals shall have his head shorn, and boiled pitch poured on it, and feathers strew'd upon the same, whereby he may be known; and at the first landing-place where he shall come, there to be tow'd ashore.

VOL. III.

Admirals at sea have the same authority as generals have by land, and of as great antiquity: some are of opinion, that admirals were instituted in *Greece* by *Constantine the Great*; though modern times say, they were erected first in *France*, others in *Spain*, and in the year 1246. in the reign of *Don Ferdinand III.* But let other countries pretend what they list for themselves, our records and commissions do prove a more ancient right than those of latter times.

*Upon what Occasion Ships should salute Castles, or one another at Sea with their Ordnance; and how the Abuse thereof may be taken away.*

I AM sorry I have the occasion to complain of the lavish and wasteful expence of powder, in saluting ships under a friendly pretence of meeting at sea, more practised of late by our nation, than by any other, though no people or country have more cause to prohibit it than we, when we remember our opportunity lost against the invincible *Armada* of *Spain*, as they termed themselves, in 1588. and only through the want of powder, as is well known. And yet I must say in the praise of those of the queen's time, that the want of powder proceeded not out of a wasteful and idle consuming of it, before there were cause to use it; for neither then, nor in all the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, there was spent in a lavish kind the tenth part of that which is now adays: I may impute it to many causes, as namely, our wars then that made our commanders more provident; but principally I must commend the moderate drinking of that time, which I could wish a reformation of now amongst us; and that we may return to our old fashion, how odious soever it be to this new-fashioned time.

What I shall say, is not to make a comparison of times, or to tax our late abuses in that kind: I only advise, and ground my opinion upon reason, how things of this nature may be carried, which I refer to consideration; and desire, that if it be approved, every captain may be tied to observe it as a law established, and a penalty to the breakers of it: and the first thing I will handle, shall be the salutations of castles to ships, and the compliments of ships to castles.

A castle and the governor of it, is in the nature of a gentleman that will entertain his friend at his house, and give him a hearty welcome; and because a castle cannot perform it in words, he makes his ordnance speak it for him, with such a number of pieces as he thinks fit; after which propor-

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tion, an admiral is to answer by way of thanks, but to exceed the number of the castle's salutation, because an admiral's ship commonly carries three times more pieces than a castle has. This is to be referred to the will of the commander on either side.

If an admiral be accompanied by his vice-admiral, rear-admiral, and the rest of his fleet, there needs no other salutation from the castle; for the lord admiral's welcome includes all the rest of his friends and fleet; but notwithstanding, a vice-admiral must salute a castle with two pieces less than the admiral, and the rear-admiral with two less than he; and this is as much to honour the admiral as the castle; but it must be consider'd, that these three only that carry the flags of command, and rule over the squadrons, and no other ship, is to shoot, unless it is by directions of the admiral; for their shooting will be taken as too great a familiarity with him.

When an admiral shall depart from under the command of a castle, in sign of his loving acceptance for his entertainment, both he and his two other flags are to give the same salutation that the castle gave him at his entrance, and with the same number of ordnance and form, as aforesaid.

If a fleet pass within sight of a castle, and not within command of his ordnance to reach him, the castle is not bound to salute, only to afford a welcome, and a visit by a gentleman of quality.

If a governor fail to perform any compliment that is meet, he must amend it upon the admiral's landing, making his ordnance roar aloud his welcome; but the ship is not to answer, because it is done to the person of the admiral, who is bound to requite the same upon the governor's visiting him on board his ship, and at his departure from thence.

The saluting of ships by one another at sea, is both ancient and decent, though in this latter time much abused; for whereas three, five, or seven pieces have been the ordinary use for a ship to salute an admiral, and never to exceed that proportion, and an admiral not to answer with above one or three, now they strive to exceed that number, thinking that many pieces add honour to the salutation: but the owners of merchant ships would be gladder it might be done with less cost, and more courtesy in another kind. But though the admiral cannot restrain this compliment in the ship that salutes, yet he may command his gunner not to return above one or three pieces, according to the old manner.

And for such ships as are of his own fleet, he may prohibit the saluting of one another, but upon the occasions following, (*viz.*) in bringing good and fortunate news against an

enemy after an escape of a desperate danger, and then not to exceed three or five, and to be answered at the discretion of the admiral.

The excessive banqueting on board is a great consuming of powder; for as men's brains are heated with wine, so they heat their ordnance with ostentation, and professed kindness at that instant, and many times not without danger: and therefore, to take away the cause, a captain should have directions from under the hand of a general to forbid shooting, which would be a good excuse, and give his guests satisfaction, unless it be done in the manner following, as I have devised.

The vain drinking of healths is another means to waste powder, which a general must likewise forbid, except it be the health of a free prince, or men of that rank and condition; and then not to exceed one piece when the health shall be begun: the king's the queen's, or their issues, is exempted from this strictness.

Upon some occasion an admiral may command his whole fleet to fire their guns, as namely, when a foreign prince, governors of countries, ambassadors of great potentates, and men of great blood and quality, shall be either transported, or make a visit on board the admiral to behold the stateliness of his fleet, it were necessary they were as well resolved of their force, as the report they would make of their welcome; and in that case every ship of the fleet is to shoot their whole number of pieces distinctly and orderly, (as thus:) An admiral and his squadron first to begin, the vice-admiral to follow his example, and so the rear-admiral to do the like; but with this caution, That no small ship or pinnace do mingle themselves with great ships, but to second one another according to their ranks and greatness.

To come now to my proposition how things should be carried, it is thus; That upon drinking of healths, or leaves taken on board ships, instead of the excessive charge of burning powder out of great ordnance, it may be done with muskets; for a man's welcome consists not so much in the difference betwixt a cannon and a lesser piece, but in the loving heart of him that invites: both the one and the other are consumed in the twinkling of an eye; and the report of a falconet, when there is no greater piece, is all one to the hearer, as if it were a cannon or falcon.

Therefore to accommodate this difference, and to bring it to a certain custom in the king's ships hereafter, I wish, that instead of the chargeable wasting of powder that is now in use, by shooting of great ordnance, to have a number of musketeers placed



placed, and décently armed and apparell'd, soldier-like, upon the upper deck, that when there shall be occasion to drink healths, or to take their leaves at departure, they fire their muskets at a mark, made like the shape of a man put into a barrel off at sea, within point-blank, where the soldiers shall take their aim duly: this will be an act of more pleasure and delight to the beholders than the other, where nothing is expected but the falling of a bullet, having no object to shoot at; the eye, the ear, and sense, are all in action, and employed together, and many other benefits arise by it; for the foldier will by this practice be made a perfect shotsmán against he shall encounter his enemy; and with so small a cost and charge, that a cartrage of a cannon will entertain persons of good rank, and give them as great satisfaction with them few muskets, as the number of cannons will do; for the ear is only pleased with the report a cannon makes, which lasts no longer than a flash of powder: no gunner is made more perfect in his art, for he shoots at random in the air, without level.

*The corrupt Abuses used in his Majesty's Service by Sea, and the means how to reform them.*

THE difference of times has made so great a difference in our sea actions, betwixt the days of queen *Elizabeth* and those of this time, that I, who have been an actor in both, have cause not only to marvel, but to lament, to see abuses thus corruptly crept in: the particulars of some I will handle, and withal give instructions how to amend the errors committed in our services at sea, which will now much concern us, because our bordering neighbours, the *French* and *Hollanders*, daily increase in shipping, as we daily see by proof.

I will begin with the prime officer, who is the light and guide of the rest, *viz.* the lord high admiral of *England*, who is the main tree, and all other inferior officers are but branches that spread out of him; and where inferior offices are executed by many commissioners, and those not of greatest experience, and every one has his vote, sometimes they are carried by persuasion of friends, or wrought upon by servants, but commonly corruption has the upper hand, by money to prefer men without merit; for I am informed, that no place is freely disposed of without the gross feeing of some, not otherwise approving their sufficiencies.

The most inferior officer of the ordinary in harbour is the cook, whose experience, whose long continuance in his majesty's

service, or testimony of his sufficiency under the hands of the ablest officers, cannot advance him to the place of a cook, if prayers of angels do not prevail above the prayers of men.

And though the meaneness of this place is not to be rated with the rest of better degree, yet it will serve for an instance, to shew how things are carry'd with bribery and corruption, to the prejudice of the king's service; for it is an old saying, *He that buys dear, must sell dear, or save himself by deceit.*

But this is not all, nor yet the worst, that may ensue upon this bought place; for I find no man excepted from purchasing, but every one must stretch up for the price demanded for it, which makes the poor buyer confess, it is the dearest bargain a man can lay his money out on.

Here is a brave opportunity offered for an enemy, or any other ill-disposed person, to buy this place, who may be the destruction of the ship, and all other ships that ride near her, by setting the cook-room on fire, and excusing it as an unlucky accident or mischance; for to the cook is only committed the fire in the cook-room.

And because I make this cook's office the leading card to the rest, I heartily wish and pray, for the good of his majesty's service, that the cook-seller and the cook-buyer, yet though he were a cook by name, may be all hanged together, for example, fear, and terror of others.

The next abuse to this, is, the officers of his majesty's navy, who of late years have been gentlemen unexperienced; and the clerks, formerly belonging to the officers, that are well practised how to pretend profit for the king, and themselves to reap the benefit of it. These clerks guide the unexperienced gentlemen, who are often ignorant of their frauds, as will appear, if his majesty please to grant his commission to examine abuses, and to settle a form of government in sea-affairs.

The first abuse and corruption that enter'd into this office, was in the time of the late earl of *Nottingham*, lord high admiral of *England*, by placing a follower of his own, who, by the power he had with the good old lord, became the sole manager and director of things by sea, and made his own will my lord's peremptory command, and so the officers of that time have confessed to me; and since that party's quitting his office, it were good to know how other officers are come into their places, and the value they gave for them; for I know there has been paid, and it is commonly rated at 1500 *l.* for such an office; when, if you deal fairly, it scarce affords the interest of 1500 *l.*

Leaving

Leaving these abuses, which will prove without end, if examined by the commissioners aforesaid, I will now apply my self to redress these encroaching dangers and corrupt dealings, and bring it to the state of *Hawkins's* and *Burroughs's* times, who were perfect and honest men in their places, the one treasurer, the other comptroller.

This was  
write before  
my lord  
Northum-  
berland was  
lord admi-  
ral.

The way to settle things, is to appoint an admiral, young, heroical, and of a great blood: his experience in sea affairs is not so much to be required at first, as his sincerity, honour, and wisdom; for his daily practice in his office, with conference of able and experienced men, will quickly instruct him.

The next reformation will consist in the election of the four officers of his majesty's navy formerly treated of. Whosoever shall execute those places, and not have past the degrees of inferior officers, as boat-swain, gunner, carpenter, &c. but are led most by the precedent or direction of the covetous and deceitful clerks aforesaid, his majesty shall never be well served, but his name used for a colour to their deceits, as appears by an instance I was an eye-witness to.

At my lord of *Lindsey's* return from the west country to the *Downs*, there to re-victual for two months, it was no sooner known to the officers of the navy, but twelve of their servants posted thither to take a muster of our men, when a muster-master is allowed for that service.

I desire to know what the king gained by that needless employment, and what every one of those clerks was allowed for his pleasure in riding and wastefully banquetting in that journey? This strictness is without cause; for it is impossible for a captain deceitfully to carry a dead pay, unless a purser connive at it, which is unlikely he would hazard his estate and reputation for twenty shillings; and therefore let the officers of the navy pretend what they list, I know they do his majesty a disservice in it; for by this occasion, and the badness of victuals, it makes seamen backward to serve the king.

It is supposed the officers have some deceit in it for their own benefit, in taking a time of advantage by men's absence, that they know had fed upon stinking victuals at sea, and would be glad of some refreshing ashore. These, and other like ill usages of officers, makes seamen disobey his majesty's proclamation, and fly to the service of other princes and states, or become pirates, with hearts of revenge for the injuries done them.

And to end this voyage, I will say something to parallel this muster. At my return from *Portsmouth*, in the company of

captain *Mason*, who had been treasurer of the late great warlike action of his majesty's, it was our hap to meet with thirteen clerks and officers of the navy, some of them stuffed in hired coaches with four horses, the rest well mounted on horse-back, all of them to pay but two ships of the king's, the *James* and the *Reformation*, which, I think, will not amount to much more than one thousand pounds. I desire there may be a quere of their charge to his majesty by this journey of theirs, and it shall appear what devices they have to enrich themselves and followers; when captain *Mason* at that time told me, That in paying his majesty's great armies, though part of them were as far as *Cornwall*, yet he never charged his majesty in all those services with more than himself, his clerk, and one other ordinary servant.

As this was the end of that voyage, so I will not let pass what happened in the beginning of it, in the *James* I served in. At the taking in of victuals at *Tilbury-Hope*, there appeared a certain proportion of beef and pork, able, with its scent, to have poisoned the whole company; but by the carefulness of the quarter-masters it was found unserviceable; yet after it was refused by the said officers of the ship; and lay upon the hatches unstowed, some of the officers of the navy repaired aboard, and by their authority and great anger, forced it to be taken in for good victuals; which proved as I have said before.

My observation to this point, is, That though the officers of the navy have nothing to do with the victualling part, yet it is likely there is a combination betwixt the one and the other, like to a mayor of a corporation, a baker, who for that year will favour the brewer, that shall the next year do the like to his trade when he becomes mayor.

Here will I cease to make any further discovery of the abuses, but refer it all to examination, and myself will turn physician, and study how to cure the malignant diseases of corruption that have crept in and infected his majesty's whole navy, and his employments at sea, as well in the officers that assume absolute authority above the rest, and who, I think, will be found most faulty, as in the victualler, and purser, that has relation to the victualler. My third observation, is the state of the king's ships, their built, and what is to be amended in them. My fourth is, the foremast men, gunners, and all the company in general, without whom ships cannot sail. And my last shall consist of the masters and captains, which I will make the voyage of 1635. the ground of my exceptions to them.

As

As I have spoken of my lord admiral, by his authority to be the chief reformer aforesaid, so in the second degree of reformation, I wish that such officers of the navy were chosen as are perfect in their occupation and breeding, and have passed all offices and degrees in ships, and namely, out of the fraternity of the *Trinity-House*; for they are men that know well the practice of the sea, being brought up in it from their infancies: they served their apprenticeships in ships, which no gentleman or clerk has done; by their painful labour they have attain'd to good estates; they are of that sufficient ability, as they have the election of the masters that serve in the king's ships; their ambition will not extend higher than to his majesty's countenance, and to be honoured with the title of his servants; in their employments they will not strive to exceed in ostentation, or in numbers of needless servants and followers; their diet will be answerable to their accustom'd breedings; they will not covet state in their lodgings, nor solemn places in their consultations; they will commend no man to office whose sufficiency they will not undertake for; no provision or store can be brought in, but they will be able to judge of the goodness of it; no boatswain, gunner, or other officer, can exceed in their demands, but they can controul them; or in their return from their voyages bring in wasteful expence, but they will be able to check them, though it be to a yard of cable, rope, or a pound of powder. This is the way, and no other way, to prevent stealth, cozenage, and all deceits, which the clerks cannot devise to do. Thus would the name of corruption and abuses be converted into merit and desert. If these men shall offend in the execution of their offices, they are not people that can carry their deceits out by friends, as not being bred that way; or if they shall be found culpable or faulty, their estates are not so mean, but will be able to make restitution for the damages they do.

But to take away all occasion of deceit in the inferior officers of the ships, when they are at sea, these officers of the navy may appoint in every ship an able man, who, besides his labour, may have authority to overlook the expence of the gunner, carpenter, boatswain, and the rest, and to approve it under his hand with theirs, and with the testimony of the captain and master.

And because these men may have the better respect above the common sort, and profit withal to make them the more careful to perform the trust that is committed to them, they may be entered for drum and fife, which will add six shillings a month to their ordinary entertainment; for

the two places are to be well spared, as unnecessary in sea service.

The next officer or office I will handle <sup>This was writ before the victualler came in-  
see his place.</sup> shall be the victualler, whose negligence or covetousness; for one of the two it must be imputed unto, has brought the king's service to a great contempt, as all men know, with grief and pity. This officer ought to have a bitter and severe censure if he fail of the goodness and quantity of victuals of his majesty's allowance, and I wish no less than death to be inflicted on him; for no subject's estate is able to countervail the damage his majesty may sustain in such defects, in his weighty expeditions. The combinations, the abuses, and the practice of this office, I refer to future examination.

The victuals at sea consists of beer, bread, flesh, fish, butter, cheefe, &c. and to be bought of several persons, according to their professions and trades. I will therefore put them all in one number, and set down a course how to reform them all together, *viz.* to bind every one in a particular bond, returnable into the exchequer, that the victuals they furnish shall be sufficient, well-conditioned, able to abide good the length of the voyage, consisting of so many months; and if there be found defect or fault of performance thereof, the bond to be immediately forfeited, unless by a day appointed they put on board his majesty's ships the quantity of such victuals as shall be defective; by this means the king shall be well served, and the people well satisfy'd.

Moreover the victualler must be enjoined to put on board every ship the whole proportion of victuals to the quantity of men serving in her; for in this there has been great deceit: for whereas his majesty allows a large and sufficient rate for every man's diet, the victualler and the purser had wont to contract betwixt themselves, that the purser shall have the victualling of a certain proportion of men, and to allow the victualler three half-pence or two-pence *per diem*, out of that the king allows, and justly pays.

The gain of the purser at sea far exceeds all other officers, as will appear when their buying their places shall be examined. Both the buyer and seller of this office knows that the gain of it must arise by deceiving the king and company: which, besides that it breeds a great inconveniency, for the purser's unreasonable griping the failors of their victuals, and plucking it, as it were, out of their bellies, it makes them become weak, sick, and feeble, and then follows an infection, and inability to do their labour, or else uproars, mutinies, and disorders ensue among the company, that a captain must interpose himself, his reputation,

and credit, to appease them; and all for the corruption of the buyer and feller of that office; besides it gives a great discontent to people, and discourages them to do service in the whole voyage.

For reformation hereof, this place is not corruptly to be bought with money, but free election to be made of an honest and careful man, that will have no end but his majesty's profit, and his own credit; he must neither contract with the victualler, nor take advantage of poor mens being ashore, for him to save their allowance of diet to enrich himself, but such surplus of victuals as remains at the end of the voyage, to see it forth-coming, or to be accountable for it to the king's officers.

And if it be found, after the voyage, that this purser has performed the trust committed to his charge, then to reward him according to his service as the lord admiral and the officers of the navy shall think fit. This considered, will prove more beneficial and more safe to the purser, than to buy his office at a dear rate, which he must execute with danger; for his gain must rise by cozenage, which being discovered, a heavy punishment will be inflicted on him.

This false benefit thus gotten by the officers conniving with one another, by this reformation will turn to the king's profit: but I desire it may be carried with more moderation and pity to poor men; for the company have always been the sufferers, the pursers making their advantage of the mens being ashore, by taking to themselves their allowance of victuals in their absence.

The second abuse that is offered the company is in another kind, (as namely, in their pay,) wherein his majesty is no less abused than the poor men; for if at any time they fall sick, and be put ashore, such is the charity of people where they land, that they sooner perish than find pity, unless they bring money with them.

And seeing that his majesty does and must pay all those that serve him, it will be better for them, and more profit to the king, to discharge them at their first arrival, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whilst they lie sick ashore, and not discharged, their victuals and pay amounts to thirty and odd shillings a month, which may be saved, if they are at first discharged.

In the voyage of 1635. some of my men fell sick in the *James*, whom I caused to be put ashore, to avoid further infection, and commanded the purser to make provision for their lodgings, and other necessaries, to be abated in their pay. If these men had been discharged when they were landed, the king had saved so much as I have expressed before, and the poor men had

been furnished with money to have defray'd their expence, which they took upon trust.

I confess this abuse is ancient, which I complained of to queen *Elizabeth*, who redressed it, by sending an under-treasurer and moneys with me to sea in the last voyage she lived, and wherein I went admiral; but her present death following, caused it to be neglected; but fit again to be revived, for the good both of king and subject. When the purser of the *James* demanded his money thus disbursed, the officers of the navy with great anger asked him, who made him the queen's treasurer? Which is a direct proof they have a further end in it than the king's good; for I am told they have two shillings in the pound for the payment of such moneys as the poor sailors go upon the score.

I will proceed, and speak somewhat of the king's ships, their manner of built, and their defects, which, in my opinion, ought to be amended. I will make the *James* my precedent, which is a beautiful ship to the eye, and of mighty force to offend; I found nothing amiss in her hull, but in her masts, yards, and bolt-sprit, which were too short, which made her sails too narrow, and her fail the worse. But these are faults that may be easily amended.

But in some cases of building ships, or rather, I may say, of making experiment, they have left no help or hope of amendment; though I am informed there was a warning given of the insufficiency of the workman before he undertook her.

In my speaking of the difference in the built of ships, betwixt a flush-deck and high-carved, I have said sufficiently before; only I advise, that in ships with flush-decks, a slight fore-castle may be built, and the uppermost part of the ship be armed with junks of cables, for the safeguard of men against small-shot; as also to make barricadoes, and other material defences, to place several fowlers afore and abaft, to be the death of so many men as shall enter. There are many other devised things to be practised, which I refer to my fifth book, wherein I treat of stratagems.

Now I will speak of foremast-men, and the abuse used in pressing them, by example of this last voyage in 1635. The greatest part of these men consist of watermen, never before at sea, and others of the same sort altogether unserviceable; and herein are the officers of the navy to blame, who to pleasure friends, or for other ends of their own, appoint taylors, porters, and others of that rank, unworthy of the hatches to lie on; and yet every one of these men stands his majesty in 1*l.* 11*s.* a month, when they will think much to pay an able seaman that shall be absent at a muster: so

great

great a power has partiality with these men, that they prefer the unworthy before the well-deserving, and are willing to pay 1 l. 11 s. a month to taylors, rather than 14 s. to a sailer.

The sea towns in *England* are not far behind these abuses in election of such men as I have found in this voyage; for that in the northern parts, betwixt *Yarmouth* and *Newcastle*, never a man appeared in the *James* that ever had been at sea; insomuch that if I had not procured a warrant for one of my master's mates to look out for good men, never ship had been worse provided.

For reformation whereof, I would advise at the next general parts, that the charge be committed to the masters, or their mates, that go in the voyage. They are to repair to the towns and corporations on the coasts, authorizing them, with the officers of the said towns, to call all seafaring men there dwelling before them, and the masters to examine their sufficiencies, and according to their abilities to parts them, and enjoin them to appear before the clerk of the check at *Chatbam*.

There is another great mismanagement is his majesty's ships, which is fit to be amended, in order hereafter to redress it; by allowance of the king, the worst of those loiterers I have spoken of, have as good entertainment as the ablest sailer, that is no officer, and neither captain nor other commander can reform it, because custom has so settled it; for a reformation whereof, I do advise, that by consent of captain, master, and gunner, every such man's pay be proportion'd according to their sufficiencies, *viz.* to take it from one, and add it to another; but no way to charge the king more than with his ordinary proportion.

If this course were really taken, seamen would be as willing to serve the king, as they are now refractory to his service; it would be a great cause to make them to obey and love their commanders, and encourage them to exceed one another in their labours, in hope to have their pay mended. These people are to be governed by a captain, master, and other inferior officers, which I have formerly treated of; and I will now describe the fitness of a captain to be chosen to serve in the king's ships.

The little employment in sea affairs makes many pretenders to the place of captain, when there is talk of expedition; and very often there are factions and quarrels among such pretenders. But to take away all competition that may arise amongst them, and that his majesty may distinguish of their works, it were good, when such captains shall be nominated and elected, to require them to present authentick testimonies of their service and fights they have

been in at sea, which will approve their sufficiencies; for a captain is chosen for his warlike part, as the master is for the conduction of his ship.

A captain of the king's ship must be of reputation and government, bountiful, and not prodigal in his expence: he must moderate his expence according to his pay, and the time it is likely to continue; that he may be the better able to maintain his port after the service is ended, both for the honour of the king whom he serves, and for his own reputation; for his after-preferment must lie upon his former behaviour and demeanour. He must abandon the beastliness of drinking, and conniving at drunkards, which are the general disorders at sea, though in reason no man should more detest it; for they may know that drinking is not the way to preferment; for no man was ever raised for his vice, but it is made an objection to hinder his fortune.

As a captain ought to be frugal in his own expence, so ought he to be no less for the king's profit; as, first, in victuals: there must be no conniving betwixt him and his purser, nor betwixt the purser and any other officer; and what victuals soever shall come into the ship that it be not imbezelled, or secretly convey'd out of her; he must see an equal carriage betwixt purser and company, without advantage to either; for by this reformation the king is only to receive benefit. He must also have an eye over the gunner, as well to see the taking in of his store, as the re-delivery of it. He may have a servant to keep a private account of the expence of every shot at sea, to disprove any unlawful account the gunner shall unjustly charge himself withal.

I will end this discourse with the masters, who are the conductors of his majesty's ships, from their going out till their return home. There ought to be a general election of these men principally of such as have been practised, and served in the king's ships; for an experienced commander is more to be required in that case, than a skilful mariner.

The masters that were employ'd in this last voyage of 1635. are all able men in the art of navigation, which they profess, and of sufficiency to take upon them the conduction of a merchant ship to any place or port wheresoever they shall trade; but for the service in the narrow seas, where they have not been accustomed, or for managing the king's ships, in which they have not been used, for want of experience, they are much to seek, as will appear by what follows.

I confess, that since I served in the narrow seas, I find so great a difference betwixt the masters of that time and this, that I may compare it to an ancient art, that in  
long

long continuance of time has been forgotten, and lost for want of practice and use.

The masters in those days were either ignorantly adventurous, or in this time providently cautious, which I may rather term over-timorous; for we then little valued those adventures, which now we properly call dangers; though I am assured the perils be alike, and not to be accounted hazard.

But I impute the true cause of security in the masters, to that they have no other ambition, but to carry out and bring home the ship under their charge, and to receive their salary for it. I confess they are the more excusable, because their breeding has not been to sail amongst sands, or in seas so narrow, that which way soever they turn themselves, they behold land on all sides of them, which are subject to the change and shift of several winds in every port; for that wind which is secure upon one shore, is death upon another; and tides that sometimes are advantageous to them, at other times may prove dangerous.

This reformation cannot be in the masters themselves to amend, for it requires long experience and labour to make them perfect in our seas, where the service depends; and where they are strangers in the navigation, this defect must be supply'd with expert and skilful pilots, that make the narrow seas their daily trade and practice.

The king's ships being thus provided, they have little cause to fear danger of wind or storms, but only fogs, that take away the sight of the land from them, which come not often, nor continue long upon our coast; and in that case of dark and misty weather, never ships of the kings of *England* were better fitted with ground-tackle, or whole shots of cables, that they may ride in the midst of the channel: but whensoever the fog shall vanish, and the land appear, though it were in any part of the seas, betwixt the north-foreland in *Kent* and the *Dudman* in *Cornwal*, they will be able in few hours to harbour themselves, howsoever the wind proves that may endanger them; and therefore, in my opinion, that which is called care in some, may be rather term'd fear in them.

These masters that I term raw in the king's ships, not being used to the government of them, it is fit they be put into the right way by the boatswain, who is best able to instruct them; though in these latter times, that ignorance has prevail'd against knowledge, the boatswains, by a strict decree of the officers of the navy, are prohibited from taking charge of the king's ships, as masters; but the inconveniency of this law of theirs, I desire to argue with our late reformers.

Another oversight and error in these matters I find, That they cannot distinguish betwixt the discipline of the king's service, and their accustomed sailing and working in merchant ships; for though in their instructions in this voyage they were commanded to keep a good distance off one another, at their coming to an anchor, such have been the master's carelessness to observe this order, that they have pressed to be at an anchor as soon, or as near the admiral as they could, neither giving place or room to the vice-admiral, or other ships of greater charge or burthen than themselves: let this be a caution to succeeding times upon the like occasion, That wheresoever a fleet shall anchor, either at sea, harbour, or road, they suffer the three flags first to anchor, who must be careful to take a good birth from one another, (which done,) every ship, as they are divided in squadrons, is to anchor a convenient distance from the admiral of its squadron, and to take place according to the draught of the ships and the depth of the water they anchor in.

A master must moreover observe, after his coming to an anchor, to examine the defects of his ships, and to take order for the present amendment of them.

Thirdly, he must have his boats ready to fetch water, wood, and ballast, that the want of them be no cause of his stay in harbour, if he be suddenly commanded to sea; or if his abode be longer than he looked for, then to send his men by turns, to walk in the fields on shore, some one day and some another, to take the air, and exercise themselves for their healths; this will give great satisfaction, and be a refreshing to them and the ships, when people shall be absent, and the ship made clean and sweet.

Fourthly, a master is, at his first arrival in a port or rode, to let fall a single cable and anchor, unless the weather force him to moor with two, which if he do; yet as he shall see an appearance of fair weather, then to weigh one of his two, that he may be ready to set sail, if he be commanded; for a man of war is like a post, that has horse continually saddled for the king's service.

Many of these abuses I confess began to creep in, like rust into iron, at the latter end of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, by the un-ability of some officers of the navy, that then had the charge of them who did, as some now-a-days do, presume to order, and dispose of all things of the sea, though they were never twenty leagues from the coast; as great presumption as for a bred seaman to take upon him the office of a judge in temporal or spiritual affairs.

Of

*Of the Harbours of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; the Nature of them; their Depths; and how they bear from one another.*

THE island of *Scilly* is from the *Land's-End* of *Cornwall* eight leagues, E. N. E. This harbour of *Scilly* has, twenty fathom, and there are three goings-out of it.

The next good harbour is *Hellford*, little frequented: it has six or seven fathom water.

From the *Lizard* to *Falmouth*, N. and by E. four leagues: *Falmouth* is in an excellent harbour, and hath twelve, thirteen, or fourteen fathom.

From *Falmouth* to *Dudman-Point*, E. and by N. four leagues.

From *Dudman* to *Foy*, N. E. four leagues.

From *Foy* to *Ramhead* six leagues, E. N. E.

*Plymouth* lies from hence, N. N. E. four leagues, and has four or five fathom.

From the *Ramhead* to the *Start* eight leagues, E. S. E. From the *Start* to *Dartmouth* three leagues, N. E. and has ten or twelve fathom.

From *Dartmouth* to *Torbay* four leagues, N. E. a good road, at eight fathom, for a south-west wind.

From *Torbay* to *Portland* thirteen leagues, E. and by N. and within that bay lies *Exmouth* and *Lime*. *Portland* is a good road for a south and a south-west wind, at seven or eight fathom.

Within *Exmouth* lieth *Weymouth*, a barred haven; and going from thence to the *Needles* in the *Isle of Wight* lies the harbour of *Pool*, where you shall have five fathom at half flood.

From *Portland* to the *Needles* eleven leagues, E. and by N. From thence to *St. Helen's* seven leagues.

Within the harbour lies the haven of *Limington* and *Southampton*, and within that *Water-Hamble*; and to the E. *Portsmouth*, an excellent harbour; and in the *Isle of Wight*, *Newport* and *New-Town*.

From *St. Helen's* to *Bechie* sixteen leagues, E. N. E. Betwixt them lies *Chichester*, *Arundel*, *Shoreham*, and *New-Haven*, all bad harbours.

From *Bechie* to the *Shingle*, E. N. E. eight leagues. Betwixt them lies *Rye*, a dry harbour.

From the *Shingle* to *Dover* nine leagues, N. E.

From *Dover* to the *Downs*, and so to the *North-Foreland*, seven leagues; there lies betwixt them *Sandwich*, a barred haven.

From the *North-Foreland* to *Orford-Nefs*, leaving the island of *Sheppey*, and the course to *London* on the larboard-side.

*Harwich* is the best harbour upon all that coast; and, indeed, the best betwixt it and the *Friith* in *Scotland*.

From *Orford-Nefs* the Coast lies, N. W. twenty nine leagues from *Flamborough-Head*. There lies betwixt them *Sole*, *Lestock*, *Yarmouth*, *Cromer*, *Blackney*, *Burnam*; from thence to *Boston*, south-east, and to *Lynn* west, you pass many dangerous sands in going into these two places.

From *Boston* to *Hull* and *Burlington*, you must go N. and N. and by E.

From *Flamborough-Head* to *Scarborough* six leagues N. W. from hence to *Whitby* five leagues.

From thence to *Hartley-Pool* seven leagues, W. N. W. from *Hartley-Pool* to *Tinmouth*, N. N. E. nine leagues, and so up to *Newcastle*.

From *Tinmouth* to *Cockit Island*, N. N. W. seven leagues. And thus much for the northern coast.

Now I will return into the other Parts of England and Wales.

From the island of *Ramsay*, or the north-part of *Wales*, lie the *Bishop* and the *Clerks*, rocks of great danger; two leagues from thence lies the island of *Grasbome*.

From thence to *Milford-Haven* three leagues, and the going in is, N. E. one of the best harbours in the world; it hath a rock in the middle of it at the entrance.

From *Milford* to *St. Gore's-Point* two leagues, and from thence to the *Nefs*, E. seventeen leagues; there lies betwixt them the island of *Coarday*, *Timbey*, and the point called *Wormshead*.

From the *Nefs* to *Steeptorme*, E. S. E. seven leagues; from thence to *Bristol* N. and by E. twelve leagues. There is betwixt the *Nefs* and *Bristol* the islands of *Barrey* and *Scilly*, *Cardiff*, *Newport*, and *Chepstow*; all barred havens.

Now to the English Shore.

From the *Holmes* to *Lundy*, W. S. W. twenty leagues: there is betwixt them *Helford-Comb*, a narrow going in, but three or four fathom within.

From thence to *Biddeford*, S. S. W. seven leagues: it has two divisions; the one goes into *Barnstaple*, the other into *Biddeford*; barred havens.

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From

From thence to *Lundy*, N. N. W. five leagues. Here you may anchor on both the sides of the island, at fourteen or fifteen fathom.

From *Lundy* to the cape of *Cornwall* twenty eight leagues S. W. and from thence to the *Land's-End*, five leagues S. there lies betwixt *Lundy* and the *Land's-End*, *Padstow*, *St. Ives*, and some other creeks, all barred havens,

*The Coast of Scotland, and of the Islands.*

The island of *Shetland* is the place where the *Hollanders* begin their great fishing, in the harbour called *Brassound*, which is an excellent harbour, where all their buffes meet, and begin their fishing the 23d of *June*. At the north point of the island, there is a good harbour, called *Blansound*, which you may sail through, from one side of the harbour to the other.

There is another good harbour, called the *Magnus Haven*, and an island where ships may go, and ride about it; and behind it a harbour called *Hamborough-Haven*.

West from *Scotland*, and north from *Ireland*, there lie many islands, antiently called the *Hybrides*; in most of these islands there are excellent harbours.

The *Lewes* is the best of the islands; which the *English* have now planted, for conveniency of fishing: it is in length twenty nine leagues S. S. W. and N. N. E.

The islands of *Orkney* are thirty one in number.

The island of *Wayes* lies N. N. E. from *Catness* in *Scotland*, and but five leagues from it; you may sail through these islands in many places by *Catness*, and S. from *Sanda*, and come out again.

From *Catness* upon the main land, and the promontory of *Scotland* to *Buckerness*, twenty one leagues S. E. betwixt them, are many good harbours, *Dermecke*, *Ross*, and *Lewerness*.

From *Buckerness* to *Aberdeen*, thirteen leagues S. S. W. from thence to *Mont-Rosse*, S. W. and by S. four leagues; to *Dundee* S. and after S. S. W.

From *Dundee* to the isle of *May*, S. W. six leagues. From *May* to the *Bass*, and up to *Leath*, nine leagues.

From the *Bass* to the *Tape-Head*, W. six leagues; from the *Tape-Head* to *Berwick*, S. S. E. five leagues.

*The Harbours in Ireland.*

The *Black Rock*, and *Cape Dursley*, S. and by W. fifty three leagues; and between them the haven of *Galloway*.

From *Galloway* to the island of *Arran*,

fix leagues; from thence to *Limerick*, S. nine leagues.

From *Galloway* to *Blasques*, S. S. W. sixteen leagues; from *Blasques* to *Dunseys*, S. E. twenty one leagues.

From *Cape Cleer* to the *Old Head of Kingsale*, E. and by N. twelve leagues.

From the *Old Head* to *Cork*, N. E. and by E. a great league.

From *Cork* to the east point of *Waterford*, E. N. E. twenty leagues; the whole southern coast lies E. N. E. and W. S. W. and betwixt *Cork* and *Waterford* lies *Yockbill*, E. N. E. from *Cork*, six leagues.

Five leagues from *Yockbill*, E. lies *Dongarvan*, lying in N. N. W.

From *Yockbill* to *Waterford*, E. N. E. twelve leagues; the haven of *Waterford* lies in N. and by W.

From *Waterford* to *Washford*, the island of *Saltres* lying in the way, you may go betwixt it and the main land east from *Waterford*; from *Saltres* to *Washford* five leagues.

From *Washford* to *Wexford*, N. and by W. five leagues.

From *Wexford* to *Dublin*, N. and W. five leagues.

Five leagues from *Dublin* lies the harbour of *Drogheda*.

From *Drogheda* to *Dundalk* seven leagues.

*An Observation I gather of the State of the Harbours aforesaid, and the Advantage an Enemy may take of them to annoy us.*

Of so many harbours that *England* affords, and towns seated upon them, as aforesaid, there are but these following of any importance to entertain ships of burden, (*viz.*) on the south coast, *Plimouth*; *Falmouth*, *Hambrose*; lying within the island of *St. Nicholas*, *Dartmouth*, *Portsmouth*, and those within the *Isle of Wight*; to the northward, *Harwich*, *Lynn*, and *Humber*: the two last are frequented most by ships of their own, full of danger and sands, little known to any others but to themselves; I will therefore say little of them.

Over-against the harbours on the south coast of *England*, *France* is seated, and, namely, *Normandy* and *Picardy*, which, we may thank God, does not afford so good a harbour upon all that coast, as the worst of those I have named; otherwise our forefathers had tasted the danger of them many ages before ours; and we in this time should find it a dangerous thing to have neighbourhood with good harbours, now *France* labours to be great in shipping.

The harbours of greatest consequence, and for us most to fear, are *Brest* and *Bluet*, forty and odd leagues asunder, and both of



of them to the eastward of *Ushant*, the head land of *Britany*, which must be doubled before they can come into our *Channel*; and that easterly wind which brings them about *Ushant*, will be against the recovery of any harbour in *England*; or if they think by their fleet to intercept our trades, or to have any other designs upon us, they will be brought betwixt *Scilly* and *Caribdis*; for betwixt their coast and ours, it is not above twenty three or twenty six leagues in most places; so that if they be taken with a storm at north-west, they are cast upon their own shore, where they shall find neither harbour nor road to receive them, but that the merciless sea will devour them: and the like effect they will find with a southerly wind upon our coast, unless they were relieved with our open roads, which their own coasts yield not. In my fifth book of projects and stratagems, I have spoken more largely to this point: and to conclude, though *France* should be able to keep fleets in our *Channel* in the summer season, when they shall find the weather fair, and the night short; on the contrary, in winter with a southerly wind, storms, and long nights, they will find themselves destitute of harbours on both sides to relieve their ships, when they are in the *Channel*.

And as for *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, whose harbour for goodness exceeds all other harbours in *Europe*, if an enemy should enjoy it, it would little avail him; for all conquerors will covet to draw into the heart of the country they enter, and where the greatest cities are seated, and most people resorts to them. Let us compare it with *London*, two hundred miles from it, and let us enter into the condition of *Wales*, and the poverty of it; where the huge mountains will hinder the passage, and the transportation of their carriages; consider likewise the time *England* will gain, to gather all its forces together to withstand them, and the distance an enemy shall march from their ships if they be forced to retire, and shall be destitute of all other supplies or helps: this will be advantage sufficient for us. Neither can an enemy steal so suddenly upon us, but that our fleet will be ready speedily to bid them welcome. These reasons considered, *Milford-Haven* will be made as secure as any port of *England*.

#### *The State of Ireland.*

There are many choice and good harbours in *Ireland*, as commonly there are in most countries where there is least trade. The more and the better they are, the greater the danger to *England*; because an In-

vasion in *Ireland* does as much concern us, as if it were attempted in *England*. Where there are so many ports as in *Ireland*, they cannot so easily be fortified and made strong, as if they were fewer; whereby the defence of that kingdom must depend upon the faithful hearts of subjects, who heretofore have been apt in all ages to shew the contrary, as appears by their many rebellions.

The southern coast of *Ireland* is in the nature of *England*, a southerly wind being dangerous to both; and the greater to *Ireland*, because the coast is more subject to mists and fogs, so that no art or skill can preserve a ship, if she be forced to bear in upon a lee shore she has not made.

I have declared in my fifth book the danger of an invasion in *Ireland*, and the best remedy to avoid it by a fleet at sea; to which I refer you: but the safest and securest course I can think on to defend that kingdom, is to draw the people by justice and good usage to love and obedience; for then shall their hearts and hands be joined, and made to concur together, for defence of their king and country. Both they and we see, that of late years by peace they are taught how to grow rich, which before they were not: they find by his majesty's conniving with them in religion, it has mollify'd their hearts, that they are not so hardened as formerly they have been, as appears by their voluntary disbursements when his majesty requires it of them.

I am of a contrary opinion to an ancient position held in former times by our statemen of *England*, That the safest way to govern the people of *Ireland*, was by keeping them under, poor, needy, and ignorant, like men barbarously bred: whereas on the contrary, we see by proof of late times, that by our good and friendly usage they are made more tractable to reason, and understand the difference betwixt civil conversation and their former education. They are grown to that familiarity with us, and our dispositions, that if religion did not hinder it, they would make no more difference to marry with us, than amongst themselves, and hold it for an honour to derive themselves from *English* blood.

We must confess it for a truth, that they made our king and both our countries more famous of late years than in former times, by the esteem they have gained in our renowned actions of war, where they have served; for those people that were wont to be called by the name of *Kernes*, have obtained the prime places of honourable employment: which I impute to three causes; the first, is, To their late civil breeding and conversation, in comparison of times past; secondly, That they are not prohibited serving

ferving any prince or state, whereby all ancient jealousies are taken away; thirdly, They have that liberty and freedom, that they apply themselves to all gentleman-like exercises, both of learning and languages, by which they insinuate into the acquaintance of other nations and people, from whom they learn their customs of civil and mannerly behaviour, acknowledging that preferment comes by virtue, and not by vice. By this alteration, his majesty shall regain sober subjects, that have been seduced by evil magistrates.

#### Of Scotland.

*Scotland* in divers parts thereof, but especially in the islands of *Orkney* and *Hybrides*, has many large and good harbours, and more ships of their own to uphold trade than *Ireland*, has, much to the shame of *Ireland*, which has a more fruitful country, and lies by many degrees more convenient for trade, than *Scotland* does, to the rich countries of *France*, *Spain*, the *States*, and all southern parts, which afford the greatest plenty of wealth; for from *Ireland* they may be sooner in those places aforesaid, than from some part of *Scotland* to *Ireland*, where they are to begin their voyage.

We and other nations find that *Ireland* many times proves a safety to ships, men, and goods, as it is seated and placed; for ships that are to pass into our channel from the southward to *England*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, or any part of the east country, if such vessels be taken with an easterly wind before they recover *Scilly* or *Falmouth*, or fail of victuals, or otherwise distressed, *Ireland* lies open to entertain them, which no other shore can do with that wind, and much less *Scotland*, which is so far to the northward, and out of all manner of trade.

It is pity *Scotland* is not placed where *Ireland* is, considering the difference of the industry of their people; for though the country of *Scotland* yields no commodities worthy of transportation, whereby to make them rich, or can take off any merchandize that is brought them, by reason of

the barrenness of their soil, and the coldness of their climate, that produces nothing of value to exchange for it, yet they live not idly and lazily, as the *Irish* do, but maintain a number of ships to carry out and bring back such commodities as the country affords, or the people stand in need of.

Another happiness to us, is, that *Scotland* can make no use of their harbours to benefit an enemy to our annoyance; for *Scotland* has two impregnable defences, which are no less beneficial to *England*, viz. hunger and cold, that it can no way aid an enemy to invade *England* from thence, either with victuals, or other provisions.

I have often marvelled with myself, that in our forefathers days, who lived in the time of hostility betwixt us and *Scotland*, they had not so much foreseeing providence, as being masters of the sea, to endeavour to cut off all the ships, barks, and boats, that belonged to their kingdom, which had been easily effected, or without resistance; for then they had left *Scotland* to itself, without help from abroad, and forced them to make use of their own commodities amongst themselves; by which means they should never have tasted the deliciousness of wines, or other delightful things of several kinds which other countries produce: Thus would *England* have had a greater power over them than by force of arms, and would sooner have brought them to uniformity and obedience to us, than by any course of cruelty: the seamen would have soon forgotten their employment, and betaken themselves to their trades for food. And one thing I must say in their commendation, that their people are naturally apt to the sea; they would soon attain to the excellency of pilots, which grows by their dangerous and difficult navigations; which makes them more vigilant than otherwise they would be; and in the places where they generally traffick, they are held worthy of the charge they take upon them; they are no less esteemed than trusted, for their honest contracts they make with their merchants; and it is a means they are sooner freighted than others that carry greater reputation and wealth.

#### *A Proposition to the Parliament on all the foregoing Contents of this Book.*

I Need not make a particular repetition of what is contained in this third book, because it is open to your eyes to behold, view, and read; it tends to the state of his majesty's navy, and the abuse that is crept in by unexperienced carelessness, if not corrupt officers, and such as regard their own profit more than the king's service: withal, I set down a means of reformation, which I presented to his majesty, part whereof was writ-

ten at the request of Sir Robert Cecil, not long before the queen died; the rest I refer to my fifth book.

I will apply myself to you, the lords and gentlemen of parliament, for these reasons; The first, Because it concerns you more than others, who are the mouths and men chiefly trusted by the multitude of the commonwealth, that makes election of you, above others, to speak their cause. Secondly,

In

In matter of security to the state; for you have the same interest with them, as being embarked all in one ship; so that, if one drowns, the rest must be shipwrecked. And, lastly, because you are the people elected and chosen from the rest, for your grave and judicious understandings, that can distinguish and determine according to reason, what shall be proposed for the good of the commonwealth; which makes me say the less, but refer all to your wise considerations.

The great, and indeed the greatest matter of importance to the state, is his majesty's navy, properly called the walls and bulwarks of *England*; for our ships flourishing bring safety to the kingdom, and terror to others; yourselves may challenge an interest in this royal navy, as jewels annexed to the crown, that cannot be separated from it; for though the king have the disposing of them, and the only employing them, yet they are like his houses and lands that are enailed upon the crown, and the king can use them but for life.

The kingdom of *Portugal* falling to *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, who came in rather by the sword, than consent of the subjects, yet they drew him to large conditions for their freedom: and amongst the rest, because that kingdom stood upon reputation of shipping, they enjoined him to annex twelve galleons by way of entail on the crown of *Portugal* for so many brave ships he there found, as appeared by the goodly vessel called the *St. Matthew*, which I knew, and saw broke up with age, after she had been admiral of the fleet with the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who overthrew Monsieur *La Strauze* at the islands of *Tercera* in 1580. and after she had been admiral for *England* in 1588. with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*; and, lastly, in that service and fleet, that took Sir *Richard Greenville* and the *Revenge* in 1591.

And seeing we have precedents of other times, and of other countries, to parallel with us; for the preserving the honour of *England* by our navy, but especially because it concerns us more than the firm land, we being an island that can neither defend ourselves, nor offend others, without the help of shipping, I do humbly crave your favourable ears to incline to my propositions following.

That besides the ordinary and yearly expence his majesty contributes to the ships in harbour, you will please to add a certain annual proportion, and to confirm it by act of parliament, to be employed as the parliament shall direct, or as the ensuing project shall seem acceptable.

I know that whatsoever I shall propose by way of imposition, the word is obnoxious,  
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and you will answer me with a general negative, by example of the grants of customs, that in continuance of time are grown hereditary; but let the importance of this weighty business concerning the king's navy move you according to reason, and to devise the easiest way, and with the least charge, how his majesty's ships may be immediately sent to sea upon an unexpected occasion.

The sum that shall come from you by a voluntary gift, not to exceed 20000 *l. per Annum*, the moneys to be rated and raised at the discretion of justices, knights, and gentlemen of the shire, a treasurer and other officers to be nominated by the parliament; and if any innovation shall be attempted to alter this form of government, the payment to cease.

That certain commissioners be appointed for two years space to view and provide, that all materials and provisions be kept safe in magazines, and no other than themselves to dispose of them; and every second *Michaelmas* term to meet and settle all things in good order, that at the next sitting of the parliament it may be presented to the two houses.

This will prove more easeful to the country, and less burthensome to the people, by ten degrees, than has been of late years taken, (*viz.*) To call upon them for great sums, and to be suddenly rated and raised by the assessment of one private man, that shall for that present year be chose sheriff; and such a one, if complaints be true, as carries a hand of too great partiality.

By the good husbanding and management of this 20000 *l. per Annum*, there will always be ready in cash so much money as will, with little help from the king, be able to put his ships to sea, without otherwise being beholding to his subjects; for it is to be supposed that kings will not have yearly occasion to employ their ships, by means whereof, the stock of 20000 *l.* will increase.

Out of this 20000 *l.* there may be provision made to allow thirty able and expert captains, each of them forty marks, or forty pound *per Annum*, the time they are out of employment, enjoining them to give their attendance, when they shall be called upon. Every man shall know the ship he is to command, and no man will be so impudent, as to seek to put him from it when employment is spoken of.

They shall hold their places, their pensions, and employments, according to their civil carriage and behaviour; for by their example, others that expect future preferment must imitate them in their rule of life.

Of all disorders, they must abandon drinking, quarrelling, and the occasion that riseth out of such vices; for if they consider it, drunkenness is but a short madness; and therefore unfit a madman should govern others, that cannot govern himself. This will be the way to gain a brave reputation in their youth, and an encouragement for gentlemen to employ their sons upon such services, on hope of preferment; and it may be a means for the king to take the example of the king of *Portugal*, who instituted, That gentlemen, according to their degrees and births, should have employment at sea, and pensions of the king for life, which they call *Fuero*. Every gentleman takes his place according to his pension and quality; and it is not amiss, seeing I am upon this subject, to set down, That the occasion of the discontent of *Ferdinand Magellaens*, or *Magellan*, the discoverer of that streight, which took name of him, was upon this cause; for which he left his king's service, and became a creature to *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, who employ'd him.

*Magellan* was a gentleman well deserving,

### *The Beginning of our Resort to the East-Indies.*

**T**HOUGH the queen was so wholly taken up with her warlike actions by sea with *Spain*, which continued the space of eighteen years, that neither she nor her merchants had leisure nor opportunity to settle new trades in far and remote countries, as the *East Indies*, and other places, which king *James* of famous memory did, when he enjoy'd both crown and peace, as shall appear when I treat of his and king *Charles*'s actions by sea; yet because those ages and king's reigns shall be honoured as they truly deserve, I will speak of the famous enterprizes undertaken in the queen's time to the *East Indies*; the first by Sir *Francis Drake* in 1578. the second by Mr. *Cavendish* in 1586. the third by Captain *Raymond*, in 1591. and the fourth by our merchants of *London* in 1603. to whom the queen granted her letters patents for the space of fifteen years, which was after continued and enlarged by king *James* in the year 1609. to remain for ever. Whereupon the *East India* merchants built in the same year the goodliest and the greatest ship that ever was fram'd in this kingdom, though she proved not so fortunate to them as ships of less burthen that I have spoke of in my second book.

The increase of great ships in *England* may be derived from this beginning; and to make it the more wonderful, it is strange, if we consider the few ships, and the small

and on account of the institution aforesaid, he sued to the king of *Portugal* for a pension of three ducats *per* month for himself, and half as much for his son, who was a towardsly young gentleman. The king willingly granted him two and an half, but absolutely refused his son; which he took for so great an indignity, that he left the king's service, and fled into *Spain*, where he was employ'd by the king and cardinal *Ximenes*, in that noble voyage about the world, which was performed by his ship, though he was slain himself. This enterprize of his was prejudicial to the kingdom of *Portugal*, and he got the name of a fugitive and traitor by it.

To make out this degree of gentlemen, and their employment, I have spoken of, I was acquainted with it when Sir *Richard Lewson*, and I took the carrack in *Zezebra Road*; for when I went aboard her, to treat about her yielding, I found four hundred gentlemen of this fraternity with arms to defend her, all apparelled like courtiers for their reputation they held by their employment and place.

burthen of them in the memory of man, to what they are now; for till of late, which perhaps few will believe, the greatest part of our ships of burthen was either bought or built out of the east country, who likewise enjoy'd the greatest trade of our merchants in their own vessels.

And to bid adieu to that trade and those ships, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a vessel of great burthen and strength in those days, was the last ship bought by the queen, which in the year 1564. was cast away in the port of *St. John de Ulra* in *New Spain*, under the command of Sir *John Hawkins*; and from that time to this, if we consider the increase of ships which *England* trades withal, but especially of later times in the reign of king *James* and king *Charles*, we have great cause to give God humble thanks for his blessing poured upon us, for our strength of ships, and wealth of subjects, both much increased by our navigation.

I cannot say our first voyages to the *East Indies* were by the way of traffick, as our latter years have produced: Captain *Raymond* was accompanied with the *Penelope*, a ship of his own, with the *Merchant Royal*, and *Edward Bonadventure*, three prime ships at that time both in greatness and goodness: their employment was to obstruct the trade of the *Portuguese*, and to seize their goods by way of letters of reprisal.

These

These three 'unfortunate ships arrived at the cape of *Good Hope*, where they resolved to send home the *Merchant Royal* with the sick men, and to proceed on their pretended voyage designed in *England*; but captain *Raymond* himself was unhappily swallow'd up in the sea fifty leagues from the cape: the *Edward Bonadventure* performed her voyage, but failed, as the rest did, in the hope of profit; for neither the men nor the adventurers were a penny the better for that voyage; and unluckily at her return, after she had passed many miseries and dangers, at last she arrived in the *West Indies*, whither she went for relief, being mightily distressed. And arriving at the island of *Mona*, her company resolved to cut her cables to drive ashore, choosing rather to do such an unworthy act, than to venture into *England* with her, their case was so desperate.

Most part of her men were saved by a *French* pirate that hovered about that island, one of whom, *Henry May* by name, was embarked in the said *French* ship, and in her return homeward was wrecked on the island of *Bermuda*, who gave us the first publick knowledge of that island; for before it was supposed to be enchanted, and possessed by spirits, though I knew the contrary; for above twenty years before this happen'd, I was acquainted with a *French* captain, called *Ruffel*, who was also shipwreck'd upon the same island, and escaped by means of a boat, he and his company made out of the materials of the said ship, in which with great hazard they arrived upon the coast of *Newfoundland*, where they were relieved by fishermen of their own country.

*The Competition betwixt France and Spain by Sea, and Conclusion of the Third Book.*

A *Frenchman* meeting a *Spaniard* or *Portuguese* beyond the line, or in either of the two *Indies*, they hold it a thing justifiable by law to seize upon either, especially if they make the first shot at the *Frenchman*, pretending that he gave the first offence; and that thereupon they offered him violence, and that themselves are but defendants.

The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* answer to this, That the *French* being no discoverers of countries beyond the line, or in the *Indies*, they can challenge no more right to the countries and seas, than pirates of other nations can do; neither have they any colour to haunt those shores and seas, but with a purpose to rob and spoil, seeing they and all nations besides, know the king of *Spain* prohibits any traffick in those parts, but to his own *Spanish* subjects.

They further say, There is no ship but will in her own defence, being chased by another, and ready to be assailed and boarded, shoot first; for it is an old rule in a quarrel, *That he has the advantage who gives the first blow*: And therefore this lawful resistance of a poor merchant ship, that goes not out of his way to seek others, but avoid meeting of all, cannot be reckoned a breach of peace, and consequently a forfeit of ship and goods; this is against the law of nature, for a worm, if she be trod on, will turn.

And besides, whereas merchant ships go commonly armed to defend themselves against enemies, by this law, and contrary to all sense and reason, their safety must consist in going unarmed, that they may be unable to make defence, lest they be quar-

relled with, and thereby made a prey to all ships they shall meet at sea.

The assailant, whom you may properly call a pirate, has sometimes other pretences, as namely, the want of victuals, or their ship being leaky, or ready to founder, to exchange ships with them.

The *Spaniard* desires, that these deceitful excuses, and false pretences may with uprightnes be considered: to the first, they say, That a merchant ship that carries ten men, cannot afford two days victuals to a man of war that carries an hundred men; for ten days victuals after that proportion is but half a days victuals to a ship of war.

To the second, it is to be considered that if one ship be exchanged for another at sea, it must be the stronger that compels the weaker to it; and as a thief that robs by land makes the offence much more horrible by committing murder, so does the ship in this case; for if an hundred men be not able to keep the ship above water with their pump or baling, what shall ten men do in that ship, but sink or perish with patience? Here is both theft and murder committed upon poor innocent people, that offer no man molestation, nor go out of their course to seek acquaintance: but if this stands for a law, a pirate will make no conscience to bore a leak in his own ship to serve for an excuse.

Therefore I conclude, it is not the first shot that can be adjudged a breach of peace betwixt two ships that accidentally meet at sea, or that it shall make the assailant's cause the better; for in truth, the offence is given by the ship that chases, and has no cause to do it, but only to give an occasion

of quarrel, that thereby he may rob and spoil him: he it is, I say, that deserves punishment as a pirate, and not the poor defendant, that does no more than nature and reason oblige him to.

I would ask a *Frenchman*, whether, if a *Spaniard* should meet him upon the coast of *Canada*, where the *French* have a plantation, and there chase him, and that the *Frenchman* for his safety should fire at him he would think it reason that the *Spaniard* should take and enjoy him as lawful prize? No, I am rather of opinion, that the *Frenchman* will believe as I do, that the *Spaniard* is worthy to be hanged for a pirate.

And yet the comparison is not alike, for the *French* cannot account *Canada* their own, as the *Spaniards* may do the *Indies*; because *Canada* was first discovered by the *English* in the days of *Henry VII.* as all the world acknowledges, and none but the first discoverers can pretend title to any land newly discovered.

This is the title by which the king of *Spain* holds his *Indies*, both *East* and *West*; and this is the title by which the king of *England* holds that part of *America* from fifty eight to thirty eight degrees, and has held it since the discovery of it by *Sebastian Cabot*, and not above two years after *Columbus* found the *West Indies*; and by this right likewise the king holds the islands of *Greenland* ever since the year 1607. when discovered by his subjects: And moreover I say, that such kings as are discoverers of new or unknown lands, are bound in equity and reason to defend one another's titles in this point, and not to connive or give assistance to any other prince or country to break this law and custom, for other nations to encroach upon them; for they had as good disclaim their own rights, and suffer all other dominions to usurp over them: it is the case of our fishing, which *Holland* impugns.

When king *James* granted his patents for the planting *America*, he would always admonish the patentees to be sure to keep to the northward, lest they should plant in such places, as the *Spaniards* might challenge to be within the compass of their discoveries; for he ever intimated, that he would defend them no farther than the articles of peace did warrant him; and if they did otherwise, they were to stand upon their own legs. This I have been often told by the secretary of state, who is acquainted therewith.

This limitation princes put upon their own subjects in giving them patents, which subjects duly observe. Queen *Isabel* of *Castile* would not suffer her husband's subjects of *Arragon* to go to the *West Indies* many

years after the discovery of them, because she and her *Castilians* had the honour and fortune to find them.

The *Portuguese* to this day enjoy their antient and accustomed trade to the *East Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*; and the *Spaniards* are not suffered to go there, because the *Portuguese* were the first discoverers of them.

Our king out of some considerations prohibits the trades of the *East Indies*, *Russia*, *Greenland*, and *Turky*, but only to some particular subjects, to whom he grants his patent.

The *Hollanders*, who are refractory to all good laws and institutions established by kings, however observe this rule among themselves, That they will not suffer any of their people to trade to the *East Indies*, but those whom they incorporate, and call *The East India Company*. And though *William Cornelius Scowden* has discovered another passage into the *South Sea*, than through the *Streights of Magellan*, a voyage of fame to the undertakers and nation, yet at his arrival in the *East Indies*, where he thought to have found succour and relief from his countrymen, most ungratefully and cruelly they seiz'd him, his ship, and all he had, and used him as rigorously and unnaturally, as if he had been a professed enemy or pirate.

The *French* above all other nations have always impugned the right of the first discoverers, but not without the great punishment and just judgment of God upon them, as appears by many of their actions, as namely, in *Canada*, which was taken and spoiled by us in 1628. as also in *Florida* and *Brazil*, that was destroy'd and ruined by the *Spaniards*; and it is worthy of note, that they never lived in any of these colonies, but civil dissensions, famine, and murders, fell upon them; a just reward for the injustice they did.

The king of *Spain* is so cautious not to give offence in this case, that when *Greenland* was discovered by the *English*, some of his *Biscay* subjects repaired thither to kill the whale for oil, being more expert therein than any other nation: but the king of *Spain* considering what wrong was done to the king of *England* by it, and that it might concern him in the like case to have his *Indies* incroached upon, he prohibited his subjects going to *Greenland* to molest or hinder the *English* in their fishing, and afterwards gave assistance to the *English*, and instructed them in the manner of their whale-killing.

Subjects that desire to plant in countries they have not discovered, and therefore can claim no title to them, run many desperate and unavoidable perils; First, because the

articles

articles of peace do not warrant them, for by that law of peace we are only to enjoy our ancient and accustomed trades; Secondly, they go upon their own adventure, for the king will not break league with *Spain* for their particular cause; Thirdly, they live in perpetual danger from their neighbours near adjoining, whom they may term enemies; but principally I would have them consider, what an excessive charge they undergo before they can bring their country to perfection, which affords nothing but wood, water, and grass: to instance in an island of ten or twelve miles in length, and half so much in breadth, which some *Englishmen* have with a wonderful charge of late years planted, and I fear with little hope of profit to return to them: but I make account no man can be so ignorant as not to know, that such undertakers do it for other ends, or have other hopes of gain, than to reap it out of the earth of ten or twelve miles.

But it is rather suspected, they do it to nourish and uphold piracies, that by the spoils thereof they may be the better able to maintain that island, or to give a distaste to *Spain*, with whom they desire his majesty should have war, not considering what the end of war is, and how difficult it is to make a peace after such a war is once begun by two great princes.

But now to return to my former proposition or argument, of the competition betwixt *France* and *Spain*, of the *French* surprising the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* beyond the line, I will conclude of nothing, only deliver my opinion, what *France* had to say in its own defence.

Sir *Francis Drake* returning from his famous and fortunate voyage round the world in 1580. the queen found, that by the passage through the streights of *Magellan*, which *Drake* had gone, there might be conveniency, if ever there happened hostility betwixt her and the king of *Spain*, to annoy him in the south sea, from whence all his treasure and wealth was brought, and after dispersed through the world. In the year 1582. she employ'd two good ships as any in the kingdom, except her own and committee, the conduction thereof to captain *Fenton* and *Ward*, to prosecute the same voyage that *Drake* had happily perform'd and taught them.

But as nothing is more uncertain than the chances and successes at sea, being governed by unconstant winds and waves, so did this voyage of Mr. *Fenton's* prove most unlucky, for they failed in all their designs, as you may find in Mr. *Hacklet's* book; to which I refer you.

The king of *Spain* having intelligence of the design of queen *Elizabeth*, and the pre-

parations of the ships aforesaid to perform her intentions in the south sea, and knowing it could not be brought to pass but through the streight of *Magellan*, he directed his letters to *Lima* in *Peru*, commanding one *Pedro Sarmiento*, a choice and perfect navigator, to pass from *Lima* to the streights of *Magellan*, that way by the south sea, which was never before purposely attempted, for by reason of the forcible westerly winds that blow upon that coast, which makes it a continual lee shore, it is not to be enterprised without great peril to the undertakers.

*Pedro Sarmiento* with two small ships proceeded upon that voyage as he was directed by the king, one of them returned again to *Lima*, the other, in which *Sarmiento* was, recovered the streights, and so passed into *Spain*, giving the king an account of the narrowness of the streight, in order to fortify it, and to endeavour to stop any ships that should attempt to pass that way; but all was false, and the king egregiously abused by his report; for there was no place within that streight less than three miles in breadth. He likewise gave a favourable report of the pleasantness and richness of the soil, to encourage men there to inhabit; but in the end it proved the most unhappy and unfortunate expedition that ever the *Spaniards* undertook.

The king being pleased with this intelligence, hoping thereby he might intercept all ships passing that way, and secure his coast of *Peru*, *Chile*, and other places, which afforded him all his treasure, he sent twenty three great galleons and three thousand five hundred old soldiers under the command of Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a principal commander by sea; he also sent the said *Pedro Sarmiento*, with commission to erect fortifications within the Streights, and to take upon him the title of governor. But as I have spoken somewhat of the mishap of our *English* ships, so I must say the *Spanish* fleet succeeded ten times worse; for of the twenty three galleons and the three thousand five hundred soldiers aforesaid, few ships or men returned, which was a great loss to *Spain* at that time; for in two or three years after ensued the wars betwixt them and us.

Those soldiers designed for the Streights being crossed with contrary winds, and other vexations, at last arrived there with their governour *Sarmiento*, and there seated and fortified themselves in two places; but cunningly and secretly *Sarmiento* seemed to go from one place to visit another, and foreseeing the calamity his men and he were like to fall into, (for neither the land, nor soil, or the narrowness of the streight, was answerable to his relation,) and being altogether hopeless of relief or succour from *Spain*, he

quitted the place, and treacherously ran away in his bark, pretending, after his arrival in *Spain*, that he was per force put from his cable and anchor he rid by, and could not return again for wind and weather.

In this base manner he left his poor countrymen in 1584. and in two years after, in 1586. Mr. *Carvendish* passing the *Streights* in his voyage round the world, found but three of those poor creatures living, and the place so infected with the carcaffes of those dead, that it was not to be endured. He found only six pieces of ordnance, which he brought away with him.

But as God is just, and a rewarder of all men, both in their good and evil actions, he accordingly chastised *Pedro Sarmiento* for his ill usage of his countrymen; for from *Brasil*, where he first landed in his way into *Spain*, he was met and taken by an *English* man of war, (for at that time there was hostility betwixt the two nations of *England* and *Spain*.) and brought prisoner into *England*, where I became acquainted with him.

But now to return to *Diego Flores de Valdes*, who ranging the coast of *Brasil* as his course led him, had intelligence of a colony of *French*, planted on a river called *Paria*, joining upon the sea with *Brasil*; whereupon he steered for that port, where he met and seized five *French* ships, three whereof he burnt, and two he carried with him: the men fled and dispersed themselves amongst the *Indians*, where to this day are found many savages that resemble *Frenchmen* in feature of face, and may be easily distinguished from others of their countrymen.

I know not whether others may be of my opinion, or no; but in all likelihood the barbarous usage of the *French* colony might be the occasion of the difference betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards* for the war beyond the line; and as the cause began by blood, so it is like never to end but by blood; for nothing is like to compose this difference, so long as those two monarchies continue in this greatness.

*The End of the Third Book.*

TO



T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

**I**N my first dedication, I recommend the reading thereof to my dearest and most intimate friends; in the second, to the captains and commanders serving in the late wars against *Spain*; in the third, to all sorts of seamen, from the highest to the lowest; and in this I prohibit none but the perverse puritans, whose stomachs are so faint and feeble, that any praise that can be attributed to a *Spaniard* or *Papist*, will make them sea-sick, and cast their gorge.

I will therefore make a *Turk* judge in this case betwixt the *Spaniards* and them, because every christian will incline to favour one sect more than another. Could God ever give a greater blessing to man, than to enable him to win and gain the souls of them that had been led away in infidelity and blindness? Could he ever shew a greater worldly happiness to a kingdom, than to send them, as it were, out of a cloud a new world, that affords all blessings and riches? Could he ever give more honour and reputation, than conquest over these people and their land? Could he ever shew more love to his servants, than to discover those countries at the time the *Moors* and *Turks* infected and infested the countries of *Spain* and *Hungary*? Could he in any thing more shew his wonders, than by such miracles as are related and recorded, for the means of the conversion of those people. This shall suffice for the will of God and force of his power; but as God chose the *Spanish* nation, for some secret judgment of his own, above all other people, to spread forth his holy name, so do I observe three things in them worthy of reprehension; the one is, their ingratitude; the second, their cruelty; and the third, the base condition of the people that were the authors of their prosperity.

Their ingratitude appeared towards *Columbus*, a man of more desert to the christian world than any other ever God created; for all the good before mentioned was wrought by God's permission, and his pains and patience.

This man, after his desperate and fortunate attempt, was maliciously and innocently brought prisoner in irons, to answer the calumination of his soldiers, which was not all, nor the worst; for this was an offence only to his body, the other to his honour and reputation.

For the *Spaniards* to eclipse his glory and merit, for discovery of the new world, on no other account but his being a stranger, born in *Italy*, invented and devised many fictions and idle imaginations, to lessen his praise. One while they say he was led to the discovery by a *Spaniard* that lay in his house upon his return from the *Indies*, and taught him the way thither.

But they could never agree upon the *Spaniard's* name, what province he was of, where he arrived, or what befel of him; so it is evident all were false aspersions, invented to lessen his honour, and advance the supposed *Spaniard's* praise; and God justly sent the divisions afterwards in *Peru* amongst themselves, as a punishment for their ingratitude to *Columbus*; for an unthankful man incited God to punish, and man to abhor him.

The second was their cruelty to their poor conquered *Indians*, occasion'd principally by avarice, whilst the revolt in *Peru* had almost hazarded their whole enterprize.

But their tyranny being made known in *Spain*, the emperor, like a merciful and pious prince, prohibited all rigorous courses against the silly savages, which so enraged the conquering *Spaniards*, that doubtless, had they border'd upon any civil country that could have given them assistance, they would as well have spoken any other language as *Spanish*.

My third observation was, the quality and condition of the commanders in the conquest of *Peru*, the principal whereof was such as no man would own as his son, nor they challenge for father; their education like their birth, neither being taught to write or read; and yet daily practice brought *Francisco Pizarro* to a civil familiar behaviour, and *Diego de Almagro* to a vain-glorious and high carriage.

What these two wanted in birth and breeding, was supplied in valour and industry; for to speak truly, considering what they attained to by their excessive travel and labour, the condition of the people they were to govern, and the multitude of enemies they subdued, no history, ancient or modern, can yield more honour to conquerors than they deserved

ferred; and I am of opinion, the cruel usage of the *Indians* proceeded from the debauchery and lewdness of their soldiers and followers; for their enterprize in those days was not undertaken but by desperate persons of estate and life, that thought nothing well gained that was not unlawfully gotten.

I may the rather confirm my opinion, because *Ferdinand Cortes*, who was a gentleman by birth, and so famous for valour, government, and wisdom, that he was paralleled with *Marius* and *Scipio* in the *Roman* state, carried his affairs with that honour, discretion, and mercy, that he left, and there still remains the title of a marquis to his house, when neither of the other two had ever lawful child to descend from them to uphold their names or memory.

The exploits of the *Portuguese* were no less memorable and victorious than the *Spaniards*; but seeing they are now both one nation, and live but under one king; and that the ensuing discourses will speak their praises, I will say little more than in pity to them, and attributing their many crosses to the just cause.

The *Portuguese* nation had been famous ever since the victorious battle of *Ourique*, obtained by *Don Alphonso*, the first king of that country, in the year 1139. Since then they have held competition with *Spain*, especially of late, that God made them famous in their eastern conquest, and so increased their wealth, that the cruel and miserable *Jews*, who set their whole felicity in worldly riches, crept in among them, and mingled with, and infected their blood with that cowardliness and covetousness, that it may be justly judged, they truly deserved God's ire and wrath cast upon them, viz. betwixt 1578. and 1580. God sent them for their punishment and scourge four kings, and five governors, that might be accounted kings, that spent and spoiled the wealth of their country, *Don Sebastian* by his rashness, *Henry* by his want of resolution, *Anthony* by tyranny, *Philip* by arms, and the governors for their private advantage.

Since those years the calamity that has befallen them is lamentable, by spoils and rapines committed on them by sea in the late wars with *England*; and since by the loss of their trade in the *Indies*, which was the first cause of their renown, and the first enriching of their state.

They must impute their misfortunes to God's permission, for their joining and coniving with God's professed enemies the *Jews*, for their own particular ends and gain.

It is written of *Peru*, That the constellation under which it is placed, caused so many divisions and slaughters as were there committed, not only in the time of the *Spaniards*, but many years before.

The like may be said of the *Molucco* islands, which, upon their first discovery, bred such a division betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, that though the two kingdoms were in peace at home, yet there happen'd continual encounters betwixt their subjects in those parts when they met there; but the *Portuguese* had always the best.

Not many years since, the like befel the *English* and the *Hollanders* upon the like cause, and about the same unfortunate islands, where they had many bickerings, notwithstanding the two states continued friends.

To conclude, I will concur with *Charles V.* the emperor, who was wont to say, *It had been well those Countries had never been discovered, or at least not so much frequented*: for we have enriched the infidels with the wealth of *Europe* and *America*, and decreased the trades of all the civil and known world, as we of *England* have proof, by our unprofitable traffick thither.

And now to the discovery of the several countries.

## B O O K IV.

## Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and several other remarkable Passages and Observations.

*The Discovery of several Countries and Islands.*

**B**EFORE I treat of the discovery of either of the two *Indies*, I will take the *Canary* and *Tercera* islands in my way, because they were known many years before the others; and in the next place, for that there is a necessity for ships to see those islands in their navigations, the one in going, the other in returning from the *Indies*.

The *Canary* islands, which are seven in number, were conquered by the *Spaniards* in the year 1393. in the time of king *Henry III.* of *Spain*.

The *Tercera* islands, being as many in number, were said to be discovered by the *Netherlanders*, but by whom by name, or by whom they were employ'd, or the year of our lord, is not set down.

*Guinea* was discover'd in the year 1471. in the days of *Don Alonso*, the fifth king of *Portugal*.

The cape of *Good-Hope*, and an hundred and fifty leagues to the eastward of it, as far as the haven of *Infanta*, was discovered by *Bartholomew Dias*, in the days of king *John II.* of *Portugal*, in 1459.

*Calicut*, and the other places in the *East Indies*, were discovered by *Vasco de Gama*, in 1497. and in the reign of *Don Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*.

The country of *Brazil* was discovered in 1500. by *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, upon the second voyage that was gone to the *East Indies*, in the time of *Don Emanuel* aforesaid.

The river of *Plate* was discovered by *Americus Vespatus*, in 1500. as he was going to find out a passage to the *Molucca's*, and employ'd by the same king *Emanuel*; but it is rather thought that *Dies de Solis*, and not *Americus*, was the first discoverer of it.

The *West Indies*, and especially the islands of *Lucayo's*, were discovered by *Christopher Columbus* in 1492.

The country of *Bacallao's*, alias *Newfoundland*, was discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, by the directions of *Henry VII.* king of *England*, two years after the discovery of the *West Indies*.

The country of *Florida* was discovered on *Easter-Day*, 1513. by *Ponce de Leon*, who went to find the island of *Bainco*, being told by the *Indians* there was a well there, that by drinking of the water it would make old men young.

The country of *Panuco* was discovered by *Francis de Garay* in 1513.

The country of *Yucatan* was discovered by *Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua* in 1517.

*Nombre de Dios*, the islands of *Jamaica*, the *Hondura's*, and many other places, were discovered by *Columbus*.

*Darien* was discover'd by *Hojeda* and *Nicuesa*, where they endured many calamities, hunger, and mutinies, and hurts.

The river of *Amazons*, and the river of *Orellana*, and all that coast, was discover'd by the *Pinjones* in 1500.

The *South Sea*, which was the happiest discovery of all others to the *Spaniards*, for that it led them to *Peru*, which yields them all their treasure, was found by *Vasco Nunez de Balboa* in 1513. a man in disgrace at that time with *Charles* the emperor.

The country of *Chile* was discovered by *Diego de Almagro*; and whether *Lima* was in the circuit of *Chile* or *Peru*, was the difference betwixt *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, which cost both their lives, and bred their ruins.

The country of *Maldivia* near *Chile* and *Peru*, was discover'd and conquered by *Peter Maldivia*.

The cape of *California* was discover'd by *Pedro Alvarez* in his voyage from port *Navidad* to the *Molucca's*.

*Gonsalves* was sent to discover a passage out of the *South Sea* into our ocean, at the time when the question was betwixt the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* about the trade of the *Molucca's*.

The country of *Cinaloa* and *Quivira* was discovered by *Francisco Vasques Coronado*; as also the country of *Granada*.

The *Philippine* islands were discover'd by *Michael Lopez* in 1564. he was employ'd by *D. Lewes de Vellasco* viceroy of *New-Spain*.

The islands of *Solomon* in the *South Sea* were discover'd from *Lima* in *Peru* by *Alvar de Mendolia* in 1568. and *Pedro de Sarmiento*, his lieutenant, whom I knew.

The *Streights of Magellan* were disco-

vered by *Ferdinand Magellaens*, a *Portuguese*, in 1520. employ'd by *Charles V.* then king of *Spain*.

The island of *Madera*, short of the *Canaries*, was discovered by *Machan* an *Englismen* in 1344.

*Russia*, or *Muscovy*, was discovered in the year 1553. in the reign of *Edward VI.* king of *England*. *Sir Hugh Willoughby* was sent upon the discovery; but he and his company perished in the harbour of *Urfena* in *Lapland*. *Richard Chaundler* being captain of another ship proceeded upon that discovery. *Cbery* island in *Greenland* was discovered by *Marmaduke of Hull*.

*Julius Agricola* was the first that failed about *England* and *Scotland*, and was the first that discovered the islands of *Orkney*; which he subdued.

### The Portuguese Discoveries on the Coast of Guinea, Castle de la Mina, and in the East Indies.

**G**UINEA was discovered, as you have heard, in the year 1471. and in the reign of *Don Alonso I.* who pretended title to *Spain* by his wife *Joan*, called the *Excellent*. King *John II.* of *Portugal*, and the thirteenth in descent, imagined that the spices that came into *Europe* might be brought by sea, and hearing there were christians in those parts of the world, both these things encouraged him to undertake the discovery.

*Bartholomew Dias*, an officer in the storehouse in *Lisbon*, was sent from *Castle de la Mina* to discover the length of the land of *Africk*, and found out the cape of *Good Hope*; from thence he sailed to the eastward one hundred and fifty leagues, to a port which he named *La Infanta*, and gave names to all places where he passed.

The king would not only rely upon his relation, but sent a *Franciscan* frier to find out the *Indies* by land; but the frier, for want of language, returned from *Jerusalem*: after that he sent two of his servants that were skilful in the *Arabick* language, the one called *Peter de Covillao*, the other *Alphonso de Paiva*: they departed from *Cintra* the 7th of *May*, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, they parted company; *Paiva* went to *Prester John's* country, where he died: *Covillao* travelled to *Calicut*, and other places of the *Indies*, where he informed himself fully and substantially of the whole country. In his return home he met with two jews that were sent from the king of *Portugal* to meet him, and to wish him to inform himself of the state of *Prester John*.

One of the two jews he sent back with a relation of the state of the *Indies*, the other he carried with him to *Ormus*, from whence

he likewise sent him to the king, to give an account of his voyage, and himself went to *Prester John*, where the king, whose name was *Alexander*, us'd him courteously; but he dying, the other that succeeded him detain'd him prisoner; so that he never lived to return to *Portugal*, or to send more information to the king his master.

The king having information sufficient by letters the jew brought him, he immediately cut down timber, and built two new ships for that discovery in 1495. and the 25th of *October*.

King *John*, in the mean time, died, and *Don Emanuel* succeeded, who added great fame to the kingdom of *Portugal*: he furnished the two ships aforesaid, the one of an hundred and twenty tons, and called her the *Angel Gabriel*, the other of one hundred tons, and nam'd her the *Raphael*, with one carvel he bought, and one other to carry victuals.

He appointed for general a servant of his call'd *Vasco de Gama*, well experienced in sea affairs: *Paul de Gama*, his brother, went captain of one ship, and *Nicholas Coello* of another, both of them being the king's servants. *Bartholomew Dias* was to accompany them to *Mina* in *Guinea*.

The 8th of *July*, 1497. he embark'd at *Belem* with an hundred and forty eight men: the pilot was *Pedro de Alanquer*, who had been pilot with *Bartholomew Dias* in his former voyage; and if they lost company, the place of meeting was in the island of *Cabo Verde*. They passed by the *Canaries*, and off the river of *Oro* they lost company for eight days in a storm; but met again at the island of *St. Augustin*, where they refreshed themselves for seven days.

The

The 3d of *August* *Vasco de Gama* went from thence, and left *Bartholomew Dias* behind; the 4th of *November* he spy'd land, and called it *St. Hellena*, supposing it had been thirty leagues from the cape of *Good Hope*: the people in this place would have betray'd him.

The 20th, being *Wednesday*, he doubled the cape: on *Sunday* he came to *St. Blase*, being a watering-place, sixty leagues from the cape. Here he stay'd ten days, and departed the eighth of *December*; and in going to the river of *Infanta*, he endured a great storm. Here he found gentle and civil *Negroes*; one of his company could speak the language of the *Negroes*; he named it *Terra da boa gente*, and the river *Cobro*.

The 15th of *January* he sailed along the coast, and met with *Negroes* of great civility in their boats, who gave him light of the *East Indies*, and he called this river *Bons Sinais*: here he staid thirty two days, to trim his ships, and erected a mark, which he called *St. Raphael*: the place was infectious, and his men began to be sick.

The first of *March* he came in sight of *Mosambique*, where they were taken to be *Moors*, and at first well used, but finding them to be christians, they would have betray'd them. Here they had news that *Calicut* was nine hundred leagues from thence, and took in a pilot that had been there; which comforted them much.

The first of *April* they came to certain islands which they called *Acoutada's*, because finding the pilot in a lye, here they whipped him, and he confessed he brought them thither to have cast them away, as also that he would have enticed them to *Quiloa*, making them believe that christians dwelled there. In this course the *St. Raphael* struck upon a shoal, and was miraculously preserved, and this shelve they call'd *St. Raphael*.

The 7th of *May* they came to *Mombasca*, where the people knowing them to be christians, and what had passed with them in *Mosambique*, they practised to betray them.

They came to *Melinde*, eighteen miles from *Mombasca*, a city built like the houses of *Portugal*, the king a *Moor*, but courteous, and glad of the *Portuguese* coming thither; he furnished them with pilots to *Calicut*; and here he met with four ships of christians of the *Indies*, who were wonderful glad to see them: those christians gave them warning not to trust the *Moors* of *Melinde*. The king entred into friendship with the king of *Portugal*.

The 22d they departed from *Melinde*, and crossed over the gulph, being seven hundred leagues, which they sailed in thirty two days, and never saw land.

The 24th of *May* they discovered land near *Calicut*, and there they found a *Moor* of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, who knew the *Portuguese* nation, and asked them in the devil's name, how they came thither? the *Moors* of *Calicut* contrived all treasonable practices they could against the *Portuguese*, and so prevailed with the king, that was ensued betwixt them, and so continued a long time after.

They returned from *Calicut*, where they escaped great danger of treason, and in their way fell with divers islands, where the people were willing they should erect a cross with the arms of *Portugal*: this place he called *Porto de Santa Maria*. He came to the island of *Anchedivi*, where he trimmed the ship, and watered: here was a spy sent to discover his forces; which spy counterfeited to be a christian, and born in *Italy*; but he was suspected to be as he was, and they racked him three times, and then he confessed his villany. The general carried this spy into *Portugal*, where he became a good christian, and gave great light of the affairs of the *East Indies*; which stood the *Portuguese* in great stead.

Before they arrived at *Melinde* they endured great misery; and if God had not instantly miraculously succoured them, the general's brother and *Nicholas Coello* were resolved to have returned to *Calicut*, and put themselves to the mercy of the king; but at last they spied land, which proved the city of *Magadoxa*, fairly built, and inhabited with *Moors*, one hundred and seventeen leagues from *Melinde*.

The first of *February* they came to *Melinde*; where they were well entertained, and the king accepted of a pillar, to be set up in sign of friendship with the king of *Portugal*, and sent an ambassador thither.

The 17th of *February* they departed, and the 20th following they burnt the *St. Raphael* for want of men, and took the general's brother out of her.

The 20th they came to the island of *Zanguebar*, where the king used them courteously, and from thence to *Mosambique*.

The 3d of *March* to the islands of *St. Blase*; the 20th they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and then sailed to the islands of *Cabo Verde*, where the general's brother fell sick, and hired a caravel to carry him to *Portugal*, because his own ship was weak and leaky.

Before his arrival at *Cabo Verde*, *Nicholas Coello* willingly lost his company, that he might carry the first news to the king of his discovery of the *Indies*, and came to *Cascais* on the 10th of *July*, 1499.

The general came to the *Tercera's*, where his brother died; and in *September* to *Beline*, where the king did him great honour, and made him earl of *Vidigueira*: he gave him the royal arms of *Portugal* for his outcheon, at the foot whereof were two doves, alluding to his name *Gama*.

In his second voyage he went general of thirteen ships and two caravels: he was most fortunate in that voyage, and discovered many lands and people, that afterwards proved both wealthy and profitable to the *Portuguese* by their trade.

Betwixt his first voyage and this second there were two others; the general of the one was *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, who departed from *Lisbon* the 7th of *March*, 1500. In his way to the *Indies* he discovered the country of *Brazil* in ten degrees, and sailing to the southward in seventeen degrees and a half, he came to an harbour which he called *Porto Seguro*.

*Cabral*, upon this discovery, sent a pinnace to the king to inform him of it, which at this day is more profitable to *Portugal*

than the trade of the *East Indies*.

*Cabral*, the 29th of *May*, setting out from the coast of *Brazil*, was taken with the most violent storm that ever was read of; the day seem'd to be as black as night, the sea to burn like fire: four of his ships were swallowed up in the sea, and *Bartolomeu Dias*, the discoverer of the *Cape of good Hope*, in one of them.

The unlucky entertainment in *Brazil* made after amends to the *Portuguese*; for at this day their sugars, and the wood of *Brazil*, yields them more profit than the precious stones, spices, or other merchandizes of the *East Indies*.

The first inhabiting of *Brazil* was with small charge and adventure, the people that went were desperate, and of the worst kind, rather to be banished for offenders, than any hope of profit that should accrue unto them but the country proved so plentiful and rich, that although they have received great detriments by the *Hollanders* in *Baya* and *Fernanbuco*, yet it will quickly be redeem'd again by peace.

#### *Some other Particulars concerning the East Indies.*

1. BEFORE I treat of any particulars of the *East Indies*, give me leave to put you in mind of some observations of mine, which will not be unworthy your perusal, seeing they are to be attributed only to God, who is the searcher of all hearts, and the discoverer of hidden secrets.

2. It is strange and surprizing, That out of so many flourishing nations as God hath created and civiliz'd, he should elect and chuse the kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great work of his, a country in those days of less esteem and reputation, of less renown and fame, and of less ability and valour, than any other christian monarchy we can call to mind, and to assign them such a time to effect it, when they enjoy'd a happy peace with their neighbours, and had no enemy to oppose or hinder their designs.

3. The first discovery, as you have heard, was to *Guinea* in 1471. where nothing appeared to the *Portuguese* but barbarous blacks, a strange and unseen sight to them, and not to be believ'd at their return, if process of time had not made it familiar to them by after-trafficke to confirm their report.

4. This discovery gave the light and way to all others that ensued upon it, as shall appear, like an art begun, that others take from one to another; but we must confess, the *Portuguese*, to their honour, were the first breakers of the ice, to give passage to all other strange countries; and

as *Guinea* yielded a complexion to their people that differed from us, as much as black from white; so did *America*, which was not long after made known to us, produce a sort of people differing from the *Europeans* in whiteness, and the *Africans* in blackness, but a mean betwixt both, and a colour like an olive; which to as many as have seen it, seems strange, considering that *Guinea* and *America* lie east and west, all in one parallel, so that in reason there should be no such difference.

5. This change in complexion, and the plentiful increase of gold in those climates, is attributed both to one cause, which is the heat and operation of the sun; and, in my opinion, not unproperly, as may be gathered out of the ensuing reasons.

6. The sun rising to the eastward, betwixt the two tropicks, runs its course westward over *Asia* and *Africa* till it come to the *Ocean Sea*, in which circuit its extreme heat ingenders the rich metal of gold, and changes the complexions of creatures to a black hue, which the heat reflects from the earth.

7. Coming to the ocean aforesaid, it passes the distance of 8 or 900 leagues over the air of the sea, and is cooled by it, as it was formerly heated by the land, that by the time it draws near the continent of *America*, it has lost great part of its vigour and force, and not able to produce that effect, as in *Africa*; and therefore is not able, as it were, to mellow the earth, and make

make it become gold, as after it does, when it has run its course the breadth of *America*, where its heat again ripens that matter and substance of gold: for we see, by experience, that the greatest quantity of gold is sent out of *Peru* into *Spain*, it being the westernmost part of *America*; when to the eastwardmost part thereof, as *Guiana*, and other places nearest us, never afford gold; and this for the reasons aforesaid, as I conceive.

8. But to return to the discovery of the *East Indies*: I will recite some particular blessings and benefits that God hath pour'd upon the world in general, upon *Europe* in particular, and upon the *Portugal* nation especially: for as they were the first discoverers, to their immortal honour, so all attempts by other nations, in other countries, must be attributed to them as a people that trod out the first path for others to walk in, as I will shew by reason hereafter in this book, when I come to treat of it.

9. This eastern discovery has resolv'd one doubt that no ecclesiastical or modern history could do before, which was the life and martyrdom of that holy apostle *St. Thomas*, as the monuments there make it manifest, and as a remnant of some christians in those desolate places, gave an infallible testimony.

10. And whereas in continuance of time many errors were crept in amongst those silly christians inclining to the *Greek* church, yet by the pains, travel, and danger of life, the *Portuguese* have brought them to the light of the truth, and have since increased the flock so abundantly, that the name and true worship of Christ is propagated in the uttermost parts of the world, yea, as far as *China* and *Japan*.

11. By the eastern discovery the length of *Africk* is butt'd out as far to the southward as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence to the eastward as far as the *Cape of Guarda Fu*; in which course we have found the *Red Sea* to fall into the eastern ocean, which before was not known to us in *Europe*.

12. By the eastern discovery, and our access to *China*, we have found out that guns, powder, and printing, were in use with them many hundreds of years before they were known to us western people: we may likewise add many other curious works, which to this day we cannot equal or imitate them in.

13. By this discovery we have disprov'd that opinion of the philosophers, and other learned writers, who maintained the impossibility of inhabiting under the *Torrid Zone*, for the excessive heat, which our daily voyages beyond the line have made familiar with us.

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14. By this discovery we have authentically proved, by fact, antipodes, a thing before held ridiculous by many, (*viz.*) That one people's feet are opposite to another's, which, till *Magellan* sailed round the world, could not be made plain.

15. By this discovery we found the two poles equal in their nature, and that the same effect the north star produces unto us on this side the line, the south does the like on the other side, but with this difference, That when it is summer with them, it is winter with us; and when it is summer with us, it is winter with them.

16. By this discovery we have found the strangeness of winds, to blow contrary to our climate, and should not have believed it, if experience had not shewed it: as, namely, the certain constancy of a wind to blow from the *Canaries* to the *West Indies*, betwixt the north and the east, and never to change; and then again, from the coast of *Brazil*, towards the *East Indies*, as far as *China*, we find a limited wind, certain in some places for three months, and in others for six; the day of their entrance and change being known to all people: and these are called the *Monsons*; but from whence the name is derived, whether before the christians access to those parts, I cannot find.

17. By this discovery we have found out strange and unheard of fishes; amongst the rest, and of most wonder, is the *Remora*, whose nature is to stop the way of a ship, and to bring her astern, though the wind be strong and large to carry her forward.

18. This fish has been heretofore writ of, and look'd upon as a poetical fiction, till a voyage in a carrack to the *East Indies*, put all men to silence; for the beak head of that ship was clasp'd about with a *Remora*, to the fear and wonder of the mariners; for they found themselves by the height to be an hundred leagues astern of their ordinary course; and at last finding the cause with labour and pains, they got this monster unglued; and at last the carrack arrived at the port of *Goa*, where, for the memorableness and strangeness of it, this ship, the captain, the day it happen'd, and her arrival, are publickly pictur'd, and to be seen to this day.

19. By this discovery we are come to the knowledge of many islands and rocks not known before, and some of them not above a quarter of a mile in compass, as namely, *La Peana de St. Pedro*, in four degrees to the northward of the line, all white, and like a sugar-loaf; the island of *St. Helena*; two miles in compass, healthfully seated, that yields plenty of water, fish, goats, and fruits, as well to us in our navigations from the *East Indies*, as to the *Portuguese* in times past. The island of *Ascension*, wholly

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barren,

barren, not affording so much as water: but the strangeness of these rocks and islands, is, That they are plac'd in the midst of the ocean, the nearest of them not being within one thousand three hundred miles of any main continent.

20. We are come to know the goodness and operation of the bezoar-stone, and of the beast it self that yields it. The cocoa of *Maldivia*, and the strange growth of it upon trees five or six fathom deep in the sea; the virtue whereof far exceeds the bezoar-stone.

21. By this discovery we have learnt many means for health by drugs, and choice things of nature, for man's body, the place of their growth, and the strangeness of them. We know the *Abada*, or rhinoceros, a beast that has a horn in its forehead, and is thought to be the unicorn: but it is not so, though it had the same virtue; for unicorn there is none.

22. By this discovery we are now served with our spices, drugs, precious stones, and all other *India* commodities, immediately from thence by the shipping of *Europe*, which was wont to be received by the way of *Turky*, at unreasonable prices, and at the will of the *Turk*.

23. By this discovery the *Portuguese* have brought in and settled the *Portuguese* language, which is now grown familiar and frequent in those parts of the world; they have built many famous cities and towns, erected bishopricks, churches, and monasteries; they have established temporal and spiritual laws, and the same form of government they enjoy and live under in their own country.

24. By this discovery they have found many strange kings, who govern their people with much civility, their towns and cities anciently built, their palaces of great majesty and pomp, and all things else answerable to their excellent policy, rule, and government.

*The Names of the Towns the Portuguese have in the East Indies, with their Form of Government.*

|                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Soffala.</i>                  | <i>Mangalor.</i>         |
| The island of <i>Mosambique.</i> | <i>Cananor.</i>          |
| The island of <i>Ormus.</i>      | <i>Cranganor.</i>        |
| <i>Diu.</i>                      | <i>Cochin.</i>           |
| <i>Daman.</i>                    | <i>Cortlan.</i>          |
| <i>Boçain.</i>                   | <i>Columbo</i> , in the  |
| <i>Cbail.</i>                    | island of <i>Ceylon.</i> |
| <i>Goa.</i>                      | <i>Negapatan.</i>        |
| <i>Onor.</i>                     | <i>St. Thomas.</i>       |
| <i>Barçalor.</i>                 | <i>Molacca.</i>          |
|                                  | <i>Molucco islands.</i>  |

*Ternate.*  
*Tydore.*

*Band.*  
*Boyna.*

*Goa* is the metropolitan city of all the *East Indies*, lies in the kingdom of *Decan*, and is an island twenty or thirty miles in compass, both pleasant and fruitful: the viceroy resides in this town, as does the metropolitan bishop of the whole *Indies*.

The carracks arrive from *Portugal* in this port of *Goa*, unless they be forced about the island of *St. Lawrence*, which if they be, they can fetch no harbour nearer than *Cochin*, which is the place the carracks use to take in their lading in their return to *Portugal*.

The winter in *Goa* begins the 15th of *May* with very much rain, and so continues till the 15th of *August*; and during that space no ship can pass over the bar of *Goa*, because the continual showers of rain drive all the sands together near a mountain called *Oghana*, whence they spread themselves over the shoals of the bar, and into the port of *Goa*, whence they can find no way out, but continue there till the 10th of *August*, when the rain ceases, and the sea drives the sands away again.

*How a new Viceroy is declared, in case the old one dies; and of the several Titles given to Persons serving in the East Indies.*

If a viceroy dies in the *East Indies*, there are always five *Via's*, as they call them, which are letters under the king's seal, figured 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, which they open according to their figures, beginning with number 1, and so on, in case those named in the first be dead, till they lite of one whom the king has appointed viceroy. These letters are kept by the jesuits, and opened at mass, in the presence of all the nobility and others, with great solemnity and state.

*Fidalgo da casa del Roy nosso senhor*; This is a gentleman of the king's house, and the chief title.

*Mofos Fidalgos*. An honourable title, and are commonly gentlemens sons, or advanced by the king's favour.

*Cavalleiros Fidalgos*: This is a title of a knight, and much abus'd by base people that are made so.

*Mofos de Camara*: These are the king's servants, some of his chamber, some of his accounts, and some for other service; and this is the first degree of credit; and as they deserve, so they are advanced to better.

*Escudeiros Fidalgos*: These are esquires.



*Homes Hourados*: This is the meanest rank amongst them; every man that serves the king in the *Indies*, is paid according to those titles; and when they return with their certificates into *Portugal*, under the hand of the viceroy and *Matricola-General*, the king prefers them according to their titles and places.

*The several Countries from whence East India Commodities are brought.*

Cloves from the *Molucca* islands; mace and nutmegs from *Banda*, *Java*, and *Malaca*; pepper from *Malabar*; cinamon from *Ceylon*; pearls taken at a place called *Babarem* in the *Persian Gulph*, in *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*; sandel from *Cochin* and *Malaca*; all *China* commodities from thence, as quicksilver, white sucket, camphir, lignum aloes, *China* roots, fine silk and latten; galls from *Cambaya*, *Bengala*, and *Siria*; ginger from *Cambaya*, and many other parts; wax and long pepper from *Bengala*; musk from *Tartary*, by the way of *China*; coco de *Maldivia* from the shores of *Maldivia*; indico from *Zindi* and *Cambaya*; long pepper from *Bengala* and *Malaca*; opium from *Pegu* and *Cambaya*; aloes soccatrina from the island of *Soccatora*, where *St. Thomas* was shipwrecked; manna and wormseed from *Persia*; rhubarb from *Persia* and *China*; callicoe from *Calicut*.

*Some Particulars of the Carracks Navigation to the East Indies.*

Every man that goes, puts in security to perform the voyage; and if he goes not, pays dearly for it.

The master and pilot have for their pay, outward and homeward, seventy five pounds each; but the room allowed them to carry commodities, they commonly let out for five thousand ducats; no officer that goes, but buys his place of the provisor.

The boatswain has for his wages one hundred twenty five ducats, and three thousand ducats freight; the quarter-master has for his wages seventeen shillings and six pence per month, and two thousand six hundred ducats freight; and every other officer according to his rate and proportion. The factors and the purfers have no pay, only their cabins allowed, which will stow twenty pipes of wine apiece, and a cabin aloft to lie in.

There is no difference in their allowance of victuals, every man has thirty two pound of flesh a month, onions, garlick, dried fish eaten at the beginning of the voyage. Sugar, raisons, honey, prunes, rice, and such things are kept for the sick men.

Every man makes his own provision to dress his meat, as wood, pans, pots, &c.

There are officers for the king that give the same allowance to the soldiers; for the soldiers and sailors are served apart.

In their return the king pays no soldiers; and such soldiers as come home are passengers, and have no allowance, either of meat or wages.

The sailors in their return have no allowance of meat, only bread and water, till they come to the *Cape of good Hope*, and then they make provision themselves; they are only allowed the stowage of their chest below, which if they sell, they may have eighty ducats for it.

No soldier that comes home, as aforesaid, can depart the *Indies* without a pass from the viceroy; and they must serve there five years before they can have it.

In sailing to the *Indies*, sometimes they keep too much to the coast of *Brasil*, and are forced home again, because they cannot double the shores of *Abrolhos*.

The ship that goes from *Mosambique* to *Goa*, no man can adventure in, but the captain of *Mosambique*, and such persons as are married in the town; for none but married men are suffered to live there, because of peopling the place, which is very unwholesome, and infectious.

The government of *Mosambique* is worth to the captain for his three years, three hundred thousand ducats; but after his three years, he is bound to serve at the command of the viceroy three years more, unless he have a special patent from the king to the contrary.

*The brave Exploits of the Portuguese at Adem, and other Places.*

The great success of the *Portuguese* purchased them both fame and envy, as well from christian princes as turks; and *Soliman the Magnificent*, in the year 1537. attempted, by his bassa *Soliman*, in *Egypt*, a voyage against the *Portuguese* at *Adem*, upon the mouth of the *Red Sea*.

He furnished himself with eighty brave ships, twenty five foists, four galleasses, twenty galleys, and seven other vessels; all which he carried from *Cairo* to *Suze* in pieces, being eighty miles by land.

With these forces he resolutely besieged *Adem*, which was defended by greater valour by the *Portuguese* and their governour *Francisco de Almada*.

The *Turks* were forced to retire with great shame; carrying some few *Portuguese* they had taken prisoners to *Constantinople*, and committing most barbarous cruelty upon them.

*Don Alonso de Albuquerque*, with thirty ships won *Calicut*; with twenty one he took *Goa*; with twenty three *Malaca*; with twenty

ty six he entred the *Red Sea*; with twenty two he recovered *Ormuz*. *Lopes* made a voyage into the *Red Sea* with thirty seven galleys. *Lopes de Sequiera* with twenty four ships laid siege to *Guida*.

*Henry de Meneses* wasted *Paitan* with fifty ships: *Lopes Vas* left in the arsenal one hundred thirty six ships of war, very well furnished: *Nuno d'Acuna* undertook the expedition to *Diu* with thirty six ships.

*The famous Exploit of Ferdinand Magellaens, who first sailed round the World.*

THE honourable exploits and enterprises of the *Portuguese* nation ceased not, but still one or other of them was in action, and would not be satisfy'd till they had brought to light the western parts of the world, as by their endeavour and labours they had done the eastern; for it seems they had an opinion of the world's roundness, and that by a ship sailing westward, and another eastward, they might meet together by consent, if the western sea could be discovered.

The man that first undertook to resolve this doubt, was *Ferdinand Magellaens*, a *Portuguese* by nation, and a gentleman by birth, who having lived seven years in the *East Indies*, and pondering with himself, that the world was round, thought there might be another way to the *Molucco* islands, besides the common known course by the cape of *Good Hope*; and was the more emboldened to it by a kinsman of his own, *Juan Serrano*, who dwelt in the *Molucco's*.

Upon his return to *Portugal*, what the occasion was, is unknown; but he and another gentleman, called *Rui Falero*, left the service of their king in 1516. and offered it to cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbishop of *Toledo*, and governor of *Spain*, upon the death of king *Ferdinando*.

*Don Emanuel* king of *Portugal* hearing of the flight of these two servants of his, sent to expostulate their departure, accusing them as fugitives; and his subjects, and unfit for any prince to entertain; and fought to divert their proposition of a new discovery, but could not prevail with the cardinal.

*Rui Falero* was so highly concerned for leaving the king's service, and the dishonour that would redound to him by it, that for very grief he run mad, and dy'd. But *Magellaens* being honoured with the order of knighthood of *St. James*, proceeded upon his voyage, and set sail the 20th of *September* from *St. Lucar*; and in the year 1519. he arrived at *Tenriff*, one of the *Canary Islands*, on the 26th of the same year.

Then coming into twenty two degrees, on the coast of *Brasil*, he found a harbour, and called it the river of *Serrano*, after the name of his pilot; from thence he went to port *St. Julian*, where he wintered, and there his death was conspired by some captains, and others of his company, who

were executed for it in the said port of *St. Julian*.

*Mr. Douty*, that conspired the death of *Sir Francis Drake*, (as *Sir Francis* seem'd to pretend,) was there executed; and in this island they found a part of the *Magellaens* gallows, on which his men were hanged; from hence *Magellaens* came to the river of *Santa Cruz*, where one of his ships was lost, but the men saved. Sailing thirty leagues further, he came to a cape, which he called by the name of *Ursula*, because it was upon *St. Ursula's* day he there entered the *Streights*, and one of his ships forsook him, and returned home, whereof *Stephen Gomes* was pilot.

He found the *Streights* an hundred and thirty leagues in length, and two in breadth, the shore deep, and land full of snow, though it lay but in fifty two degrees; the point from whence he discovered the *South Sea*, he called *Cape Descado*, and placed a cross on it, as a token for his ship, which he did not think was returned; now did he conjecture the *Molucco's* were not far from him, but herein he was deceived.

From the *Streights* he sailed three months, and never saw land, and was put to wonderful extremity for want of victuals, and many of his men died with hunger. The first island he fell in withal, he found uninhabited; and being two hundred leagues one from another, he called them *Unfortunate Islands*; then came he to other islands, which he called *Ladrones*, because they were all thieves, and like gypsies.

The 18th of *March* 1721. he landed upon an island called *Zamal*, thirty leagues from the *Ladrones*, uninhabited; yet he staid there to refresh his men upon it; and after arrived at an island called *Zaloan*, where he found civil usage; and so many islands there together, that they called the sea *Archipelago de Lazaro*.

He passed by the islands *Cenalo*, *Huynan*, and many others, till he came to the island of *Botman*, where he was civilly entertain'd, and at *Catagan*.

He went, by the help of pilots from one island to another, till he came to *Cebu*, which is the best island of the rest. The 7th of *April* he sent to visit the king of *Cebu*, who used him courteously; and here he met with some *Moors*, who told the king of their countrymen

countrymen the *Portuguese* being at *Malaca*, and in the *Indies*: the king of *Cebu*, with his queen, and all the whole island was baptiz'd, the king called *Charles* after the emperor, his son *Ferdinand*, after his brother; and here they destroy'd all their idols.

Not far from *Cebu* there is another island call'd *Matan*, where the king refused to pay tribute to *Magellan* in the emperor's behalf; whereupon he made war with him, and was unfortunately slain, with eight of his company; which in my opinion was great folly in *Magellan* to adventure his life against a people and island that never christian was likely to come to more.

After his death, his company chose *John Serano* and *Barbofa*, *Portuguese*, for their commanders. *Serano* was after betray'd by his interpreter, and himself and thirty of his men slain; and as many taken prisoners. Upon this disaster the king of *Cebu* renounced his religion, beat down the churches and crosses, and returned to his ancient idolatry. Eight of the thirty that were taken prisoners were sold into *China*; and within few days after *Magellan's* death, they had news of the *Molucco* islands. Going from *Matan* they found an island called *Bobolli*, where they burnt one of their three ships, to furnish the other two.

They came to the island called *Ponayoton*, the people being most black; from thence they went to *Chippit*, to *Cagayan*, and to *Pulon*; to the island of *Barneo*, where the king entertain'd them with great magnificence.

They arrived at the island of *Ciumbabon*, where they staid forty days to trim their ships, to take in water, wood, and other necessaries: some of the men by this time were altogether without cloaths; and there they found leaves, which, when they fell from the trees, would move and stir as though they were alive; and being cut, blood would come out of them.

In sailing to *Tugimnor* and *Solo*, they pass'd the sea of *Weeds*, and in those islands found great pearls; and then they went to the island of *Baytan* and *Callagan*, where they took a canoe, that informed them of the *Molucco* islands; and passing by many other islands, on the 8th of *November*, 1581. they arrived at the *Molucco's*, and the island of *Tydore*, where they were honourably entertain'd by the king. He told them, he had seen in the heavens certain signs, that such ships, and such men as they were, should come to that island; and for the more friendship with the emperor, he would have his island called no more *Tydore*, but *Castile*: this king was a *Moor* by religion.

The king of the island of *Gilolo* was a pagan, but came to them with great friend-

ship: both these kings accompanied them to the island of *Marc*, and when they parted, it was with tears. From thence they came to the islands of *Cbacovan*, *Lagoma*, *Sicbo*, *Grocke*, *Caiphe*, *Cbulacco*, *Lumittola*, *Terenton*, *Ambiton*, *Budia*, and many others, till they came to *Gallion* and *Moula*, where they staid fifteen days to mend their ship.

They arrived from *Moula* to *Tymor* on the 15th of *January*, 1522. and here the men mutinied. In this island they found great store of white sanders; and in it the *French* pox is very rife and common; and coming to *Tuida*, they had plenty of cinnamon; from hence they directed their course to the cape of *Good-Hope*, shunning the sight of the island of *Sumatra*, or any other land.

After many days sailing with contrary winds, at last they came to the cape of *Good Hope*, and finding their want and extremity so great, many of them moved to return to *Mosambique*, and to submit themselves to the mercy of the *Portuguese*; but most voices withstood it, though half the men were dead.

After a long navigation they came to the islands of *Cabo Verde*, and set their boat on shore, where fourteen of them were betray'd by the *Portuguese* of that island; and *John Sebastian Cano*, then captain, who had outliv'd all the other commanders, perceiving the falshood of the *Portuguese*, he hoisted sail, and directed his course to *St. Lucar* in *Andalusia*, where he arrived on the 6th of *September*, 1522. with only eighteen *Spaniards* of all those he carried with him, having been upon the voyage three years wanting fourteen days, and celebrated monday for sunday, (that is to say,) one day's difference in computation.

The other ship turned back, by reason of her weakness, towards *New Spain*; and being crossed five months with contrary winds, was forced back again to the *Molucco* islands, where she met a fleet of five ships of the king of *Portugal's*, commanded by one *Brito*, who took both ship and goods, and sent the men prisoners to *Malaca*: this afterwards bred great contention between the two kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

*An Addition of the Authors concerning this Voyage of Magellan.*

This voyage of *Magellan* decided a long and difficult controversy amongst the learned, as well divines as others; some being of opinion that the world was round, others not; and amongst the rest, that famous father of the church, *St. Augustin*, held that the world was not round, as is apparent by his works.

But *Magellan's* ship having failed about it, as by his voyage is manifest, has quashed the erroneous opinions of those that denied the roundness of it.

In my opinion, if the world had been certainly known to be round, as no doubt but it was imagin'd by *Columbus*, it might be a great motive, and indeed an unanswerable reason to animate and encourage him to the discovery of a new land, after the open sea of the cape of *Good Hope* was known, and the *East Indies* found out by the *Portuguese*.

For he could not be so ignorant, but understand, that by running a westerly course from the *Canary Islands*, if he were not interrupted by a land, the sea would conduct him to a place discovered by the *Portuguese* in the *East Indies*; and then, if the worst befel him that could, yet he should be able to shake hands with the *Portuguese*, his neighbours, in the most remote regions of the world.

*A Difference betwixt the Spaniards and the Portuguese about the East Indies.*

The *Streights* being newly discovered, which took the name of *Magellan*, and gave an entrance in the *South Sea*, and by consequence unto the *Molucco* islands, added fuel to the fire before kindled between *Charles I.* emperor and king of *Spain*, and *Don John II.* of *Portugal*, about the right of those islands, to whom they should belong; upon the division of the new world.

This bred a long question between the two princes, till it was accommodated, as shall appear in my discourse of the northern passage.

As all good successes encourage men to follow the steps of the treaders-out of the way, even so did this discovery the more animate them, because it brought with it both honour and profit, not only by the places discovered, but by the known wealth they yielded; and out of hope that other enterprizes might prove as famous and commodious, the *Spaniards* neglected no occasion to second his late discovery; and therefore in the year 1525. this tract and passage was attempted by *Garcia de Louisa*, a knight of *Malta*, with seven ships, and four hundred and fifty men.

He departed from the *Groyn* with unfortunate success, himself pass'd the *Streights*, but died in the voyage; some of his ships were lost, others put into *New Spain*; his own ship arriv'd at the island of *Tydore* in the *Molucco's*, another came to the island of *Bachiam*, where the king thereof entered his ship under

colour of friendship, slew the captain, his brother, and took all the men prisoners: another was lost in *Candiga*; and, to conclude, they all fell into the hands of their enemies, either *Portuguese* or islanders.

*Vargas* bishop of *Placentia*, sent seven ships out of *Bilboa* to the *Molucco's*; only one of them pass'd the *Streight*, and arrived at *Arequipa*, a port in the *South Sea*, and went no further: this ship was the first that discovered the lying of the coast of *Peru*.

Notwithstanding the many disgraces and losses the *Spaniards* received by this new found *Streight*, yet it did nothing dishearten them; but they tried by all ways and means how they might have access to the *Molucco* islands, by another way than by the cape of *Good Hope*; and *Ferdinand Cortes*, the conqueror of *New Spain*, by order of the emperor, sent two ships with four hundred men, in the year 1528. the general *Alvaro Serou*, to seek the *Molucco's* from *New Spain*; which succeeded no better than the rest had done; neither was the *Streights* left off, but often attempted by these that follow.

The second enterprize after *Magellan*, was by two ships of *Genoa*, which arrived at the mouth of it, and one of them with a storm was cast away at the river of *Plate*, the captain called *Pancoleon*; the other in 1526. returned home.

*Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, would have pass'd the *Streights*, but could not; he returned to the river of *Plate*, being then employ'd by *Don Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*.

*Americus Vesputius* was sent likewise by *Don Emanuel* to find the *Streights*; but neither could find the *Streight*, nor yet the river of *Plate*.

*Simon de Alcasara* went with divers ships and four hundred and forty *Spaniards*; but before they came to the *Streights*, they mutiny'd, and ten or twelve being slain, returned.

From this year, till the year 1577. the attempt of the *Streights* lay dead, not any one seeking to enterprize it, till *Sir Francis Drake* had it in agitation, and performed it with as great a resolution, to the general honour of our nation.

It was after this, and in the 1586. begun and performed by *Mr. Cavendish*. The time of his departure from *England*, his days of sailing, the space he was abroad, and the time of his return, shall appear in a brief repetition I have made by way of journal, with some addition of *Sir Francis Drake* himself, which is the next that follows.

*An Introduction to Sir Francis Drake's Voyage about the World.*

I Have laboured in all my relations to walk uprightly, and with integrity, neither swaying to the one hand, or bending to the other; I have endeavoured to carry my intentions so equally, as not to deserve blame for too much commending; nor reproof, for detracting more than truth leads me; and as I have begun so indifferently, so will I continue as sincerely, and say somewhat of this noble gentleman Sir *Francis Drake*, who is to enter into the next rank of my discourse.

There is no man so perfect, but is fit to be amended; nor none so evil, but he has something in him to be praised: and comparing the imperfections of Sir *Francis Drake* with his perfections, the world, and not I, shall truly judge of his merits.

His detractors lay to his charge the baseness of his birth and education, his ostentation, and vain-glorious boasting; his high, haughty, and insolent carriage; and except against his sufficiency for a general, though they allow him to be an able captain.

His friends and favourers answer in his behalf, That the meanness of his birth was an argument of his worth; for what he attained to, was by no other means than merit. They say, that every man is son to his works; and what one has by his ancestors, can scarcely be called his own; that virtue is the cause of preferment, and honour but the effect; that a man is more to be esteemed for being virtuous, than being called worshipful; the one is a title of honour, the other desert.

*Marius* being upbraided by *Sylla* in the like manner, for the baseness of his birth, and haughtiness of carriage, answered, That he was not of so great a family as *Sylla*, yet *Sylla* could not deny but that he was the better man; for in *Sylla's* house were painted the acts of his forefathers; but in his were hung up the banners that he himself had won from his enemy.

In vindication of Sir *Francis Drake's* ostentation and vain-glory, they say it was not inherent to him alone, but to most men of his profession and rank. It is true, he would speak much and arrogantly, but eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his education could yield him those helps of nature. Indeed he had four properties to further his gift of speaking, (*viz.*) His boldness of speech, his understanding in what he spoke, his inclination to speak, and his use in speaking; and though vain-glory is a vice not to be excused, yet he obtain'd that fame by his actions, that facility in speaking, and that wisdom by his experience,

that I can say no more, but that we are all the children of *Adam*.

His friends further say, That his haughtiness and high carriage is somewhat excusable, when it appears not but in his command; for a general ought to be stern towards his soldiers, courageous in his person, valiant in fight, generous in giving, patient in suffering, and merciful in pardoning: and if Sir *Francis Drake* was to be praised for most of these virtues, let him not be blam'd or condemn'd for one only vice. Many times where a man seeks obedience, it is imputed to his pride and high carriage; but if people's hate grew upon envy, (as it is likely,) it appeared greater than if it had been grounded upon injury.

The exceptions against him by those that condemn him as an ill general, are, his neglect of furnishing his fleet to the *Indies* in 1585. his not keeping *Santo Domingo* and *Cartagena*, when he was possessed of them in that voyage; his weak preparation for such an expedition as that of *Portugal*; his promise to go up to *Lisbon* that voyage, and non-performance; the taking of the pinnace in his way to the *Indies*, which discovered his directions in 1595. All these I formerly handled; and refer the reader to the place where they are treated of; though something I will say of him, as he was a private captain, and especially of his renown'd voyage about the world, being the first attempt of that nature that ever was performed by any nation, except the *Spaniards* themselves: and it was the more honour to him in that the *Streights of Magellan* were counted so terrible in those days, that the very thoughts of attempting it were dreadful; secondly, in that it had been but once passed, and but by one ship that ever return'd into *Europe*, and that above sixty nine years before his enterprize. His praise was, That he could carry a voluntary action so discreetly, so patiently, and so resolutely, in so tedious and unknown a navigation, the condition of seamen being apt to repine and murmur. But, lastly, and principally, that after so many miseries and extremities he endured, and almost two years spent in unpractised seas, when reason would have bid him sought home for his rest, he left his known course, and ventured upon an unknown sea in forty eight degrees; which sea or passage we know had been often attempted by our seas, but never discovered.

This attempt alone must silence all his detractors; for it shew'd an extraordinary resolution in his person, a special desire

fire to enrich and benefit his country, and a singular patience to endure the disasters and mishaps that befel them.

And yet he must not go so clear without stain or blemish: for you must know, that though he deserved well in the direction and carriage of his journey, yet the ground of his enterprize was unjust, wicked, and unlawful, his design being to steal, and thereby to disturb the peace of princes, to rob the poor traveller, to shed the blood of the innocent, and to make wives widows, and children fatherless.

No man had more experience of the inconstancy of fortune than he; for the nature of fortune is to bite when she flatters, and to strike when she is angry.

What his birth and other deserts were, needs no reiteration. Fortune did much for him; but at his death she was angry with him: first, in that there was a doubt whether it was natural; secondly, and the best his friends can say, that it was caused by grief, for failing of his expectation in that voyage; thirdly, after his meritorious services, his heir was prosecuted and perplexed for debts and accounts to the crown; and lastly, died, like *Pisarro* and *Almagro*, without a child to succeed him, and perpetuate his memory.

*Sir Francis Drake's Voyage round the World.*

**S**IR Francis Drake departed from *Plymouth* with five ships and a pinnace on the 13th of *December*, 1577. The 25th he fell in with the coast of *Barbary*; the 29th of *December* with the isle of *Mayo* and cape *Ferd*; the 13th of *March* he passed the equinoctial line; the fifth of *April* he fell in with *Brazil*, and in thirty degrees, and so to the river of *Plate*; where he lost the company of two of his ships; but meeting them again, took out their provisions and cast them off.

The 29th of *May* they came to *St. Julian's* port, where the people were extraordinary tall of stature, and *Magellan* termed them giants. This was the place where *Mr. Douty* was executed the 7th of *July*, 1578. and in the same island where *Magellan* executed his mutiniers, as I have shew'd before.

*A Short Account of Mr. Cavendish's Voyage round the World in the Year 1586.*

**T**HIS voyage into the *South Sea* was often attempted by sundry *Englishmen* after *Sir Francis Drake* had led the way, but never any of them had the fortune or happiness to perform it, but only *Mr. Ca-*

The 20th of *August* he fell in with the *Streight of Magellan*; the 25th of *September* he passed them; the 25th of *November* he came to *Machob*, a port in *Peru*, in thirty degrees, where he had appointed a meeting, if the ships had lost company; but captain *Winter* was returned home after he had passed the *Streights*. The 25th of *December* he came to *St. Jacob*; the 29th to *Cippo*, where the *Spaniards* armed three hundred men against them.

In *February* he arrived in *Chile*; the 15th at *Lima*; the 16th of *March* at *Acaculco*, where he felt a terrible earthquake in his ship. From the 16th of *April*, till the 5th of *June*, he sailed without seeing land, and arrived in forty eight degrees, thinking to find a passage into our seas, which land he named *Albion*: the people were courteous, and took his men for gods; they live in great extremity of cold and want. Here they trimmed their ship, and departed the 25th of *July*, 1579. standing his course for the *Molucco's*.

The 29th of *September* he fell in with certain islands, where he met with the worst-condition'd people of all his voyage; the 19th of *October* he came to *Mendiana*, where he water'd; then to the islands *Tagolada* and *Saron* the 1st of *November*; the 4th he had sight of the *Molucco's*; and coming to *Ternate*, was kindly and civilly used by the king; the 10th of *December* to *Celebes*; and here his ship struck upon a rock, but was most miraculously preserved: he came near to *Beratin*, where he was refreshed, but found the people cruel. The 16th of *March* he came to *Java Major*, thinking to go from thence to *Malaca*, but necessity forced him to direct his course homeward. The 25th of *March* 1580. he departed from *Java*; the 15th of *June* he passed the cape of *Good-Hope*, having fifty seven men, and but three butts of water; the 12th of *July* he came under the line; the 16th he fell in with the coast of *Guinea*, and there watered; the 22d of *August* into the height of the *Canaries*; the 11th of *September* into the height of *Tercera*; the 24th in sight of *Scilly*; the 25th to *Plimouth*, where he was well welcomed, and his ship afterwards carried to *Depiford*; where she lies to this day for a monument, and himself knighted in her, as he worthily deserved.

*vendish*, whose voyages I briefly treat of next.

*Mr. Cavendish*, having spent his best means at court, thought to recover himself again by a voyage into the *South Sea*; for then

then the wars with *Spain* began, and it was lawful to make any spoil upon the *Spaniards*. According to his hope, he enriched himself with a greater fortune than was left him at first, if discretion had taught him how to manage it.

He built two ships from the stocks for this voyage, and departed from *Plimouth* on the 21st of *July*, 1586. The 5th of *August* he fell into the *Canaries*; the 27th of *September* he departed from *Sera Leona* in *Guinea*; the 25th of *October* he fell in with the coast of *Brazil*; the 6th of *January* he put into the *Streights* of *Magellan*, where he found but twenty two *Spaniards* alive of three hundred which *Diego Flores de Valdes* left there, in his unfortunate voyage he undertook to intercept the *English* in their passage that way.

The 27th of *February* they were out of the *Streights*; the 14th of *March* came to the island of *St. Maria* and *Chile*; after to *Marmorano*, and the town of *Irica*; the 4th of *May*, 1587. he came to *Pista*, from thence to *Cberipa*, to *Paita*, and to the island of *Puna*.

The 12th of *July* he passed the equinocial; the 28th he came to *Acapulco*, which he burnt; the 13th of *August* to the port of *Navidad*, and then to *St. Jago*; the 3d of *September* to the bay of *Compostella*; the 12th to the island of *St. Andrew*; the 26th to the bay of *Massedan*, and so to the port of *Aquacara*, near the cape of *California*, where he lay till the 4th of *November*, and took his great and rich prize that came from the *Philippine* islands.

In forty four days he went to the islands of *Ladrones*, being nigh two thousand leagues from thence; the island he fell in withal was called *Guana*: the 14th of *January* to the *Philippines*, he fell in with *Tandaya*, then to *Manila*, and so to the *Molucco's*, he passed by the islands of *Mindanab*, *Sibolla*, and *Borneo*; the 28th to *Java Major*; the 29th of *May* he fell in with the cape of *Good Hope*; the 7th of *June* with the island of *St. Hellena*; the

4th of *July* 1588. he passed the line, being the 4th time he had passed it.

The 24th of *August* he saw *Flores* and *Corvo*; the 3d of *September* he met a *Flemish* hulk, that told him the good success of our navy against the *Spaniards* in 1588. the 5th he met with captain *Clarke* of *Southampton*, who had taken a *Brazil* man, and entering into our channel, he was in a more violent storm and imminent danger than in his whole voyage, as he told me himself; the 9th he came with great joy to *Plimouth*, and was received with much applause for his honourable enterprize, as he well deserved.

As there were divers *Englishmen* that attempted this voyage to the *South Sea*, and only two performed it, as you have heard; so there were two others that passed the *Streights*, but not with the like success, (*viz.*) *Sir Richard Hawkins* in 1593. who found the *Spaniards* better provided than when *Drake* and *Cavendish* were there; the *Spaniards* having intelligence of his coming, after a long and cruel fight, took and carried him and his ship to *Lima*, where he remained prisoner till 1597. and was then brought for *Spain* in that fleet I met and fought at the *Tercera* islands.

The other that passed the *Streights* was *Mr. John Davies*, the discoverer to the north-west, who being captain of the *Desire* with *Mr. Cavendish* in his second voyage, and the same ship he had performed his voyage about the world in, repassed the *Streights* when *Mr. Cavendish* could not; but by contrary winds and foul weather, was forced to return back again.

Captain *Davies* was after slain in his second voyage to the *East Indies*. These two voyages of *Drake* and *Cavendish* proved so happy, that they encouraged not only *Englishmen*, but *Hollanders* to enterprize it, hoping to annoy the *Spaniards*, those *Streights* giving a passage to *Peru*, which afforded the greatest wealth in the world.

*Of such Englishmen as attempted the Passage of the Streights, and failed.*

IN the year 1582. and two years after *Drake's* return, her majesty sent two ships, and two pinnaces, under the command of *Mr. Edward Fenton*, to try his fortune in the *South Sea*; which the king of *Spain* hearing, he employ'd *Diego Flores de Valdes*, (who was after general of the *Castile* Squadron for *England* in 1588.) to way-lay *Fenton*, as he passed the *Streights* of *Magellan*; which *Mr. Fenton* being informed of, when he arrived at *Brazil*, and

in the same port where two of *Flores's* ships had stay'd, and with whom he had a small encounter; and perceiving it was in vain to proceed any farther, he returned home without seeing the *Streights*.

This voyage of *Flores*, from the beginning to the latter end, proved most miserable and unfortunate; for besides the loss of the greatest part of his fleet and men in going and coming, he built a fort within the *Streights*, and placed in it for governor

*Pedro Sarmiento*, with five hundred *Spaniards*, who perished, as I have before expressed.

1586. The earl of *Cumberland*, on the 26th of *June*, sent two ships and two pinnaces to pass the *Streights*, in the year after the war broke out betwixt *England* and *Spain*. These ships arrived in forty four degrees upon the coast of *Brasil*, to the southward of the line, intending to prosecute their design for the *South Sea*; but being in want of all things necessary for such a voyage, they proceeded no farther.

1589. Mr. *Cbidley*, being encouraged by the good success of Mr. *Cavendish*, who the 9th of *September* before, arrived from his prosperous voyage, sold the better part of his estate to furnish him in this expedition for the *South-Sea*; but his success proved

most lamentable, himself and most of his men dying without seeing the *Streights*, or returning a penny profit towards his expence.

Mr. *Cavendish* having spent what he got in his former voyage, attempted a second; but with the like success as Mr. *Cbidley*, both as to death, and failing of the sight of the *Streights*, except in his ship the *Desire*, which I have spoken of. 1591.

Mr. *Benjamin Wood*, a mariner by profession, but more understanding than ordinary mariners, undertook this voyage with one ship and a pinnace belonging to Sir *Robert Dudley*; but there was never any news of ship or man, being supposed to be cast away upon the shoals of *Abrolhos*, which lie in seventeen degrees to the southward upon the coast of *Brasil*. 1596.

### *Of such Holland Ships as have passed the Streights; but to little Purpose or Profit.*

1597. FIVE ships went from *Holland*, and passed the *Streights of Magellan*, only one of them returned by the cape of *Good Hope*. In those ships there went several *Englishmen*, and particularly one called Mr. *Adams of Lymehouse*. This man afterwards arrived at the island of *Japan*, where he was much esteemed by the people of that country, and found means from thence to give advertisement into *England* of his being there, and the state of that country, with desire that our merchants would undertake the trade of *Japan*: he was so industrious and careful to benefit his country, that if he had lived, he intended to have attempted a passage from thence to *England*, by the north-east, which has been often enterpriz'd from hence, but still failed. But I do not approve of his opinion herein; for that in winter the *Monsons* always blow southerly, a season of continual night; and in summer northerly, full in their teeth, as they should pass.

1614. Five other ships of *Holland* passed the *Streights*, only their pinnace was cast away before she entered the *Streights*, which ships and captains I well knew.

1623. The *Nassau* fleet departed from *Holland* with the greatest pride and assurance of profit that men could do. They were termed the *Nassau* fleet, because the prince of *Orange* was the greatest adventurer in them.

They were furnished with an extraordinary expence, and choice men, both of soldiers and sailors; but passing the *Streights*, and coming into the *South Sea*, they found the world much altered in those parts since *Drake's* and *Cavendish's* being there; for wheresoever they offered to land, they were repulsed with loss and shame; so that in conclusion they could not perform so much with fourteen or fifteen choice and brave ships, and two or three thousand men, as Mr. *Cavendish* had done with one ship alone of an hundred and twenty ton and thirty men, he having landed in several places.

*Cornelius Van Scowton* discovered a new passage into the *South Sea*, three degrees to the southward of the *Streights of Magellan*; in which voyage he arrived at many islands, in his course to the *East Indies*, that were never discovered or known before, where he found people of several complexions; but none of those places where he arrived gave any great hope or promise of profit, if the navigation thither had been easy. 1615.

This shall suffice touching matters of the *East Indies*, and the *Streights of Magellan*, until I have occasion hereafter to mention them. And another while I will direct my course unto *America* and the *West Indies*, which was discovered within few years after the *East*.

### *The Discovery of America by Columbus.*

A M E R I C A was so called after *Americus Vesputius*, a *Florentine*; but in my opinion, there was least reason to do him that honour of all those that took upon them to discover in his time. I could

never hear of any thing he did of fame, no, not so much as the finding the river of *Plate*, when he went upon the discovery of it.



No man deserved to have that country called after his name, but *Columbus*, the first discoverer of it, who was unworthily and unthankfully dealt withal by the *Spaniards* in *Hispaniola*, where he was governor; for they sent him prisoner into *Spain* in chains. But king *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* his wife are to be excused from any hand in this unworthy act; for they hearing of his usage, caused him to be released; and before this happened, they did him the greatest honour that ever was done to subjects; for they made him sit in their presence.

The *Spaniards* cannot be excused for their ingratitude to *Columbus* on another account; for they write, though few give credit to their relation, that a pilot in a carvel that was forced with an easterly wind upon the coast of *America*, and returned but with three men alive, died in *Columbus's* house, from whom he had the light of his discovery.

But no author either names the pilot's, or the carvel's name, or where he arrived, or to what province in *Spain* she belong'd; but confusedly, one saith, she was a *Portuguese*, another a *Spaniard*, another a *Biscainer*, another that she belonged to the island of *Madera*, another to *Tercera*; and they differ as much in the place where she arrived. This was foully done of the *Spaniards*, to detract from *Columbus*, for no other reason but that he was a stranger.

*Christopher Colon*, or *Columbus*, as we call him, was born in *Genoa* in *Italy*, his original a mariner; afterwards he betook himself to make sea-cards, and had this voyage in his thoughts a long time, but was much troubled how to undertake it for want of means; for he saw the king of *Portugal* busy in his conquest of *Africk*, and in his enterprize in the *East Indies*; the king of *Spain* was as much taken up in his wars of *Granada*: whereupon he sent his brother *Bartholomew Colon* to *Henry VII.* king of *England*, who was both rich, and free from war; but the king gave little credit to him: and indeed the three kings did rather deride him, than accept of his offers, looking upon him as a cheat, and as an importor.

*Columbus* being at *Lisbon*, embarked for *Palos de Moguer* in *Spain*, where he spake with one *Alonso Pinson*, a skilful pilot, and a *Franciscan* frier called *Perez Machina*, a learned cosmographer. The frier desired him to recommend his design to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the duke of *Medina Celi*, who had ships at that time in *St. Mary* port; but they rejected him as the kings had done, and looked upon his proposal no better than a dream. Then the frier advised him to go to the king and queen, who were at the siege of *Granada*,

and writ to another frier in his behalf called *Ferdinand de Talavera*, the queen's confessor: he came to the court in 1480. and delivered his petition to the king and queen; but being a poor man, a stranger, and evil apparelled, was scorn'd, only *Alphonso de Avila*, contador-mayor, gave him his diet. This contador one day carried him to *Pedro Gonzales de Mendosa*, archbishop of *Toledo*, who brought him to the king and queen, and promis'd to furnish him for his voyage, when the war of *Granada* was at an end, which happened not long after; and because the king wanted money, an officer of his, called *Lewis de St. Angel*, lent him sixteen thousand ducats.

The discovery of the *Indies*, and beating the *Moors* out of *Spain*, after they had been there seven hundred and seventy years, fell out both in one year.

*Columbus* was furnished with three carvels and an hundred and twenty men at *Palos de Moguer*. *Martin Pinson* was pilot of one, *Francis Pinson* of another, and *Detus Pinson* of the third, all three brothers, and departed the third of *August*, 1492. They came to the island of *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they refreshed; from thence he sailed thirty four days west without seeing land, insomuch that his company murmured, and contrived his death; but he satisfy'd them with good words and promises; at last he spy'd a thick cloud, which prov'd land, on the 11th of *October*, whereat they all rejoiced, thanked God, and kiss'd *Columbus's* hands.

The first land they fell in with was called *Guinaya*, one of the islands of *Lucayos*: from thence he went to *Hispaniola*, then called *Haitu*, where the admiral's ship was lost, but all the men and furniture saved.

The *Indians* fled from them, all but one woman, whom they took and cloathed, and us'd courteously, and let her go again; which did so much imbolden the *Indians*, that they resorted to the *Spaniards*, and help'd them to unlade their ship that was lost, and do them other services; and with the good will of the king they built a castle of wood, and left thirty eight *Spaniards* in it under a captain; and this was the first footing the *Spaniards* had in the *Indies*. *Columbus* took ten parrots, some turkeys, and other things the land afforded, and returned to *Palos* in *Spain* in fifty days.

The king and queen were at *Barcelona* when *Columbus* arrived, whither he went with his *Indians* and other rarities the third of *April*, a year after he departed from thence.

At his coming to the king the *Indians* were baptiz'd, the king, queen, and prince being

being present, who were their godfathers and godmother: they caused *Columbus* to sit by them, which was never done to any subject. They confirmed the privilege of the tenths, and gave him the title of admiral of the *Indies*, and to his brother *Bartholomew* that of *Adelantado*.

The queen favour'd this discovery more than the king, and would not for a while let any *Arragonians* go to the *Indies* without licence. The king rewarded many of *Columbus's* company; but the mariner, who first discovered the land, not being recompenced to his content, fled into *Barbary*, where he turned *Turk*.

The *Indians* confes'd to *Columbus*, that there were many prophecies amongst them, That they should be subdued with white men with beards, with apparel on their backs, with bright swords that should cleave a man in sunder, and should girt their swords to their sides.

*Columbus* in his second voyage had seven-

teen ships and one thousand two hundred men, mares, sheep, cows, and corn to sow. The first land he fell in with was the island of *Descada*; and coming to *Hispaniola* he found his thirty eight *Spaniards* slain, through their own fault, for injuring the *Indians*. He built a town, and in honour of the queen called it *Isabella*. And now began the *Spaniards* and *Columbus* to disagree, as I have shew'd before.

What afterwards befel the *Spaniards* in their discoveries and conquests of the *Indies*, has been sufficiently handled by several authors.

I will only treat of the famous exploits of *Francis Pizarro* and *Ferdinando Cortes*; the one, conqueror of the rich countries and mines of *Peru*, the other of the famous countries of *New Spain* and *Mexico*. Their births, originals, and adventures, are such, and so strange, that former times cannot shew the like, and, perhaps, in future ages they will scarce be believ'd.

*Of the first Discovery of the South Sea by Vasco Nunnez de Balboa, which was the first Step to the Discovery and Conquest of Peru.*

**V**asco Nunnez de Balboa, an industrious man, but in disgrace with his king, undertook the discovery of the *South Sea* with but a few *Spaniards*, and performed it with prodigious labour, sufferings, and danger from the *Indians*, with whom he often fought, but still came off victorious. On the 25th of *September*, 1513. from the top of a high mountain he spy'd the sea to the southward of him, which so much rejoiced him and his men, that it amaz'd the *Indian* king.

An *Indian* king on the south side treated him with much courtesy, carrying him in his canoes to the island of pearls; and on this side *Vasco* built the town of *St. Michael*, the first the *Spaniards* had there.

*Vasco* having discovered the sea and coast, settling friendship wheresoever he came, and gathering much wealth, returned to *Darien*, whence he first set out, and was received with much joy and triumph; thence he sent away a messenger to give the king of *Spain* an account of his success, who pardoned his past offences, and made him *Adelantado* of the *South Sea*.

*Vasco Nunnez de Balboa* continuing at *Darien*, *Pedrarias d'Avila* arrived there, being sent from *Spain* to take upon him that government, and receiv'd by *Vasco* with extraordinary honour; but had *Vasco's* messenger arriv'd in time, *Vasco* had been appointed governor. *Pedrarias* carried one thousand five hundred men, but he and they behaved themselves so cruelly in all parts, that they brought much destruction upon the *Spaniards*.

*Vasco* and he fell out, but were reconciled by the bishop; and *Vasco* married his daughter. *Vasco* being upon the *South Sea*, the place of his command, *Pedrarias* sent for and got false witnessess to accuse him, that he should say, He would not obey him, but would be upon his guard with his three hundred men he had with him, if any body offered to wrong him. Upon this false suggestion *Pedrarias* put him to death; at which the king of *Spain* was much offended, and *Pedrarias* gained the ill-will of all men; for *Vasco* was generally beloved and respected; and the sentence given against him was unjust, being procur'd by false witnessess, and out of a private grudge.

*The Actions of Francis Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru.*

**B**EFORE I speak of *Francisco Pizarro*, his deeds, and exploits, I will set down his birth and education, that his actions

may seem the more strange and admirable: he was bastard to captain *Pizarro*, serving in *Navarre*, and was left an infant at the

the church-door, where no body would own or take compassion of him ; till at last his father for shame took him home, and brought him to do all kind of drudgery ; and one day sending him to keep his hogs in the field, he gave them a sort of poison, which killed several of them. The boy not daring to return home, run away, and went to *Seville*, and from thence shipped himself for the *Indies*, and by degrees came to be ensign, and afterwards captain.

*Pizarro* and *Diego de Almagro*, being at *Panama*, were desirous, like other undertakers, to try their fortunes in discoveries. *Almagro* being rich, drew to him one *Ferdinand Luque*, a schoolmaster and priest of that town, who was likewise wealthy ; and all three undertook a discovery, with a vow, one to another, equally to divide the profit that should accrue. It was determined amongst them, that *Pizarro* should undertake the conquest ; *Almagro* go and come with all necessaries to relieve them ; and *Luque* to make provision for supplies. This happen'd in the year 1525.

The first voyage that *Pizarro* made, was with one ship, and one hundred and fourteen men : he sailed one hundred leagues ; and went ashore several times, where he found sharp encounters, lost some of his men, and was himself hurt in several places ; which forced him to return to *Chincama*, not far from *Panama*, repenting of his enterprize.

*Almagro*, who staid behind *Pizarro*, to supply him, as you have heard, went after him with seventy men, and came to the river of *St. John* ; and finding no sign of *Pizarro's* being there, returned ; but at his going back he landed at some places where he found *Pizarro* had been, and where he was hurt.

*Almagro* slew and hurt several men, and returned to *Panama*, thinking *Pizarro* had done the like ; but understanding that he was at *Chincama*, he went to him, and by consent furnished two ships, and carried two hundred *Spaniards* and some *Indians*. They arrived at a marshy and waterish place, where the people live in trees : they are warlike, and killed many *Spaniards*, and called them the *Scum of the Sea*, having no fathers ; and said they would have none in their country that had beards, or that would break their customs.

*Pizarro* and *Almagro* had a great desire to conquer that country, because of the shew of gold and stones ; but could not do it with that small force, because many of them were dead. *Almagro* returned to *Panama* for fourscore men more ; but before his coming back, *Pizarro* endured great want of victuals.

Upon *Almagro's* return, they found their forces so small, the country so barren and

unhealthful, that they left it, and went to *Chatama*, where they found plenty of all things, and thought to make themselves so rich, that they needed not to proceed further : but they were deceived ; for the *Indians* were their enemies ; and so many, that they durst not fight them. *Almagro* was to go back for more men to *Panama*, and *Pizarro* to stay in the island of *Guara*.

The *Spaniards* were so weak and tired, and so discontented, that they desired to retire with *Almagro*, and to leave their hopes of gold ; but *Pizarro* would not suffer them, either to go or write, lest they should have discredited the country ; and so *Almagro* would have got no soldiers : but notwithstanding this prohibition, the soldiers writ, and hid their letters in bottoms of thread, by which means their miseries came to be known, and complained of to the governor, who commanded, that no man should stay with *Pizarro* against his will.

At *Almagro's* coming to *Panama*, one *Pedro de la Rios* was arrived for governor, who proclaimed, That no man should stay with *Pizarro* against his liking ; and sent a messenger to *Pizarro* to let him know so much. Whereupon most of his men left him ; and those that *Almagro* took up, run away from him ; so that *Pizarro* had but twelve men left with him, whereof one was a *Grecian*. He went to an island called *Gorgena*, where he lived upon snakes, herbs, and crab-fishes, till *Almagro's* return from *Panama* ; and then he went over to the main land, and put the *Greek* ashore, who brought him news of the riches of that country, and the plenty of victuals, with the state of their king *Atabaliba* ; which was great joy to them all ; for the south sea was the fountain and happiness of all their discoveries.

*Pizarro* hereupon return'd to *Panama*, and from thence into *Spain*, to carry the emperor news of this rich country, which he desired the government of. He left two *Spaniards* behind him to learn the language, customs, and riches of the country ; but they were afterwards slain by the *Indians*.

*Pizarro* was above three years upon this discovery of *Peru*, and endured as much hunger, and other miseries, as man could do.

*Pizarro's* return to *Panama*, thence into *Spain*, and thence back again to *Peru*.

At *Pizarro's* arrival at *Panama*, he imparted the hope of his discovery to *Almagro* and *Luque* his associates, who were grown poor by their undertakings ; but yet furnished him with one thousand pieces of gold for his journey into *Spain*, most part of which they borrowed.

At his arrival in *Spain*, the emperor gave him the title of *Adelantado* of *Peru* : and to

encourage men to go with him, *Pizarro* promised more riches than he knew of, though not so great as after it proved. He carried with him three of his brethren, *Ferdinand*, *John*, and *Gonsalo*; *Ferdinand* only legitimate, the others bastards. They arrived in *Panama* in great pomp and pride. But *Almagro* was offended with *Francis Pizarro*, because he had taken upon himself all the honour in *Spain*, and excluded him who was at all the expence, and part of the labour and pains. *Pizarro* excused himself; which gave but little satisfaction.

The expence of the *Pizarro's* was so great, and their means so small, that they could not proceed upon their enterprize, without the help of *Almagro*; whom *Francis Pizarro* laboured to win again. In conclusion, by mediation of friends, *Almagro* furnished him with seven hundred pieces, and such arms and victuals as he had; so that *Pizarro* proceeded with two ships, and as many men as he could carry. He came to a place called *Coaque*, where he found much wealth, but endured much misery. From hence he sent to king *Atabaliba* for friendship; who answered, If he would return the wealth gotten, and clear the country, he would be his friend; or else not. A frier was sent to persuade him, but all in vain; so that they came to a battle. Many of the *Indians* were slain, and their king taken prisoner; and not a *Spaniard* killed or hurt, but only *Francis Pizarro* in the head, as he was snatching at the king to take him.

Before this, *Pizarro* took the island of *Puna*, and gained great wealth, which he gave to his soldiers that came to him lately. Here his people fell sick of the pox, a natural disease of those parts; and here he delivered seventy prisoners that had been taken by the islanders, and sent them free to *Tumbes*, whence they were. Notwithstanding this courtesy, they incensed the people against the *Spaniards*, and slew three that were sent in civil manner to treat with them; which so enraged *Pizarro*, that he took their town, and brought them to obedience.

These things happen'd before the taking of *Atabaliba* prisoner; who now being in their hands, offered for his ransom, as much silver and gold as would fill a great and spacious room wherein he was; which he truly performed; but the time was so long before it could be brought two hundred miles, that *Ferdinand Pizarro* adventured to go for it; and in that journey he learnt much of the secrets of the country.

*Francis Pizarro* divided the treasure thus gotten, and gave to every man his due; never soldiers in the world were so rich. He dealt justly with *Almagro*, and gave him what was his due: all things grew exceeding dear, a shirt at ten pounds, a quart of

wine at five pounds, and one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds a horse. *Pizarro* sent his brother *Ferdinand* to the emperor with his fifths, and a relation of what had happened: many common soldiers went, who carried, some twenty, some thirty, some forty thousand ducats in plate.

There was an *Indian* called *Philip*, a *Christian*, and interpreter to the *Spaniards*, who fell in love with one of *Atabaliba's* wives; and thinking to marry her after his death accused him of plotting the destruction of the *Spaniards*, for which he was condemned and executed; but whether justly, or no, is a question. Before his death he desired to be baptized; but whether from his heart, or no, that is uncertain.

*Pizarro* hearing the fame of *Cusco*, marched thither, and took it, where he found as much wealth as he had by the ransom of *Atabaliba*; and it is thought there was as much hid that never came to light.

*Almagro* had commission from the emperor to be marshal of *Peru*, and governor of one hundred leagues of land further than *Pizarro*. Whereupon he took upon him to govern *Cusco*; and this was the first beginning of the strife betwixt them two, but for the present accommodated; and *Almagro* went to discover the country of *Cbile* in 1535. where he endured much hunger, cold, and other disasters.

*Ferdinand Pizarro* returned out of *Spain*, and came to *Lyma*, after *Almagro's* departure to *Cbile*; and brought a patent to his brother, wherein he was made a marquis, and to *Almagro* the government of *New Toledo*.

He required all the silver and gold that was received for the ransom of *Atabaliba* for the emperor; the other being a king: but the soldiers answered, they had paid their fifths, which was their due. This caused a sudden mutiny: but *Pizarro* appeased it, though with the ill will of his soldiers. *Mango*, whom *Pizarro* had made king, rebelled against him, and had almost taken *Cusco*. In the conflict he slew divers *Spaniards*.

*Almagro* hearing the emperor had made him governor, as aforesaid, returned out of *Cbile*, and took *Cusco* by force, alledging it was in his government. He imprisoned *Ferdinand Pizarro*: *Mango* the *Indian* king besieged it; and now began broils betwixt *Almagro* and *Pizarro*; and now did *Francisco Pizarro* receive many losses by the *Indians* that rebelled against him. *Pizarro* sent forces to regain *Cusco* from *Almagro*; but by mediation of friends they were to meet and consult before they fought, but to little purpose; for that treaty broke up, and they fought a most cruel battle, in which *Almagro* was taken, and put into the same prison he had put the brother of *Pizarro*,

zarro, who there condemned and executed him. If the *Indians* had taken advantage of this division, they had defeated the whole power of the *Spaniards*.

*Almagro* was of mean birth, and never known who was his father: he could not read; but was valiant, frank, merciful, and vain-glorious. *Francis Pizarro*, upon this accident sent his brother *Ferdinand* into *Spain* with the emperor's fifth, and to excuse the death of *Almagro*. He came to *Valladolid* in great state, and with much wealth; but within a while after was committed to prison.

*Francis Pizarro* went on with his victories, and endured great hardships; yet he prevailed, got great wealth, and made peace with the *Indian* kings. *Gonzalo Pizarro* was a principal man in all these undertakings.

#### Francis Pizarro's Death.

*Francis Pizarro* returning from the *City of the Kings*, endeavoured to be reconciled to *Diego de Almagro*, son to him that was put to death; but he would accept of no conditions of friendship; neither would *John de Rada* advise him to it, who was left in charge of him at his father's death, with command to seek revenge of the *Pizarro's*; and though *Francis Pizarro* was still informed of the practice against him, yet he little esteemed of it; but notwithstanding his security, on the 24th of *June*, 1541. *John de Rada* and ten others entered upon him whilst he was at dinner, and slew him. He was a man neither liberal, nor covetous, nor would he proclaim what he gave; he was a good husband for the king, and a great gamester, not regarding with whom he play'd; he would never wear rich apparel, and yet sometimes would put on a garment that *Ferdinando Cortes* sent him; he took a pride to wear white shoes, and a white hat, in imitation of *Gonzalo* the great captain; he used his soldiers well, and got their loves; he was gross, valiant, and honourable, and negligent of his health or life.

Upon his death, his and *Almagro's* faction had many bickerings; and at last those of *Almagro's* party seditiously proclaimed, there was no other governor in *Peru* but *Diego de Almagro*. He appointed *John de Rada* his general; they committed many insolencies, murders, and cruelties; they divided all the goods of the *Pizarro's* and their friends, and placed whom they listed in command, meaning to make *Diego de Almagro* their king.

The emperor hearing of those tumults in *Peru*, sent one *Vaca de Castro*, a doctor, with authority to punish them; and he coming thither, those who stood for the emperor repaired to him: whereupon *Almagro* prepared all his forces to meet him, where

they fought a cruel battle, in which *Almagro* was overthrown; though more men were slain on the other side; few captains escaped, and those that were hurt, died, by reason of the great frost and snow that was in the country.

*Vaca de Castro* executed thirty of the principal offenders, and banished divers others. *Almagro* fled to *Cusco*, thinking to find relief; but his lieutenant he left there, hearing the success of the battle, apprehended him, and *Vaca de Castro* at his coming thither cut off his head.

This *Diego de Almagro* was a bastard, whom his father had by an *Indian* woman in *Panama*; but he was braver than the mestizo's used to be; he was the first that ever took up arms against the king in the *Indies*: his followers were so loving and constant to him, that though they had often offers of pardon, they would not leave him.

*Vaca de Castro* settled things in good order, gave the *Indians* content, who now begun again to cultivate their grounds, which before they could not do for the wars; and about this time many mines were discovered.

The emperor being informed of the revolts in *Peru*, and the ill usage of the *Indians*, he displaced his commissioners there, and chose others, giving them an oath to deal justly, and to order things uprightly. He made forty laws, and signed them at *Barcelona* the 20th of *November*, 1542. But these laws were ill taken in *Peru*.

He sent *Blasco Nunez Vela* with the title of viceroy, with the laws aforesaid; wherein the emperor gave great freedom to the *Indians*; which discontented the *Spaniards*; though no doubt the emperor did it out of a good conscience.

These things bred so great a heart-burning in the *Spaniards*, that with one consent all the towns of *Peru* revolted, and made *Gonzalo Pizarro* their general. The viceroy armed as much on the other side; and at first sent the bishop to persuade *Pizarro*; but he would admit no treaty. The viceroy was hated of all men, and especially for murdering the king's factor, that was taken prisoner in the *City of the Kings*.

Now began great garboils, what with the imprisoning of the viceroy, and the coming of *Gonzalo*; but before this happen'd, the viceroy had imprisoned *Vaca de Castro*, and the five commissioners that came with him out of *Spain*, for the better appeasing of things, and sent *Castro* prisoner into *Spain*.

*Pizarro* came to the *City of the Kings*, and caused the emperor's commissioners to admit him for governor. Those that had the charge to carry the viceroy prisoner into *Spain*, set him at liberty: which proved an unlucky service; for if he had been carry'd

carry'd into *Spain*, *Pizarro* would have agreed with the commissioners. *Pizarro* strengthened himself as well by land as by sea, and sent *Ferdinand Bachicao* with fifty men, who was esteemed a coward, but did much mischief: he increased his two brigantines to twenty eight ships, and came to *Panama*, where he did what he pleased, like a tyrant. His death was practis'd in *Panama*; which he hearing, prevented, with the death of those that intended it, and returned to *Peru* with four hundred men, to the defence of *Pizarro*, who followed his victory, and put his enemies to many streights. They committed great cruelties one against another when they were taken on either side.

*Pizarro* hearing of the great spoils that *Bachicao* made at sea, by consent of his council displaced him, and put in *Pedro de Hinojosa* in his room.

*Pizarro* sent *Hinojosa* to scour the seas, lest they should make head against him,

and to give satisfaction for the spoils that *Bachicao* had made; but they of *Panama* were jealous of him, till at last they agreed he should enter the town with forty men, and afterwards return to *Peru* to *Pizarro*.

The viceroy *Blasco Nunnez* and *Pizarro* came to a battle, in which the viceroy was taken prisoner; and being known to one that had served him, he cut off his head, and the next day buried him, *Pizarro* mourning in black for him.

After this *Pizarro* governed with great justice and uprightness, till he was drawn into tyranny by *Francis Carvajal* and others, who would make him king, saying, They might do it, because the country was gain'd by them, as well as *Pelaius* king of *Spain*, when the *Moors* entred it. They would have conditioned to have *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was prisoner in *Spain*, set at liberty; others proposed to bring in the turk amongst them.

#### *Gasca sent out of Spain to quell the Rebellion in Peru.*

THE emperor hearing of the tumult in *Peru*, occasioned by the commissioners proceeding against the viceroy, and the infolencies of *Pizarro*, being then troubled with his wars of *Germany*, chose out a milder man than *Blasco Nunnez* to govern in *Peru*, which was *Pedro de la Gasca*, a priest; a man whose wisdom was tried in other affairs. He went with little shew of pride: the commissioners he chose to be such as he could trust, and he had the title of president. The emperor writ to *Pizarro*, and dated his letter from *Venlo* in *Germany* in *February* 1646.

*Gasca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, and carried himself mildly, saying, He came not to make war, but, according to his profession, to make peace, and revoked the rigour of the laws that caused the war. From *Panama* he sent the emperor's letters; and writ himself to *Pizarro*, telling him, He was come to pardon all offences, to draw him to obedience, to give satisfaction to his people, and, if he refused this grace, to make war.

*Pizarro* was enraged at the receipt of these letters, and would not suffer the gentleman that brought them to sit down; which the gentleman took for a great affront. *Pizarro* called for his friends, to consult what answer to give the president's letter. *Carvajal*, the chief incendiary, was absent; and therefore it was hoped he would accept of grace; yet every man delivering his opinion, some advised to take and raze *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, that the emperor might have no place to relieve

his men and shipping; and they having all the ships in the south sea, might without fear enjoy *Peru* to themselves, and then doubted not but to make *New Spain* revolt too, or, at least, they would rob all the towns on the sea coast, and live by spoil and rapine; which indeed they might have done, having the general of the sea true to them.

*Pizarro* cunningly answered *Gasca*'s letter, by consent of thirty of his men, under their hands; That they understood of his coming by *Hinojosa*, general of the sea, and the fair shew of good he pretended; but it was too late, after so many murders, occasioned by the viceroys; persuading him to return to inform the emperor, That they would receive no governor but *Pizarro*, and offered to send some man of quality into *Spain* to make their case known to the emperor. *Carvajal* diverted *Pizarro* from all good intentions, and would not suffer him to make any acknowledgment to *Spain*: They sent these letters to *Gasca*, and offered to give him a great quantity of money to depart home; and if he refused it, they writ to their admiral *Hinojosa* to apprehend him. These letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gasca* in fear that he should be killed; for they absolutely refused to receive him in *Peru*.

*Gasca* dealt so cunningly with *Hinojosa*, that he brought him to submit himself and fleet, and became a true servant to the emperor. This was the overthrow of *Pizarro*; and *Hinojosa* was continued general, and none of his captains displaced. *Gasca* now prepared again for war, and furnish'd himself

self for his journey to *Peru*; and before his arrival sent a pardon to all the common sort. In his expedition he carried himself courteously, lovingly, and friendly.

*Gasca's* carriage, and the submission of the ships, made a great change amongst the rebels; for happy was he that could appear for the emperor. *Pizarro* was much grieved to hear of these alterations; but, like a courageous captain, sent to all his friends to come to him with their forces; but most part of them forsook him, and the town of *Lima*, *Cusco*, and the rest, took part with the emperor.

When *John de Casta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they consulted what to do, having four hundred and fifty men in the whole country against them: he resolv'd to go to *Chile*, where never *Spaniard* had been; but he was followed by one *Centeno* with a loyal party for the emperor; between whom was fought a cruel battle, *Pizarro* gaining the victory: he lost two hundred and twenty men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled; but the others having so great a loss did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the victory, divided his forces into several parts. *Cepeda*, a principal man of account on his side, persuaded him to make conditions with *Gasca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the motion, and grew suspicious of him.

*Gasca* came into *Peru* with two thousand men, where he heard of the overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his men being sickly, and finding the corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much discouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the remainder of his forces, put them into heart; whereupon he went in the pursuit of *Pizarro*, but had great trouble in passing the river *Apurima*. *Pizarro* being advertis'd of it, departed from *Cusco* with a thousand soldiers. *Donna Maria Calderon* speaking against the tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Fran. Calderon* entered her chamber one morning, and strangled her in her bed. Now came their armies in view of one another, every one taking advantage of the place: *Gasca* delay'd giving battle, in hopes that most of *Pizarro's* men would leave him; but they did not; and he being forced by snow, cold, and hunger, engaged in the heat of the action. *Cepeda*, who (as I said before) advis'd *Pizarro* to accept of conditions, fled to *Gasca*, which much dishearten'd *Pizarro's* side. This example, and others that did the like, made most of them yield.

*Pizarro* seeing it, chose rather to submit than fly, and yielded himself to *Villa Vicentia*, serjeant-major, who carried him to *Gasca*. Never such a battle was fought, in which the heads and chief commanders were doctors and scholars.

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*Gasca* sent forces to cut off those that escap'd in their way to *Cusco*, and to secure the town. The day following, being the ninth of *April*, 1548. *Gasca* committed the cause of *Pizarro* and other offenders to judges, who condemn'd him and thirteen more to death, wherof *Francis Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief promoter of all the mischief in those parts. He was eighty four years of age, and had been an ensign in the battle of *Ravenna*: he was soldier to the great captain *Gonçalo Fernandez*, and the most noted soldier in the *Indies*, yet never counted valiant nor skilful. It was a by-word, *As cruel as Carvajal*, because he had been the executioner of four hundred *Spaniards* *Pizarro* caused to be put to death after *Blasco Nunnez* came into *Peru*, carrying blacks with him continually for that purpose. *Pizarro* was never overthrown but in this battle, though he had fought many.

*Gasca's* soldiers looked for a better reward than was given them; though, indeed; they were well dealt with, yet they mutiny'd upon it, but were soon quieted.

*Gasca* took a course for the ease of the *Indians*, and to reduce them to the christian religion, as also for the peaceable government of the kingdom.

When *Gasca* arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios* out of *Spain*, he brought not an hundred men with him, nor money, but procured credit, and, at his going away, paid all debts, and carried with him to the emperor almost two millions, but for himself not a penny, being the first man in authority that ever did the like; for covetousness was the bane of all the *Spanish* affairs.

No man that had commanded in *Peru* had escaped death or imprisonment but this *Gasca*: *Francis Pizarro* and his brothers beheaded *Almagro*; *Almagro's* son murdered *Francis Pizarro*; *Blasco* apprehended *Vaca de Castro*; *Gonçalo Pizarro* slew *Blasco Nunnez*; and *Gasca* did as much to *Gonçalo Pizarro*. There were slain one hundred and fifty eight captains and men in authority, which is to be imputed to the genius and riches of the country: for the like divisions happen'd before the *Spaniards* came thither, which made a long war amongst them.

When *Gasca* had settled all things in good order, he prepared for his return into *Spain*, and came to *Panama*, leaving much wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that two sons of *Rodrigo Contreras*, governor of *Nicaragua*, with two hundred soldiers entered the town, and took the treasure, and as much more as they could get. One of the two brothers got himself with his wealth into two or three ships, the other follow'd *Gasca*,

ca, thinking to rob and kill him. They murdered many, and slew a bishop, because he sent to their father into *Spain* on account of their villanies: they drew to them all factious and discontented people that favoured the party of *Pizarro*.

*Gasca* hearing of those disorders, returned with speed, fought with, and overcame them; one of the brothers was drowned in passing a river: he dispatched ships after the other, and took him and all his wealth. This proved a fortunate success to *Gasca*, and got him great honour.

He embarked at *Nombre de Dios* for *Spain* in 1550. with much wealth for others, and reputation to himself: his going, coming, and staying, was little more than four years.

### *The Exploits of Don Ferdinand Cortes Marquis del Valle.*

**F**ERDINAND CORTES was the son of a gentleman, but of small fortunes; and seeing his father could not maintain him in the port of his birth, he desired to put himself into the world; and, with his father's blessing, and little help otherwise, he made shift to get into the wars of *Italy*, where he stay'd not above a year, through want and sickness; and being forced by necessity to return for *Spain*, was forced to beg till he got to *Seville*, knowing his father's circumstances could not relieve him at home.

Not long after his arrival at *Seville*, there happened a fleet to depart from thence to the *Indies*, in which he procured a passage; and being taught to write and read, put himself into the service of a scrivener, and by degrees, through his own industry, advanced himself to perform those actions you shall read in the following discourse.

After running through several employments in *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, he became familiar and intimate with the governor of that island *Diego Velasquez*. This governor, upon the report of the wealth of *Jucatan*, had sent his nephew *John de Gryolva*, to discover along that coast; who returning with a promising account of the riches, not only of that coast he was sent to, but of that afterwards called *New Spain*, *Velasquez* fitted out a fleet at his own expence to conquer that country, and gave the command of it to *Cortes*, whom, upon second thoughts, he design'd to have removed; which *Cortes* having intelligence of, he hastened away with his fleet upon his discovery.

Being arrived at *Vera Cruz*, and receiving there information of the vast wealth of the king of *Mexico*, he set forward towards him on the 16th of *August*, 1520.

The emperor made him bishop of *Placentia*, and sent for him to *Ausburg* in *Germany*, where he then lay, because he would be informed by word of mouth of all proceedings, and the state and condition of the people of the *Indies*.

This shall suffice for so much as concerns the beginning, progress, and conclusion of the *Spanish* conquest of *Peru*, which were full of difficulties, hazards and cruel murders among themselves. For what concerns particular men, towns, and countries, I refer you to divers authors, as well in *Spanish* as *English*; and will now proceed to the conquest of *Mexico*, by that renown'd and fortunate gentleman *Don Ferdinand Cortes*.

with five hundred foot, fifteen horse, and one thousand three hundred *Indians* to carry the baggage.

After four days march he came to a goodly country, called *Chinchebas*; but before he came thither he had passed high hills, full of snow and ice, though it was in *August*.

Next he came to *Tlascalla*, a people who were enemies to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* overthrew them in three conflicts: the town had twenty thousand houses, very fair, and handsome markets and fairs: *Cortes* took it by night, and returned to his camp, where he found his men in mutiny; but appeased them, out of hope they should spread abroad the gospel of Christ.

From thence he went to *Chalotecan*, a country no less fruitful; where he was entertained with their kind of musick, but they were set on by the king of *Mexico* to betray him, which was discovered by an *Indian* woman; and *Cortes* suddenly set upon them, and overcame them. The king of *Mexico* sent to excuse himself of this treason, and to lay it upon the people of the country: he sent to invite *Cortes* to *Mexico*, and as he passed the country he was well entertained, especially in *Tlatelulco* and *Xalisco*, the one friend, the other enemy to the *Mexicans*.

When *Cortes* came within half a mile of *Montezuma*, the king sent a thousand courtiers, all in one garb, to meet him, who saluted him one after another, first touching the ground with their fingers, and kissing it; then came *Montezuma* with two hundred better apparelled, two and two together, without shoes, though they use shoes at other times; he leaned upon two of his nobility, to shew that he was upheld by his nobles.



*Cortes* was told, he must not touch the king, for that it was the custom of the country; he presented the king with a chain of bugles, and some diamonds in it; which the king took in good part, and gave him in requital another of gold wrought in snails, crabs, and such toys. He lodged *Cortes* in his palace with great solemnity, and made liberal provision for his army. The king erected a curious throne of state, where he directed his speech to the *Spaniards*, as follows:

*Noble soldiers, and merciful captains to them that yield, you are welcome into this country of ours; I would have you know, that our forefathers have told us, and our chronicles declare it, That we are not antiently of this land wherein we live, but brought thither by a king, who left us here, because we refused to return with him in company: Our forefathers marry'd, had issue, built houses, which we enjoy; and we have ever been of opinion, that they will come to us again, and make us subjects to them, as they have formerly been to our ancestors. And therefore considering from whence you come, and that you are sent from a great king, we yield to you all obedience and service, and make account you are entred into your own houses.*

*I am not ignorant of what hath happen'd to you by the way, and that the Cempoalans have spoken ill of me; they are my enemies, and I pray you believe them not: I know they tell you my houses and walls are gold, and that I make my self a god: but I pray you behold my houses that are made of wood, lime, and stone, and my self a fleshy man like others. Indeed I have plate from my ancestors, and what I have shall be yours. I must now depart; but will so provide, that neither you nor yours shall want.*

*Cortes* answer'd, *That what he said was true; and that the king of Spain was the king they looked for; and that he was sent thither purposely to let them know so much.* After they had passed six days in great jollity, *Cortes* had news that some of his men were murdered by the king's appointment; for which he was glad, thinking to take that occasion to subdue and conquer him and his country.

*Cortes* sent for the malefactors, and put them to death: they accused *Montezuma*, whom likewise he imprisoned, but within a while after he set him at liberty: he confessed his fault, and promised his allegiance ever after.

The king chose rather to dwell in the palace with *Cortes*, than at pleasure abroad. To give him satisfaction, he sent to discover mines for him, and procured a great quantity of wealth to present him; he

wished and advised his nobles to obey *Cortes*, and labour'd how he might subdue *Cacomacsin*, his vassal, who wholly refused to submit to *Cortes*. This act of his was affirmed by publick notaries in writing by the consent of all the nobility, and interchangeably given to one another.

*Valasques*, the governor of *Cuba*, envying *Cortes*, sent *Narvaes* with eighteen sail of ships, to command *Cortes* to go out and quit *Mexico*; whereat *Cortes* was amazed, and in a dilemma; for if he made head against *Narvaes*, the *Indians* would presently have revolted, and if he did not, *Narvaes* would in time possess himself of the country: wherefore he resolved with one hundred and seventy men to go against *Narvaes*, leaving a garrison in *Tenustitlan*, which he commended to the care of the king. *Narvaes* had eight hundred *Spaniards*, and nineteen great pieces; nevertheless *Cortes* set upon, took him, and the rest yielded themselves.

In this interim, the citizens of *Tenustitlan* revolted against the king and *Spaniards*, and assaulted the castle, alledging, their dislike to the *Spaniards*, was for breaking down their idol.

*Cortes* hastened thither with seventy horse, and five hundred *Spaniards*, which gave heart to them in the castle; the *Indians* were desperate, and desired rather to die than live: they put *Cortes* to a retreat, which emboldened them much.

*Cortes* afterwards used many engines, and other inventions; and though he slew multitudes of *Indians*, yet they valued it not: *Montezuma* looking out of a window, thinking to dissuade the people from their violent courses against the *Spaniards*, was struck with a stone, of which wound he died within three days. He was a man of a good nature, wise, and prudent. The *Spaniards* gave the *Mexicans* his body to bury, and offered the *Indians* conditions of peace; which they wholly refused, vowing to thrust the *Spaniards* out of their country, though it were with the loss of 1000 men to one. Yet within a day they deceitfully made a proposition of peace, which *Cortes* accepted of; and to give them the more content, he set a priest of theirs at liberty, thinking it would have wrought more heartily; but the day following, when *Cortes* had the least suspicion of them, and sat quietly at dinner, they attempted one of his houses: whereupon he suddenly rose from table, and with his horse charged the *Indians*, where he lost divers men, and was himself fore wounded, and scarce able to retire. It was now come to that pass with the *Spaniards*, that they must either perish, or quit the city; and that night they resolv'd

to fly with *Montezuma's* children, and treasure; but the *Indians* having notice of it, pursued them, recovered the prisoners, slew one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, forty one horses, and two thousand *Indians* that took their part. Now did *Cortes* endure great misery and famine, and had but one dead horse to feed on in five days, till he came to *Tlascalla*.

The *Tlascallans* entertained him courteously, where he stay'd ten days; he built many fortresses for his own safety and theirs, and sent for aid into *Hispaniola*: In the mean time he gained the love of many *Indians*, who took part against the *Mexicans*.

*Cortes* built thirteen boats; and on the other side, the new king of *Mexico* prepar'd for war, and made certain pikes to annoy the horse, which they feared more than the men. *Cortes* cut a passage into the salt lake, for his boats to have a passage to the siege of *Tenustitlan*: these ships intercepted all provision, and annoy'd the *Indians* infinitely. *Cortes* assailed the town in four places, having in his army one hundred and twenty thousand men; some came for fear, some for liberty, some for friendship, some out of gain: this siege lasted ten weeks, and wasted ten thousand people with famine, and other misfortunes. *Cortes* by chance took the new king, as he was stealing away secretly by the lake: he subdu'd *Tenustitlan*, and fourteen towns by the lake side; as also all the *Mexicans* realms, and provinces to the crown of *Spain*, giving great spoil to the soldiers, and reserving the fifths to the king.

*Cortes* deserved more honour than all the rest of the *Spaniards*, for his conquest in the *Indies*; he subdued *New Spain*, and gave it that name, because it was like *Spain*; he may very well be compared to *Marius* and *Scipio* in the *Roman* state: his house remains great to this day, and has the title

of marquis *del Valle*, which he left to his posterity.

*Cortes* being afterwards captain-general, and *Mendoza* viceroy of *Nova Espania*, there happened many private grudges between them, but yet they joined together for the finding out of the passage from those seas to ours, which we properly call the north-west passage; as also in the conquest of *Sibola* and *Quivira*, where they were persuaded by certain friers, That the people worshipped the cross, and had other tokens of christianity: but all proved false, and few *Spaniards* returned home, their misery was so great, and the country so cold and barren, the people cruel, and five hundred leagues from *Mexico*.

*Cortes*, after his taking *Mexico*, sent to discover the northern parts, and his people arrived in a country where *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe* was king, who received them lovingly, and sent an ambassador to *Cortes*, thinking he was come out of the clouds, and that their vessels were great whales: they wondered at their horses, and accepted a friendly peace, offering *Cortes* fifty thousand men to assist in conquering *Tutepec*, who was his enemy for using the christians well.

Notwithstanding that *Ferdinand Cortes* had deserved as much honour as could be laid upon him; to the disgrace and shame of that time and age, he was called from his command, and at his arrival in *Spain* was unworthily dealt withal.

He afterward went the unfortunate journey with *Charles* the first to *Algiers*, not having so much command as to be admitted a councillor of war. In that expedition he lost two emeralds in the field, which could never be found again, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. He died the same year, and much about the same time that *Henry VIII.* king of *England*, died.

*The Names of the first Governors of the Island Hispaniola, where the Spaniards made their first Habitation, and from whence they discovered other Parts of the West Indies; with an Account of all those Discoveries.*

**C**hris<sup>t</sup>opher Columbus was governor eight years; during which time he and his brother *Bartholomew* conquered and peopled the greatest part of it, and made it beneficial to the king.

*Francis de Bovadilla* succeeded *Columbus*, and sent him prisoner into *Spain*; he governed three years, and well.

*Nicholas de Ovando* was next, and went thither with thirty ships, into which *Bovadilla* put all the wealth he had got for himself and the king, which was the greatest the *Indies* had afforded till then; but all

these ships with their wealth, except six, were cast away in a storm. *Ovando* was a religious man, and governed seven years with much wisdom. When he went thence, he was so poor, that he was forced to borrow money for his expences, though his revenue was two thousand pounds a year. He would not suffer any scandalous person to live among them: he conquered some provinces not subdued before, pacify'd others, and was made chief commendary of *Alcantara* when he return'd home.

*James Columbus* governed six or seven years, but was removed, and in disgrace with the king, with whom he had several years suits for his father's right to the *Indies*.

*F. Luis of Figueroa*, prior of the monastery of *Mayorano*, was sent by cardinal *Ximenes*, who governed after the death of king *Ferdinand* and his queen. He took from the courtiers all their *Indians*, because they being in *Spain*, their servants used the *Indians* very ill. He put them to school to be instructed, but many of them died of the small pox. In his time the planting of sugars in that island was much improved.

After him went *Marcello de Villalobos* but with the title of president, which still continues.

The first bishop of *St. Domingo* was *D. F. Garcia de Podilla*, a *Franciscan*. Many miracles were wrought in the first conversion of the *Indians*. The first archbishop of *St. Domingo* was *Alonso de Fuca Mayor*.

In the island the *Spaniards* found no sort of four-footed beasts, except three sorts of coney; but they have now all sorts of cattle, and of one cow there came eight hundred in twenty six years. Many of the dogs the *Spaniards* carry'd turned wild; and did more harm than wolves; and the cats they carried out of *Spain* would not caterwaul there.

*The Islands of the Lucayo's.*

These islands are four hundred in number, lying to the northward of *Hispaniola*, and the first discovered by *Columbus*. The people are fairer than in *Cuba*, and *Indians* used to come from other places to live with those women. They had no flesh; and when the *Spaniards* carry'd them to *Hispaniola*, and gave them flesh to eat, they died. They thought, that when they died they were carried into the northern regions, and from thence to paradise in the south.

Seven inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, amongst whom was *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, a scholar, and auditor of the island, fitted out two carvels at *Puerto de Plata*, in the year 1522. to fetch *Indians* from the islands *Lucayo's* to work in their mines; but they found no men there; and therefore resolved to go northward for some, because they would not lose their labour. They came into thirty two degrees, where is now cape *St. Helen*, and the river *Jordan*. The *Indians* took their ships for great fishes, and entertained the *Spaniards* well, who brought away two of those *Indians*; one whereof was cast away in one of the carvels, the other starved himself to death.

*Lucas Vasquez*, by the report of an *Indian*, supposed the country to be rich, and

therefore went into *Spain* to beg leave of the emperor to conquer it. Leave was granted; and he being made a knight of the order of *St. Jago*, returned to *St. Domingo*, where he fitted out some ships in the year 1524. but his admiral ship was lost in the river *Jordan*, with many men; and this was his end.

*St. John de Puerto Rico, or Borriquen.*

The people of this island were braver than those of *Hispaniola*. *Columbus* discovered it in his second voyage, and *John Ponce de Leon* went to inhabit it in 1509. The king and queen received him courteously, and became christians. At first they thought the *Spaniards* were immortal; wherefore, to try it by consent, they drowned one *Salcedo*, whom they much feared; and seeing he died when they threw him into the water, they took heart, revolted, and killed five hundred *Spaniards*. They much dreaded a dog called *Bezerillo*; his master received pay of the emperor for him, and the dog did great service. He would distinguish betwixt the *Indians* that were friends and foes; at last he was killed with a poisoned arrow. The first bishop of this island was *Alonso Manso*, Anno 1511.

*Florida.*

The admiral *Columbus* taking *John Ponce* from his government at *Borriquen*, and he being left without command, and rich, fitted out two carvels, and not finding the island *Boynca*, where the *Indians* told the *Spaniards*, there was a well that made old men young, he discovered the coast of *Florida* on *Easter-Day*, Anno 1515. He fitted out three ships at *Seville*, came to *Guadalupe*, where putting men ashore for wood and water, and to wash their cloths, the people of that island slew them. Thence he went to *Florida*, where the *Indians* standing on their guard, wounded him, and many more; and he died of his hurt at *Cuba*, after losing much of his wealth. He sailed with *Columbus* in the year 1493. and was a good officer, and did good service.

*Ferdinand de Soto*, who had been in the wars of *Peru*, and was grown rich by the ransom of *Atabaliba*, desired the conquest of *Florida*, whither he went, and spent five years in the attempt; but he and all his men died without doing any thing.

After the death of this *Soto* many sued for the conquest of *Florida*; and in 1548. *Julian Samana* begged it: but the emperor thinking it no good course to convert the *Indians* by force, sent several friers to convert them; but the *Indians* killed four of them at their first landing.

*Panuco.*

Fifty leagues from *Florida* is the river of *Panuco*. The first discoverer of it was *Francis de Garay*, who only sailed along the coast; but he that undertook the conquest was *Pamphilo de Narvaes*, with the title of *Adelantado*. He sailed from *St. Lucar* with five ships, six hundred men, one hundred horses, and all other provisions, in the year 1527. and suffered much by the way through the ignorance of his pilots: yet he proceeded with three hundred men; but his fault was, that he did not inhabit where he landed. Of the three hundred *Spaniards* that went ashore with him, only four lived, who wander'd six years up and down naked, and wrought many miracles; as healing of diseases, and raising a dead man to life. This *Narvaes* was he that went to oppose *Cortes* in *New Spain*. A *Morisco* foretold it to him, That his fleet should have an ill end; and few of it escaped.

*Francis de Garay* fitted out three carvels at *Jamaica* in the year 1528. intending to attempt *Florida*, which they thought to be an island; for they were more willing to inhabit islands than the continent. Attempting to land, all his men were either kill'd or hurt; but he got to *Panuco*, and returned to *Jamaica*, where he refitted his ships, and recruited his forces, but had worse success than before. He vied with *Cortes*, hoping to gain as much honour as he had done, because the country promised well. He therefore provided eleven ships, with seven hundred men, one hundred and fifty horses, and all necessaries, and sailed to *Panuco*, where he lost all, but himself, who escaped to die afterwards at *Mexico*. *Nunno de Guzman* who was also governor of *Panuco*; he carried but two or three ships, and eighty men, and yet revenged the slaughters the *Indians* had made.

*Jamaica.*

*Columbus* discovered *Jamaica* in his second voyage. His son *James* conquered it, when he was governor of *Hispaniola*. *Francis de Garay* was the richest governor it ever had, but for his loss in the expedition to *Panuco*. This island breeds the best hogs in the *Indies*: the chief town is called *Seville*. The first abbot it had was *Peter Martyr of Angleria*, who writ the decades of the *Indies*.

The discovery of *New Spain* is before, with the actions of *Cortes*.

*Cuba*

Was discovered by *Columbus*, and call'd *Fernandina*, from king *Ferdinand*: *Nicholas*

*de Ovando* began the conquest of it, when he was governor of *Hispaniola*: the chief town and port in it is the *Havana*. The first bishop was *Hernando de Mesa*, a *Dominican*. Many miracles were wrought in this island, by which means it was the sooner subdued.

*Yucatan.*

*Francis Hernandez de Cordova* discover'd it Anno 1517. having one hundred and ten men with him. Here landing to take water he was opposed, and had twenty men killed, fifty wounded, as he was himself in thirty three places, and two taken, whom the *Indians* sacrificed. He returned to *Cuba* troubled for his loss; but glad that he had found such a fruitful country.

*Francis de Montejo* went next to conquer it, with five hundred *Spaniards*, in ships of his own, and built a town called *Santa Maria de Vitoria*. Here he endured much hunger, and other miseries; but outlived them; and continued twenty years, marrying an *Indian* woman, and following the customs of the *Indians*. He refused to go with *Cortes* upon his conquest.

His companion *Aguila* peopled *Campeche*, *Merida*, *Villa Doca*, *Salamanca*, and *Seville*, where he lived quietly and peaceably with the *Indians*, who in this place worshipped the crosses, and had temples and altars; which made the *Spaniards* conceit, that some of the *Goths* fled thither when the *Moors* subdued *Spain*.

*Hondura's.*

*Columbus* discovered all this coast, thinking to find a passage into the *South Sea*. *Francis de las Casas* founded *Trunillo* in the year 1525. by order of *Cortes*. Here the *Spaniards* imprison'd and killed one another.

The people are ill natured; but very obedient to their masters. The first bishop's name was *Pedraca*: the first governor was *James Lopez de Salzedo*, killed by his own people. Next to him was *Vasco de Herrera*, who was killed in the same manner, as were other governors.

*Nombre de Dios.*

The country about it was called *Veragua*, discovered by *Columbus*, Anno 1502. *James de Nicuesa*, who went with *Columbus* in his second voyage, obtained the government of it, and fitted out in *Spain* nine vessels, with seven hundred and eighty men, in 1588. He coasted along to *Carthagena*, where he found the company of *Alonso de Hojeda*, his great friend, in distress, the *Indians* having killed seventy of his men; which they

they revenged, entering their houses by night, and killing and taking them all prisoners.

After this, *Nicuesa* passed from *Hojeda* with two carvels, appointing the rest to follow him. *Lopez de Olano*, who had the command of a vessel, missed of him, and went to seek him in the river of *Chagre*: there they went ashore and sunk their vessels, intending to make it their residence, and chose *Olano* for their general, till the coming of *Nicuesa*. Three of *Nicuesa's* men came to them in a boat, telling them where he was, and that he had lost his two carvels, and endured great hunger for three months.

*Olano* hereupon sent one of his boats to fetch him out of that misery; but when he came to them, he basely imprisoned *Olano*, accusing him of usurping command, and destroying the ships.

He would not stay here, though they were within three months of reaping their corn; for fear *Olano* should have the honour of the undertaking.

Out of the other bark they made a carvel, and went to *Porto Bello*, so called by *Columbus*, because of its goodness. Here the *Indians* slew twenty of his men. He left half his company, and went away to *Cape Marmol*, where he built a fort, calling it *Nombre de Dios*. Of seven hundred and eighty men he had not above one hundred left alive. Here grew great contention between *Vasco Nunnez de Balboa* and *Francis Enciso* about the command; which was the cause they landed not, but returned.

*Nicuesa*, seeing they were gone, went to *Hispaniola* to complain, but was drowned by the way; but first he went ashore by the way, and writ on barks of trees, which were afterwards found, *This way passed the unfortunate James de Nicuesa*. He was the first that discovered *Darien*; where he was reduced to such extremity, that his men were forced to eat dogs, toads, and one another. After this *Philip Godofre* desired the government of *Beragua*, but with no better success, by reason of famine: this was in the year 1536.

The admiral *Lewis Columbus* sent *Christopher Penna* to people there, who suffered much by famine. By agreement betwixt the king and *Columbus*, he was created duke of *Veraguas* and marquis of *Jamaica*, Anno 1546.

#### *Darien.*

*Hojeda*, *Nicuesa*, and *Bastida*, as you have heard, were the discoverers of this country; and after many calamities, mutinies, famine, and other misfortunes, *Hojeda* died a frier at *St. Domingo*, and left *Francis Pizarro* his lieutenant.

In 1502. *Bastida* fitted two vessels at *Cadiz*. He had been with *Columbus* in all his voyages; but lost his ships at *St. Domingo* by the worm that eat them. He was imprisoned by *Bovadilla*, for trading with the *Indians* without leave; but the king gave him two hundred ducats a year in lieu of *Darien*. When those *Indians* fought with the *Spaniards*, they would put gold at the end of their arrows, thinking they would stoop for it, and they might kill them.

*Pizarro* seeing the fifty days expired, wherein *Hojeda* had promised to return, (who, as was said above, was become a frier,) being in great want of victuals left that country, and put to sea with two carvels; one of them was cast away in a storm, and the other had her rudder struck off by a fish; which made them all conclude themselves lost; but by good luck they got to *Caribagena* almost starved.

In his way he left *Enciso*, whom *Hojeda* had left to follow with victuals. *Pizarro* told him, how *Hojeda* was turned frier; but *Enciso* thought it was an invention of his own, and that *Pizarro* had fled from him; but being satisfy'd, he caused him to return, though *Pizarro* offered him two thousand ounces of gold, not to go back, the country was so unfortunate.

They landed at *Comagre* to take in water; and though the *Indians* were man-eaters, yet they used them kindly, when they understood that neither *Hojeda* nor *Nicuesa* were there. Going into *Uraba* their ships struck, and their mares, hogs, and all they had, was lost.

This disaster made *Enciso* desperate, thinking they must all perish; and they all swore to one another, rather to die by the hands of men than by hunger. They landed with one hundred men, and were beaten. Thence they went to a country close by, and built a village, calling it *Guardia*: at first the *Indians* were quiet; but afterwards became their enemies, whom they overcame, and possessed much wealth of theirs.

Now began great factions between *Enciso* and *Vasco Nunnez de Balboa*: *Nunnez* refused to obey him, or pay the king his fifths; and thus they continued a year.

*Henry Colmenores* went with two carvels from *St. Domingo*, to relieve *Hojeda's* men. And after many dangers he arrived at *Carefa*, and put fifty five men ashore, whom the *Indians* slew, excepting seven, that hid themselves in a tree; but they were taken and eaten. *Colmenores* fearing the *Indians* would attempt his carvels, removed to the gulph of *Uraba*, and firing his guns, was answered with fires by the *Spaniards* ashore. There was great joy for their meeting; and all of them made up one

one hundred and fifty men ; a sufficient number against the *Indians*.

The factions continued ; and to appease them *Colmenores* advised, That *Enciso* should govern, he having the king's patent for it. *Nunnez* refused, and would not allow of it ; but afterwards took *Enciso*, and confiscated all he had. *Enciso* got into *Spain* to complain of him, and obtain'd a severe judgment against him ; which came to nothing, because afterwards *Nunnez* was the cause of finding the *South Sea*, and all the wealth obtain'd by it. *Nunnez* had done many other good services, and conquer'd *Castilla del Oro*.

*Nunnez* having the absolute power, endeavoured to govern well, and had two hundred and fifty *Spaniards* ; and in the town of *Nuestra Señora el Entigua del Darien*, with one hundred and thirty of them he went out to find victuals for the rest : an *Indian* king refusing him relief, he took two of his wives and children, and carried them away. In the plundering the town he recovered three *Spaniards* that had been taken of *Nicuesa's* company, who told him how well that king had used them ; whereupon he released his two wives and children, and took their oaths to aid him against *Ponca* their enemy, and to relieve them with victuals.

*Nunnez* sent his friend *Maldivia* to *Santo Domingo* for more men, because the country promised gold, and with him a process against *Enciso*. He sacked a town two leagues up the country, where he had gold, but could not take *Ponca* ; and fearing to be so far in the country without more help, he returned to *Comagre*, and made peace with him. *Comagre* had a fair-built house plenty of victuals, and lived in a civil manner. He had seven wives and seven children, his eldest son gave him seventy slaves to serve the *Spaniards*, and much gold. As they were weighing the gold, two *Spaniards* fell out, which the king observing, he struck down the scales, saying, " If I had known, *Christians*, you would have fallen out for my gold, I would not have given you any ; for I love peace, and I wonder that you who are friends should fall out for so vile a thing. If your country be so civiliz'd as you report, it had been better you had kept in it, than to come so far to quarrel. We live here and content ourselves with indifferent things, and you call us barbarous ; but we will not kill one another for gold ; but I will shew you a country where there is gold enough."

The *Spaniards* were astonished to hear the young man talk so rationally ; and caused the three *Spaniards* that were taken, to ask how far that country he promised was off, and how called. He told them

seven days journey, and that the name of it was *Termenana* ; but advised them to carry more men, because the way was mountainous, and the people men-eaters.

*Nunnez* hearing him talk of another sea, embrac'd him with great joy, and besought him to become a *Christian* ; which he did, and was baptiz'd by the name of *Charles*. He was a great friend to *Christians*, and promised to go with them to the other sea, provided they would carry a thousand *Spaniards*, for fewer would not conquer *Termenana* ; if they mistrusted him, he offered to go bound ; and if he told a lye, they should hang him ; and this was the beginning of the discovery of the *South Sea*.

*Nunnez* return'd with great joy to *Darien*, and divided his wealth. The king's part came to fifteen thousand pesos, which was cast away going to *Spain*. *Nunnez* endure'd great misery, the corn they sow'd being spoiled with rain. Men were sent out with great danger for food, who returned with gold ; but all full of sores made by the biting of gnats.

*Colmenores* went another way with seventy men ; they met together, and went among the people that live upon trees. The *Spaniards* desired a peace with them, which they refused, relying on the height of their trees ; but when the *Spaniards* offered to cut them down, which they imagined they could not do, till they saw it, they then offered them peace and victuals. Gold they did not use, but promised to fetch some, yet came not again being gone to persuade other kings to join with them against the *Spaniards*. They gather'd five thousand men in boats, which was discovered by a woman *Nunnez* had with him. He prevented their treason, and slew most of them ; and they never after attempted any treachery against the *Spaniards* in those parts.

*Colmenores* was sent to the emperor with this news ; but his wife they kept as a pledge. *Colmenores* had been a soldier under the great captain.

*John Sebedo*, a franciscan, was the first bishop of *Antigoa*, in *Darien*, and the first priest that ever was in that new world. *Nunnez* was a gentleman by birth, industrious in war, and belov'd by his soldiers. This country is unwholsome, subject to much rain, and many were there killed by thunderbolts.

*Zenu,*

Is a river, a town, and port, ten leagues from the sea, which has a good trade for fish. The *Indians* there work their plate curiously. *Bascada* discovered it Anno 1512. but *Hojeda* and *Enciso* did most good there.

*Enciso*

*Enciso* being ready to give battle there, told the *Indians* they were *Spaniards*, and peaceable men, who came thither from afar, in great danger, and desired victuals. The others answered, There was little sign they were such men; and desired them to be gone, for they would admit of no stranger among them. The *Spaniards* persuaded them to own the true God; and told them that country was given them by the pope, who had the command of souls; and that they came to take possession of it. They answer'd laughing, That they approved of the service of one God, but would not dispute of religion; that the pope was very free of what was not his own, but had nothing to do with them; and that either the king of *Spain* was very poor, to desire their country, or very bold to threaten them; and that if he came thither himself, they would set his head upon a pole. To conclude, they engag'd, and the *Spaniards* overthrew them with the loss of two men.

*Carthagena.*

*Juan de la Costa*, who was pilot with *Bastida* in 1504. set out four carvels, offering to subdue the *Indians* of this place. He came to *Carthagena*, where he found captain *Lewis Guerra*; they joined together, and took seven hundred men, and returned without doing any great matter.

*Peter de Herrera* went governor with an hundred men, forty horses, and three carvels in 1532. He peopled it; but a mutiny happening among the *Spaniards*, he and his brother were brought prisoners into *Spain*.

The people here are taller than in any other part of the *West Indies*. They are now christians, and have a bishop.

*Santa Maria.*

*Bastida* discovered and governed this land in 1524. but it cost him his life; for his soldiers mutiny'd against him, because he would not give them the spoil of gold, saying, he valued the *Indians* more than them. His death was procured by his friend *Peter Fuentes*, who thought by his death to rule all.

*Don Pedro de Lugo* succeeded him; and after him his son, both of them exceeding covetous. Here *Pedrarías d'Avila* landed, when he went governor to *Darien*, and had a great engagement with the *Indians*, who were much daunted at the cannon firing from the ships; for they thought it had been thunder and lightning.

*New Granada*

Is eighteen leagues from *Santa Maria*, and was discovered by *Gonsalo Ximenes*: he

found out the mines of *Emeralds*, by means of the king of *Bigoufa*, who used the *Spaniards* civilly. This king had forty wives; his subjects were obedient to him, and would not suffer him to spit on the ground. They kept a *Lent* two months in the year; during which time they were not to know woman, nor eat salt. In 1547. the emperor sent a governor to *New Granada*.

*Venezuela.*

The first governor here was *Ambrose Alfinger*, a *German*, in behalf of some merchants the emperor mortgag'd it to. In 1528. he was kill'd, and his men reduced to such misery, that they eat three *Indians*. *George Spira*, another *German*, succeeded him.

Queen *Isabel* would not consent that any but her own subjects should go to the *Indies*; but after her death, the king gave leave to the *Arragonians*. The emperor opened this gap to strangers, by this contract with the *Germans*, yet now none can go but *Spaniards*.

*Venezuela* is now a bishoprick; it is so called, because seated like *Venice*: the women are more familiar than in any other part of the *Indies*; but their religion and attire is no better.

*Cumana and Cubagua.*

*Cumana* is a river that takes the name of the province. Here was a great fishery for people, and certain friers built a monastery in the year 1516. *John Garcia* being their vicar. Three of them went to convert the people up the country, but were slain; yet afterwards the others brought the people to civility, and their children to learn. Thus it continued two years; at the end whereof they revolted and slew one hundred *Spaniards*, entered the town, destroy'd the monastery, and killed all the friers.

*James Columbus* being governor of *Santo Domingo*, sent three hundred *Spaniards* to revenge this wrong, under the command of *Gonsalo de Ocampo*. At his first coming he pretended to the *Indians* that he came out of *Spain*, which emboldened them to come aboard him. When he had as many as he thought fit, he seized them, made them confess all their villany, and compelled them to build the town of *Toledo*, which is within half a league of the sea.

When the aforesaid monastery flourished, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, a priest that had lived in *Santo Domingo*, begged the government of this country, promising the emperor more wealth; and that the *Indians* should be better used than before. By means of count *Nassau*, and other *Flemings*, he obtain'd

obtain'd it. He was furnished at the king's expence, and carried three hundred labourers, with every one a cross on his breast, like a knight. At his coming he found *Ocampo* there, and the country in another condition than he had expected. He required *Ocampo* to obey him, which he refused till he had orders from *Columbus*, who employ'd him, and would not allow him to come into his town of *Toledo*, but oblig'd him to build a great barn of clay without for his labourers. Both went to *Santo Domingo* to complain; by which means *Toledo*, was unpeopled; which the *Indians* taking the advantage of, they entered upon the clay-house, and left not a *Spaniard* alive. The priest hearing hereof, became a frier, and never sent the *Flemings* the pearls he had promised them.

The loss of the pearl-fishery was a great damage to the king; but *Columbus* sent *John Castellon*, with a number of *Spaniards*, who made amends for the follies of the other two, recover'd the country, built a castle at the mouth of the river, and set up the pearl-fishery at *Cubagua*, where *New Cadiz* was built. This island was but two miles about, and barren in those days, but yielded to the value of two millions in pearls. There is a sweet and medicinal spring in it. At some times of the year the sea is red, which they impute to the breeding of oysters, and purging of women. They say here are mermaids. This island of *Cubagua* was discover'd by *Columbus*, which was the cause of his disgrace, being accused for concealing pearls he took there.

*Vincent Pinfon*, and *Adrian* his nephew, growing rich in their voyage with *Columbus*, fitted out four carvels, and had leave to discover those countries where *Columbus* had not been. They came to cape *St. Augustin*, where they found people as big as *Germans*, and had experience of their valour; for they slew eight *Spaniards*, yet he brought away thirty *Indians*, and much brasil; but lost two carvels, men and all, having spent ten months upon the voyage.

#### *Orellano and Amazons.*

This is counted the famous river in the world, rises in *Peru*, has many islands in it, and flows an hundred leagues into the country. The man that gave an account of it was *Francis de Orellano*, lieutenant to *Gonçalo Pizarro*.

*Orellano* being in *Peru*, was sent by his captain to seek victuals, and being in a boat, was carried with such swiftness by the current, that he could not return to *Pizarro*. He carried with him much wealth, and came out into the north sea down that river. From thence he sailed into *Spain*, where he sued for employment,

and undertook that voyage to the river of *Orellano*. He staid in *Spain* till all his wealth was spent, and then married, and drew his wife's friends to venture with him. He gathered five hundred men, but unfortunately died at his going to sea, and that enterprize was never after attempted. He reported he met with *Amazon* women; but it was not believed.

It is supposed that *Marannon* and *Orellano* have both the same source in *Peru*; and that the latter is fifteen leagues over, where it falls into the sea.

*James de Ordas*, who had been a captain with *Cortes* at the conquest of *Mexico*, was sent thither with the title of *Adelantado*, carrying six hundred *Spaniards*, and thirty five horses; but the enterprize fail'd by his death.

*Ferome Ortillano* was sent afterwards with an hundred and thirty men, in the year 1534. who arrived not there, but staid and peopled at *St. Michael*, *Venevente*, and other places.

#### *The River of Plate.*

From cape *St. Augustin*, to the river of *Plate*, is seven hundred leagues. Some attribute the honour of discovering it to *Americus Vespucius*; but it was *John de Solis*, in 1512. who returned into *Spain* with his ships laden with *Brasil* wood, and obtained the government of the river of *Plate*; but landing with some men, he and they were all slain in 1515. yet his ships returned safe. In the year 1526. *Sebastian Cabot*, in his voyage to find the *Molucco* islands, of which he fail'd, arrived at the river of *Plate* with four ships, at the emperor's charge. In *Brasil* he found some *Frenchmen* trading. The *Indians* killed two of his men, but would not eat them, saying they were soldiers. *Cabot* returned into *Spain* with little credit, though he was not to blame, because his men were in fault.

*Don Pedro de Mendosa* went to the river of *Plate* in 1535. with twelve ships, and two thousand men, a greater number than ever had been carried to the *Indies* at one time; in the way thither he sickened, and in his return died.

*Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Voca* was sent *Adelantado* to the river of *Plate* in 1541. with four hundred men, and forty six horses. He could not agree with the *Spaniards* *Don Pedro* left there; nor yet with the *Indians*, so that they sent him prisoner into *Spain*.

*John de Sanabria* was bound to carry three hundred men, at his own cost, to the river of *Plate*; but he died at *Seville*, and his son went.

*F. Bernard de Armenta*, and four others, went to the river of *Plate*, and by the way fell upon an island, where they found three  
of



of *Cabot's* company, who had learned the language, and by their means they converted the savages wonderfully.

Four years before this an *Indian*, called *Orignay*, had proclaimed in those parts, that shortly there would come christians and preachers among them; advising those people to receive them, for they were holy, and would make them leave their beastliness. He made songs to that effect, which they sung; and this proved a great help to their conversion; for they entertain'd the friers as if they had been gods.

*For the better Understanding of the Circuit of America, I will here set down a Rutter of the Distance from Haven to Haven, and Cape to Cape; and will begin with the northern Regions.*

|                                                   | <i>Leagues.</i> |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| From <i>Greenland</i> to the river <i>Nevado</i>  | 200             |
| From thence to <i>Maluas</i>                      | 200             |
| From thence to cape <i>Marso</i>                  | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Delgado</i>                     | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Granzio</i>                     | 200             |
| From thence to <i>Dacalos</i>                     | 200             |
| From thence to cape <i>Florida</i>                | 800             |
| From <i>Bacallao Bay</i> to <i>Rio</i>            | 70              |
| From thence to the bay of the islands             | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Rio Fondo</i>                   | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Rio Gamas</i>                   | 70              |
| From thence to cape <i>St. Mary</i>               | 70              |
| From thence to cape <i>Baxo</i>                   | 40              |
| From thence to <i>St. Antonio</i>                 | 100             |
| From thence to cape <i>Arenas</i>                 | 80              |
| From thence to port <i>Primo</i>                  | 80              |
| From thence to <i>Rio Jordan</i>                  | 70              |
| From thence to <i>St. Hellena</i>                 | 40              |
| From thence to <i>Rio Seco</i>                    | 40              |
| From thence to <i>Labruz</i>                      | 20              |
| From thence to <i>Cona</i>                        | 40              |
| From thence to cape <i>Florida</i>                | 40              |
| From thence to <i>Ancon</i>                       | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Nilves</i> river                | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Flores</i>                      | 20              |
| From thence to <i>Santo</i>                       | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Pescadores</i>                  | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Rio Palmas</i>                  | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Panuco</i>                      | 30              |
| From thence to <i>Vera Cruz</i>                   | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Alvarado</i>                    | 30              |
| From thence to <i>Casnado</i>                     | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Grigalda</i>                    | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Redando</i>                     | 80              |
| From thence to <i>Jucatan</i>                     | 90              |
| From <i>Florida</i> hither is accounted           | 800             |
| From thence to <i>Rio Grande</i>                  | 100             |
| From thence to cape <i>Camero</i>                 | 150             |
| From thence to cape <i>Gratiofo</i>               | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Disagnadero</i>                 | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Zorobaro</i>                    | 40              |
| From thence to <i>Nombre de Dios</i>              | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Farallones</i> in <i>Darien</i> | 70              |
| From thence to the gulph of <i>Urana</i>          | 14              |

|                                         | <i>Leagues.</i> |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| From thence to <i>Carthageña</i>        | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Santa Maria</i>       | 50              |
| From thence to cape <i>de Vela</i>      | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Caquibaca</i>         | 40              |
| From thence to gulph <i>Triste</i>      | 50              |
| From thence to cape <i>Coriano</i>      | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Cubagua</i>           | 4               |
| From thence to point <i>Solis</i>       | 70              |
| From thence to cape <i>Anegado</i>      | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Rio Dulce</i>         | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Orellano</i>          | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Marannon</i>          | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Tiera de Humes</i>    | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Angela St. Lucar</i>  | 100             |
| From thence to cape <i>Primero</i>      | 100             |
| From thence to cape <i>St. Augustin</i> | 70              |

*Cape St. Augustin* is the highest land betwixt *Africk* and *America*, and but five hundred leagues from cape *Verde*.

|                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------|-----|
| From thence to <i>Tados Sanctos</i>       | 100 |
| From thence to <i>Abrelos Ojos</i>        | 100 |
| From thence to cape <i>Frio</i>           | 100 |
| From thence to the bay <i>St. Michael</i> | 600 |
| From thence to <i>Rio St. Francisco</i>   | 700 |
| From thence to <i>Tibiquerio Rio</i>      | 700 |
| From thence to the river of <i>Plate</i>  | 50  |
| From thence to <i>Santa Helena</i>        | 55  |
| From thence to <i>Arenas Goadas</i>       | 30  |
| From thence to the <i>Bazas Anegdas</i>   | 40  |

Coasting *America* from port to port, as I have done, it amounts to nine thousand three hundred and odd leagues.

|                                                           |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|
| From thence to <i>Tierra Baxa</i>                         | 50 |
| From thence to <i>Baxa Sinfonda</i>                       | 75 |
| From thence to <i>Arecifes de Lobas</i>                   | 40 |
| From thence to cape <i>St. Domingo</i>                    | 45 |
| From thence to cape <i>Blanco</i>                         | 20 |
| From thence to <i>Rio de Juan Serrano</i>                 | 70 |
| From thence to the cape of <i>Eleven thousand Virgins</i> | 80 |

From thence you pass the *Streights* of *Maggellan*, which is an hundred and fifty leagues long.

*Now you enter the South Sea.*

|                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| From cape <i>Descado</i> to cape <i>Primero</i>      | 70  |
| From thence to the river <i>Salinas</i>              | 155 |
| From thence to cape <i>Hermoso</i>                   | 100 |
| From thence to <i>Rio St. Francisco</i>              | 70  |
| From thence to <i>Rio Santo</i>                      | 120 |
| From thence to <i>Puerto Descado</i> in <i>Cbile</i> | 200 |
| From thence to <i>Rio Despoblado</i>                 | 200 |
| From thence to <i>Ariqua</i>                         | 90  |
| From thence to <i>Lima</i>                           | 140 |
| From thence to cape <i>Aguila</i>                    | 100 |
| From thence to cape <i>Blanco</i>                    | 40  |
| From thence to cape <i>Helena</i>                    | 70  |
| From thence to <i>Quezemes</i>                       | 70  |
| From thence to <i>Rio Peru</i>                       | 100 |
| From thence to gulph <i>St. Michael</i>              | 70  |
| From thence to gulph <i>Urano</i>                    | 120 |

From

|                                          | <i>Leagues.</i> |                                       | <i>Leagues.</i> |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| From thence to <i>Panama</i>             | 55              | From thence to <i>Cbeneton</i>        | 70              |
| From thence to <i>Troantepeque</i>       | 650             | From thence to <i>Rio Miraflores</i>  | 250             |
| From thence to <i>Guerra</i>             | 70              | From thence to cape <i>Californio</i> | 230             |
| From thence to <i>Barica</i>             | 100             | From thence to the bay of <i>Abad</i> | 100             |
| From thence to cape <i>Blanco</i>        | 100             | From thence to cape <i>Euganno</i>    | 100             |
| From thence to port of <i>Possession</i> | 100             | From thence to cape <i>de Cruz</i>    | 50              |
| From thence to <i>Foufeca</i>            | 15              | From thence to port <i>Sardinas</i>   | 100             |
| From thence to <i>Cboratego</i>          | 20              | From thence to <i>Syerra Neada.</i>   | 150             |
| From thence to <i>Rio Grande</i>         | 30              | There is the furthest discovery.      |                 |
| From thence to <i>Guartinola</i>         | 45              |                                       |                 |
| From thence to <i>Cbitula</i>            | 50              |                                       |                 |
| From thence to <i>Puerto Serrado</i>     | 100             |                                       |                 |
| From thence to <i>Teacampetes</i>        | 40              |                                       |                 |
| From thence to <i>Colina</i>             | 100             |                                       |                 |
| From thence to cape <i>Corrientes</i>    | 100             |                                       |                 |

*The Length and Breadth of Europe, Asia, and Africk, the other three known Parts of the World.*

**E**UROPE takes its western beginning from the furthest part of *Ireland*, running to the river *Tanais* towards the east, accounted two thousand one hundred sixty six miles, both places lying in fifty two degrees of latitude; and from north to south, that is, from the *Morea*, lying in thirty five degrees northward, to seventy two degrees of latitude, is reckoned two thousand two hundred and twenty miles, and had in it of late years, till some of them were united into one, twenty eight christian kingdoms.

*Asia*, from the east to the west, that is

*The Two Worlds undiscovered, besides the Four known.*

**T**HE four known parts and divisions of the world have been often spoke of in these discourses; and, besides these four, there are two others, generally conceived not as yet discovered.

The one under the pole, and not fit to be attempted, though we certainly know a land to be there; but my hope is, as in my discourse of the north-west passage will appear, that under the north pole we shall find a sea, and no land, through which we shall pass to *China*, and those parts of the world.

If not, though that part of the earth should afford us another world, as big and spacious as all the rest besides, yet could we expect no more advantage from it, than *Greenland* affords us, which never any man inhabited to bid us welcome, nor commodity on shore to entice us thither to repair; and, therefore, though another world should appear in that climate, it can neither benefit us, nor the *Christian* commonwealth, more than a country of ice and snow.

The second imagined new world is to the southward of the *Streights of Magellan*,

to say, from the river *Tanais*, directly eastward, four thousand two hundred and eighty four miles; and from north to south four thousand five hundred and sixty miles.

*Africk*, from east to west, (*viz.*) from *Gambra* to *Guardufu* in ten degrees of north latitude, is four thousand one hundred fifty five miles; and from north to south two thousand seven hundred and sixty miles, (*viz.*) to the equinoctial line, ten degrees, six hundred leagues; from thence to the cape of *Good Hope*, two thousand one hundred and sixty miles.

commonly called *Tierre del Fuego*, which is supposed to be a continent, and to run east and west the compass of the world about.

That there is a land, beside the probabilities, there are proofs; the one by Mr. *Richard Hawkins*, in his voyage into the south sea; for falling short of the *Streights of Magellan*, he espy'd a country; but his intention being of another sort than discovery, he would not approach the shore, but stood his direct course to the *Streights*, which he passed in 1594.

The next proof of a land, though not of a main land, supposed by Sir *Francis Drake* to be to the southward of the *Streights*, was found out by *Cornelius Van Stowden*, of whom I have spoken in my second book, that in the year 1616. discovered a passage into the south sea, three degrees to the southward of the *Streights*, where he found diversity of lands and islands till he arrived at the *Molucco's*, as I have said in the second book.

But be it firm land, or islands, it is all one to us, that seek by the knowledge of  
it

it to make gain by it. It is a vain thing for us to think, that a country seated in so cold a climate, and not inhabited, should bring forth the fruits of the earth, or that it can be planted to afford us any commodity, no, not the value of fetching, though it should cost us nothing.

For compare it with *Newfoundland*, and the continent of that coast, long since discovered and known to us, and consider what use or profit we have made, or can make of a plantation there, and we shall find it not worth our labour; for though it be not so cold as farther to the northward, yet 'tis in that extremity of coldness, that in many hundred years it cannot be tempered for our bodies to live in.

This may seem an ambiguous speech, that the earth of an intolerable cold constitution may be tempered for men to live in, and to make use and benefit of.

But what I shall say in this point is prov'd both by reason and experience, That the coldness of *America* in fifty one degrees, which doth parallel us in *England*, is by many degrees colder than with us in *England*, and the difference thereof caused by art and pains: for where there is a plantation of towns and houses; commerce of people, whose breath sends forth a heat; divisions of lands, as by walls, ditches, hedges, the grounds trenched and dried with continual fires; it yields a perpetual heat, and is a shelter against all kind of cold, in comparison of a country that has none of these benefits or helps.

We our selves have examples of it; betwixt a natural moorish and wet dwelling, and such a place that by industry and art is brought to a better perfection. We see the difference of houses that are continually dwelt in, and fires kept burning; and others that lie uninhabited, waste, and no care taken of them.

Besides these reasons, to discourage us from planting in these degrees of *America* equal to *England*, the *French* have convinced us by their example; who, by their long travel and charge, have sought to produce some benefit out of those countries; but all their labours have proved vain; for, they find, the cold destroys all their good intentions, and the only gain they now make is in their trades for furs.

Then, if by reason and proof, *America* in fifty one degrees can yield us no profit, being but two thousand miles from *England*, where we have a conveniency to transport our men and provision once a year, at an easy rate, in ships that fish in *Newfoundland*, by whom we may be reliev'd; what can we expect from a country in the same latitude southward, that is as cold, the people barbarous and savage, and having no con-

veniency to transport our men, otherwise than in ships we purposely hire, to sail nigh seven thousand miles from *England*, the equinoctial line to be twice passed, in going and coming, which must distemper mens bodies by the sudden entering out of the cold into the heat; and this is the only cause to be imputed to the death of our men in our long navigations.

More then for our own satisfaction, that a land is there placed, we can expect no good from thence; for where there wants heat, there wants riches, by proof of the pure metals, and the quantity and diversity of them, growing betwixt the two tropicks, above all other parts of the world.

And for our other kind of commodities that are produced out of the earth, the temperate zone affords them in most abundance, but not caused by the heat of the sun alone, but by the managing and manuring of the land, by the labour and industry of the people, and by the commerce, trade, and civility, betwixt man and man, country and country; for, no doubt, in times past, when the people of *England* were barbarous, they lived in the same estate, and the country was of the same condition that other places are, of the same height at this instant.

Therefore I conclude, that though all the countries contained in the hot and temperate zones yield no profit, unless they be manur'd and us'd accordingly, yet, I say, no part of the world out of those zones, where the cold has so predominate a power over men, beasts, and fruits of the earth, is of any value or goodness to intice men to inhabit or people it; for neither by art or industry such a climate can be made capable for man to live in, or fruitful to make any use of.

But notwithstanding these reasons collected out of experience, there are some men, who, to appear singular, and others for argument sake, go about to prove there are other countries not yet discovered, as pleasant and as plentiful as those that are known by daily traffick.

It has been my chance often to meet with some of these self-conceited witty men, and for want of learning to defend my opinion, I have fled to the protection of reason, with humility to submit to judgment, and to acknowledge my errors, after I am confuted by proof: but before the discovery of any such countries should be set on foot, I have advised, That the first thing they should attempt, should be to find out another sun; for the power and operation of this sun is known to us by the light it sends abroad to all parts of the world at several seasons of the year, as the countries are

feated from the *equinoctial* line, which is termed, *The girdle of the world*.

This *Sun* is known to rise in the east, and set in the west, making its course every twenty four hours about the world; its declination to the northward and southward, is well known to us not to exceed the two *tropicks*, which are in twenty three degrees and an half from the *equinoctial*: we likewise know, that it is the guide of the lengthening and shortening of the days, occasioned by its motion. We also know all such lands in *America*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, as lie between the two *tropicks*; and, trading

into these countries, know what the heat of the *Sun* in that space produces.

Then seeing we are perfectly acquainted with the virtue and quality of our *Sun*, and the power and heat it sends forth to the countries adjoining to it; and that the riches of all places grow by the heat they are seated in; I desire to be satisfied what richer countries can be hoped for besides those already known to us, unless there be another *Sun* to work the operation this *Sun* does. And thus much concerning my private opinion of the two worlds undiscovered.

### *Other Seas besides the Ocean, great Part of them lately discovered.*

I HAVE sailed into all the quarters and corners of the earth through the wide unknown ocean, and left no country unspoken of, to which the main sea has given passage. But besides the great spacious and known seas, besides the commerce, trade, and intercourse of all nations, I have at large related there are other seas, which, in comparison of the ocean, may be termed rather *Lakes* or *Streights*, which I will a little handle.

The first shall be the *Caspian Sea*, which is invironed and compassed about with land, and seated in a main continent; where there is no issue or passage into any other sea; but like a pool or pond it has a settled being.

The second is the *Red Sea*; which, after one thousand two hundred miles running, falls into the *Indian Sea*; and but that this sea is named a sea in the scripture, which is the authentick proof of all other authors, it should no more deserve the name of a sea, than the *Persian Gulph*, which falls into the *Indian Sea*, and is equal in breadth and length to the *Red Sea*, and yet is called a gulph.

The third is the *Mediterranean Sea*, which divides *Europe* from *Africk*; and something I will say of this sea, when it comes to the place to be treated of: but first concerning the *Caspian* and *Red Sea*.

The *Caspian Sea* is at least two hundred leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth; many rivers running into it, and especially the river *Volga* out of *Russia*; which river divides itself into seventeen branches before it falls into the *Caspian Sea*.

There are few ships, and but small trade on this sea, for want of mariners and seaport towns; and because of the poverty of the people, and abundance of ice.

Our *English* merchants finding a trade into *Persia* out of *Russia* by the *Caspian Sea*, built a ship after the manner of *England*; the tar used about her issued out of the earth

thereabouts; she was of twenty seven or thirty tons burthen, and sailed with *English* mariners. This was the first and the best-built ship that ever sailed, or display'd christian colours in those seas; she drew not above five foot water; for the sea is both shallow, and subject to shoals. This trade was left off, by reason of the danger of thieves and robbers, and the barbarity of the people.

About this sea *Ottoman*, the first of that name and house that bare rule amongst the *Turks*, had his original, and came from thence in the year 1300.

In some places of this sea the water is fresh; and in some other places as salt as in the ocean.

It neither ebbs nor flows, except some times with the rage of the wind.

There are several sorts of fish, which are not in our seas; but great monsters and fishes there are none. And thus much for the *Caspian Sea*.

The *Red Sea* is not red, as many conceive; but takes the name from the red bushes that grow along the shore side. Others are of opinion, that the name is derived from the red sands in that sea, especially towards the shore, which cause the water to look red.

This sea has three channels; that in the middle is the deepest, and betwixt twenty five and thirty fathom; the other two are full of rocks and shoals, which makes it navigable only in the day time, and that with danger.

The shore affords neither grass, herbs, nor weeds, nor the sea any quantity of fish.

Some are of opinion, that the gold of *Opbir* was brought out of the *East Indies* through this sea.

No man can sail in this sea, but *Turks*, or such as have licence from them; for which they pay very dear.

*Prefter John* has only one harbour in the *Red Sea*, called *Arquico*; the *Portuguese* and

and *Prester John* have often attempted to damnify the *Turks* in the *Red Sea*; but they proceeded so faintly, that they still failed in their enterprizes.

*Mecca* is the place so famous for the sepulchre of *Mahomet*, and for the number of people yearly resorting to it, seated upon the *Red Sea*, and forty days journey from *Cairo* in *Egypt*. *Sida* is a great port in this sea; whither forty or fifty ships yearly resort, laden with spices, and other rich commodities out of *Cambdaja*, and other parts of the *East Indies*. And now to the *Mediterranean Sea*.

Out of the *Mediterranean* two other seas are increased; the *Adriatick*, which runs up to the city of *Venice*, and divides *Italy* from *Greece*; and the *Euxine*, that parts *Europe* from *Asia*, possessed only by the great *Turk*.

The *Euxine Sea*, and no other part of the *Turks* dominions, except the island of *Cyprus*, affords him any harbour to build galleys in, or ships, or materials to build them withal. What ships, galleys, or other vessels soever he at any time sends into the *Red Sea*, are carry'd from thence to *Alexandria*, and transported to *Cairo*, and so to *Susa*, which is above two hundred miles by land; a trouble and charge not to be estimated, if we consider his fleet of eighty great ships, twenty five foists, four galleasses, twenty galleys, and seven other vessels, all brought out of the *Euxine Sea* to *Susa*, in the manner aforesaid, when he attempted and failed in his enterprize to *Aden* in 1573.

The commerce and trade into the *Mediterranean Sea*, has been more ancient and famous, than all other seas in the world, although it is neither long nor broad; for at the entrance into it, it is not above two leagues over, which was forced by means and labours of people, as it is received by tradition; and I the rather believe it, because to this day the entrance into this sea is called *The Pillars of Hercules*, who is said to be the author of the work; and were it not for this small entrance, considering that the sea has a stoppage upon the land of *Syria*, it were rather to be termed a lake than a sea.

Among many observations on the *Mediterranean*, this is not the least to be considered, That though the ocean continually runs through this small streight of two leagues, carrying such abundance of water, that in reason it were enough to overflow and drown that part of the earth on which it beats, having no passage out; yet in no part of the land where these waters pass, does exceed its ordinary and usual bounds and limits. There have been many opinions and disputes about the reason hereof;

but for my prrt, I hold with him who judges that sea has a passage under the earth.

My next observation is, That God has placed in that sea, the most, and the most plentiful islands of the earth; which islands have heretofore sent forth men of fame, to enrich the world with wit and learning, and in this time spread their commodities into all the countries of *Europe*, and receive theirs in exchange.

And though I may attribute to every island some particular honour, but that it is not proper to my discourse, that treats only of the sea, yet will I say for the excellency of the island of *Cyprus*, which the *Turks* have enjoy'd ever since the year 1571. that it affords, without the help of any other country, materials to build and furnish a ship, as namely, masts, ropes, sails, and such like, that she need not be beholding to her neighbours.

My third observation is, That in that sea there have been fought more naval battles by the *Romans*, *Turks* and *Christians*, than in all the other seas of the world besides: the wars of the pirates was in that sea, whom *Pompey* the great overcame, to his everlasting honour and praise: the *Romans* kept in continual employment in that sea two thousand sail of ships, fifteen hundred galleys, eighty great galleons, with their prows and poops richly gilt, and had always double provision for the navy.

My fourth observation is God's blessing to the christians and christian shores, opposite to *Barbary*, possessed by *Turks* and *Moors*; for that in all that coast of theirs God hath not given them one harbour to entertain a fleet; which has made them heretofore ignorant in navigation, and sea-affairs; whereas, if the shore had afforded them ports, and their land timber, and all other materials to build shipping, considering their numbers, valours, and the division of christians, I am of opinion, before now, they had been masters of the better part of *Europe*. And I may the better conjecture it, by the hurts and spoils the pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis* have of late years committed upon the christians, since they have had the use of christian ships; for themselves have none.

And only these two places afford safety for their vessels; *Algiers* by a mole or cove, made by art in the sea: *Tunis* by an open road, called the *Goletta*; and this shall suffice for the *Mediterranean*.

Besides these seas aforesaid, there are many lakes; some known, others imagined, or received by tradition, as namely, that of *Africk*, called *Zembre*, out of which flow the rivers *Nilus*, *Niger*, *Como*, *Quama*, *Maginca*, and divers others.

The river *Nilus* flows forty days in a year, and decreases as many, (that is to say,) from the 27th of *July* to the 6th of *October*. The river *Niger* doth the like; and much about that time.

The river *Cambra* and *Seneca*, which divides the colour and complexion of the people, falls out of *Niger*. On one side of the river *Cambra* the people are of a dead ash-colour, lean, and of small stature; on the other, black negroes, tall and well proportioned.

In the lake of *Zembre*, as also in the river of *Layar*, there are water-horses, and water-oxen, which at night come ashore and graze; the horses are sometimes taken and made tame; they run swift; but a man must be careful how he rides over a deep river on one of them, for they will suddenly dive under water.

*Sinus Persicus* is in the gulph of *Persia*; and has in the mouth of it, in the *Indian* sea, the island of *Ormus*, famous for the great trade to it from the *Indies*, and all the countries in that part of the world.

There are divers towns of the *Arabs* on the gulph of *Persia*, and great traffick by water; notwithstanding it is both shallow, great customs are paid, and it is subject to *Arabian* thieves.

The town they first imbarck at in passing down to *Ormus*, is *Bierr*; the vessels that

fail in that sea, are of forty or fifty tons in burthen, and have no iron in them, but only in their anchors.

*Babylon* stands upon the river *Tigris*, which falls into the river of *Euphrates*; it is a great through-fair, and stands in *Persia*; from *Babylon* they go to *Balsora*, which is a town of great traffick; in former time it was under the *Arabs*, but now under the *Turks*: from *Balsora* they go to *Ormus*, which is six hundred miles distant, and all in the *Persian* gulph.

Besides the sea and lands lately discovered, of which I have formerly treated, producing nothing but my own reasons to strengthen my opinion, there are other seas and unknown passages, supposed to make a passage or communication from one to another; as namely, the north-west and north-east passages to bring us to other seas, which our nation, above others, has been industrious to search out, to its yearly expence, hazard, and charge, without effecting any thing as yet. These that follow are reasons, or rather arguments *pro & contra*, to prove or disprove a passage; which I refer, as I do all the rest of my discourses, to the consideration of men of more judgment than my self; it was written upon the return of *Hudson's* ship, after he was treacherously murdered by his company.

### *A Discourse concerning the North-west Passage.*

THERE are three things to be considered in this pretended voyage, upon the discovery of the north-west passage this present year 1610.

1. The first is the probability of a passage.
2. Whether it is like to tend to the southward or northward.
3. What commodities are like to arise to us alone, above any other nation, by it.

That there is a passage, is confidently believed; though there be several opinions, whether it runs into the *South Sea*, or into the *North-west*, which experience must determine. Some there are who pretend to have passed it themselves; but their words carry so little shew of reason along with them, that they deserve no credit.

*Gemma Frigius* says, There went three brethren from *Europe* through this passage, whence it took the name of *Fretum Trium Fratrum*.

In my opinion, if *Gemma Frigius* intended we should believe his report, he should have set down the names of the three brethren, their country, the shipping, out of what port, or by whom they were em-

ployed; the season of the year they set forth, the time of their return; the course they failed; what hope or despair in making benefit of their discovery; the conditions of the people they met with; the commodities of every country where they had commerce; the altitude of every place; what dangers are to be shuned, or some particular accident that fell out in the voyage; for these are designs of mens voyages and discoveries: and not mentioning any of them, why may we not conceive it to be a fiction, as well as divers other names, that are given to places in maps within the lands of *Africk*, *Asia* and *America*, which never any man was known to be at, to give an account of.

We must either conclude that passage not worth following, which was discovered, and left off after the first voyage; or that those princes, or others, to whom they made relation of it, gave little credit to their report.

For, no doubt, if there had been any such thing, it was undertaken for the same end we now attempt it, (that is,) for the discovery of new lands, where we may have com-

commerce and traffick : they could not be ignorant of the nature of commodities, and it is like they would have brought home an example of some, that would have given encouragement to have persevered, and not desisted from the enterprize, it being discovered ; neither is it likely, that three brethren, who presumed to undertake such a voyage for their honour or glory, would let die so noble and so memorable an action, as the north-west passage.

The second reason to prove a passage, is alledged by *Cornelius Nepos*, That there were certain *Indians* cast upon the coast of *Germany*, which were presented by the king of *Smith* to *Quintus Marcellus Celer*, the proconsul of *France*.

The third, that in the year 1160. whilst *Frederick Barbarasso* reigned emperor, there came certain *Indians* cast upon the coast of *Germany*.

The fourth, that *Othen*, in the story of the *Gotbs*, affirms, That in the time of the *German* emperors, there were certain *Indians* cast upon the coast of *Germany*.

These four proofs are verify'd by three authors : but considering that we read in the days of *Quintus Marcellus*, the *Romans* were so desirous to enlarge their empire, that they left no means unattempted, nor no country heard of unconquered ; and that they would not examine these men, of the custom of the country, the distance from whence they came, the wealth and power of their king, the way of their coming, and, at least, to devise how to send an ambassador to be informed of the state of their nation, and to settle an intercourse of traffick. I must confess, if these things were not put in practice by the *Romans*, they were less careful of their government and greatness than any history can lay to their charge.

These reasons, with one more, I must likewise alledge to the two christian emperors, That they should be so careless in their duty towards God, that having knowledge of heathen people, they would not use their best endeavours to draw and bring them to the yoke of Christ ; by which means they might have been civilized ; and having learn'd the language and true worship of God, this would have proved a good introduction to have wrought their own ends and desires upon them.

These, I say, may breed some scruple in me, to doubt that they were people of the *West Indies* ; though in those days, they might give them the names of *Indians*, because the savages, and the people of *America*, nor *America* itself, was not then discovered, nor of many years after. I will not deny, but that such men might arrive upon the coast of *Germany* ; but I should have

been better confirmed, if the burden and manner of building their ship, had been expressed, with the number of men, their time of absence from home, the behaviour and civility of the people, what sea or streight they passed, what commodities they brought with them, and desired to carry from thence ; for the author said they came to trade.

But the greatest argument we are grounded upon that they came out of the *Indies*, is, because in the discourse they gave them the name of *Indians* ; but I do verily believe, if there were any such people, that they were savages of *America*, over-against *Germany*, who were put from the shore with a westerly wind ; as the *Spaniards* relate of a *Biscainer*, that was forced with an easterly wind from the *Canaries* to the coast of *America*, from whom *Columbus* had his light for the discovery of the *Indies* : both these reports I believe alike.

The fifth proof of a passage is grounded upon a report of *Cortereal*, a *Portuguese*, who, by his own report, passed it, and gave it the name of *Cortereal*. But where this *Portuguese* was born, or took shipping, or by whom he was employed, or upon what occasion, what became of the rest of the men, the name of the ship, captain, and master, or the journals of the voyages, is not expressed ; which makes me doubt of the credit of this story ; for there is no man so void of sense, that does not observe the month and day of his departure from home, and all accidents in the journey ; or though the *Portuguese* should be careless thereof, yet of ten mariners, eight of them would observe it.

But leaving this to the *Portuguese* forgetfulness, let us examine who should employ him ; and upon what occasion. If we speak according to reason, no prince so likely as the kings of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Denmark* ; whose countries lie more convenient for the passage.

Neither is it likely that any other than a prince would set them out, because it would concern a prince more than any private man ; but allow that more than one or ten should employ them ; think you the secret of the voyage could be concealed, or that they would leave prosecuting it when discovered : no, no ; for in those days *England*, *Scotland*, and *Denmark*, would have thought it a great happiness to their state to have found it out.

And to prove what I say, that *England* was ignorant of any such discovery, we have no record of any such voyage undertaken out of *England* ; nor proof of the *Portuguese* offer to any king of *England*, as we have of *Columbus*, who tendered his service

to Henry VII. for the discovery of the *West Indies*, before he made offer of it to *Spain*.

How this *Portuguese* could cause such a silence in the rest of the company, as not to make report of it, is very doubtful, seeing man naturally is apt to extol himself; and such a service as that passage, would cause the men not only to boast of it, but also to make offer where it was most likely to be accepted; which, as I have said, I could never hear was done to *England*.

It is an old saying, That two may keep counsel, if the third be away; but that the *Portuguese* could pass in a ship that had but two or three men to sail her, or that they could be made so silent as not to report, I refer my self to any judicious man.

The voyage was neither by the king his master's appointment, nor by any minister under him, or by the consent of the one or the other, you may conjecture; because the discovery of that passage, was likely to hazard his greatness in the *East Indies*; and therefore, if any such should be attempted, it is likely he should rather forbid than further it.

And seeing it was never seconded by *England*, *Scotland*, or *Denmark*, and the king of *Portugal* had less reason than the rest to discover it, I believe the *Portuguese* was like a great many vagabonds in *England*, who beg under the name of soldiers, that never were in war.

The sixth proof of a passage, and particularly out of the *South Sea*, is related by one *Salvatierra*, a gentleman of *Spain*, that spoke it from the mouth of one *Andrew Sernita*, a frier, in the year 1560. which frier confessed to the said *Salvatierra*, that he had passed from the *South Sea* into *Germany* through the north-west passage.

This report seems to be a hear-say of a second person; and whether the frier spoke it to *Salvatierra*, or no, that must rest upon the honesty of *Salvatierra*; and whether the frier spoke truth, in saying it, rests as much upon the honesty of the frier; so that there are two mens credits at stake, and neither of them both, to be examined; but let us examine the likelihood of it.

The king of *Spain* in those days had as little reason to discover such a passage into the *South Sea* as the king of *Portugal*; because it would be as great a damage to him as to the king of *Portugal*; the trade of *Peru* being as much exposed as that of the *East Indies*.

But suppose there was no hurt or damage to the king of *Spain* by that passage, yet the finding of it would be more inconvenient; for it is nearer from *Lima* to *Panama*, and from thence to *Nombrededios* by land, and so into *Spain*, which is the or-

dinary way of trade, than from *Lima* to *Spain* by a north-west passage.

And therefore seeing the discovery of that passage would neither profit nor shorten the *Spaniards* voyage, but might in time prejudice, yea hazard the whole *Indies*, I see no reason the *Spaniards* had to attempt this discovery, but rather to divert it; and therefore the frier's testimony to be doubted.

By his own report, this passage was not long discovered before the year 1560. Sir *Martin Forbusher*'s last attempt to the north-west was undertaken in 1576. so that there could not be twenty years difference betwixt their two undertakings.

If the frier's relation had been true, it is not likely it would have been concealed; and seeing Sir *Martin*'s action was undertaken by the queen, who had better means to understand the state of it than any private man, no question but the queen would have procured a certain relation for Sir *Martin*'s better instruction.

Or if the frier's arrival had been upon the coast of *Germany*; as neither the time, place, company, nor ship, is spoken of, nor any *German* writer makes mention of, which it is likely they would have done, if it had been true, or if not, so memorable a thing as the north-west passage would not have been forgotten in twenty years.

Besides, the *Germans* had been as likely as any nation in the world to have attempted it, if there had been cause, considering how industrious and ingenious they are by nature; and seeing that neither report made it famous, nor that it was ever seconded by any other person, I think the frier passed it in a dream, or upon the horse *Pegasus*.

The seventh reason to prove a passage, was by *Stephen Gomes*'s offer to *Charles V.* in 1527. who would have sent to discover it, but that his employment was so great otherwise, that he could not attend it; and the king of *Portugal* fearing that the emperor would persevere in the enterprize, gave him three hundred thousand ducats to desist; as saith *Francisco de Ulloa*.

How probable this is, let us a little examine. First, I think that neither *Gomes*, nor any other man, durst make such an offer to the emperor; for he might as well have presented him with poison in his cup, as to discover a passage that might prove so hurtful to the state of *Spain*; and I think few kings would have suffered *Gomes* to have lived, if they believed his relation, lest, upon refusal, he might have tendered it to some other prince or country that might lie more conveniently for it.



Secondly, *Gomes* could not have been such a fool, but to think, as it stood with the state of the emperor, to have the passage found; yet as the emperor was king of *Spain*, it was the most hurtful and dangerous thing that could happen to his kingdoms; and of the two titles and dignities, the emperor was to respect his inheritance of *Spain*, being successive, as the other was but elective.

To prove that it has been passed, is not set down by *Gomes*; and reasons that it may be passed are as well known to thousands as to *Gomes*; which makes me judge of *Gomes* to be an undertaking fellow, as we have many in our age that will put themselves into action, and promise good success to keep themselves employ'd.

And I do the rather believe this of *Gomes*, because I read in the voyage of *Magellan* about the world, that this *Gomes* was pilot of one of his ships, wherein *Alvaro Mesquita*, *Magellan's* nephew, went captain; and coming into the *Streights* of *Magellan*, *Gomes* mutiny'd, and compelled this captain to return home.

Besides, I find it recorded of the said *Gomes*, That he undertook the discovery of the north-west passage in 1525. and after ten months spent without effecting it, he brought home certain *Indians*, and arriving at the *Groynes*, was called to from the shore as he enter'd that harbour, to know what he came home laden withal; who answer'd, with *Eslavo's*, meaning with *Indians*, which the others conceived to be *Clavo's*, viz. cloves, upon the first apprehension thereof; and in hope to get a reward of the king, the party posted up to the court with tidings, that *Gomes* had been at the islands of *Molucco's*, and was return'd home, laden with cloves; but when this news was contradicted, the fellow lost his charge and travel, and they were both derided.

But to return where I left off, though there had been no likelihood to impeach the emperor in his *Indies* by this passage, yet considering it was like to prejudice the king of *Portugal* in the *East Indies*, the emperor had reason, without receiving any such sum of money, to hinder it; for as much as the more nations traded that way, the sooner they might discover those places that were discover'd afterwards, as namely, the *Phillipines*, and other islands, and in time might prove his most dangerous neighbours.

But especially the emperor was married to the daughter of *Don Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, who had the reversion of all his kingdoms, if his heirs males failed, as it did, and became hereditary to *Spain*.

And therefore it was most ridiculous we should conceive the emperor ever threaten-

ed the king of *Portugal* with that discovery, or received money of him to that purpose, as is expressed. But I observe it is the nature of all men to flatter themselves with hope of a thing they would have, and will wrest reasons and stories to strengthen their belief, by example of this which they misreport; and therefore I will set down the truth of this story out of authentick authors.

There was a long question and debate between the emperor and the king of *Portugal*, to whom the *Molucco's* should belong. And it is true the emperor labour'd to find another way to the *Molucco's*, than by the cape of *Good Hope*.

*Magellan* was a *Portuguese* by birth, who had lived seven years in the *Indies*: he left the service of his king, and offered it to the emperor, giving hope to find a new way to the *Molucco's*, though it proved the loss of his own life.

The controversy to whom the *Molucco's* should belong, continued between the two crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made sundry attempts, by way of the *Streights*, but evermore with unfortunate success. At last *Don John III.* of *Portugal*, and brother-in-law to the emperor, willingly lent him three hundred and fifty thousand ducats when he went into *Italy* to be crown'd emperor, upon condition the king of *Portugal* should no way be molested in his possession of the *Molucco* islands till that money was repaid; which being never done, the *Spaniards* never since pretended to those islands. But there was no mention made of a north-west passage.

Although there are a great many more probabilities that the *Streights* have not been at any time passed, than otherwise, yet it is no reason absolutely to disprove a passage, whatsoever any man shall ground upon philosophical arguments, or by any globe or card that is extant; for except a globe-maker can as well prove by experience that there is such a sea as he sets down, and by the testimony of some men that went it, he may as well suppose what he makes sea to be as dry land as the deserts of *Arabia*: and therefore leaving this trial, I will proceed further.

I have perused all the voyages to the north-west made by *Sir Martin Forbisher*, and *Mr. John Davies*, with whom I have often conferred touching this passage; and I have found by them a likelihood of it, but no more assurance than from those that never went so far as they did. Therefore whatsoever is hitherto done, is but imaginary.

I must confess that the last year's attempt of *Hudson's* has given us knowledge of four hundred leagues further than ever was known

known before ; and out of his discovery we are to conjecture more or less possibility of it.

And because I make this voyage the foundation of all others that shall succeed, I will set down, as much as I can remember, what I received from the mouth of the master that came home from *Hudson*, touching the particulars of his voyage, and whether it will avail us, or no, being discovered.

The entrance was in sixty three degrees, and they ran in that height two hundred leagues, and finding the *Streight*, which was forty leagues over to run south, they followed that southerly course, making account it would bring them into the *South Sea*; and here they ran two hundred leagues more, till they found the water too shallow and unpassable.

They wintered in an island in fifty two degrees; where in the whole winter they saw but one man who came to them but twice: the second time of his coming he brought with him three deer-skins, which he would not exchange for a hatchet; for he priz'd them at more value: but when he saw that he could not have it under the whole three, he was content to let them go, and promised by signs to come the next morning; but came not.

The savage was cloathed in skins, and his arrows forked with iron. They found the place much subject to north-west winds, and far exceeding any part of *England* in coldness.

As they tended south, going about the headland, they passed near the shore, and betwixt certain rocks, small islands, and main lands.

They found the flood to come from the north-west, which is one of their arguments that it came from the main sea. The next voyage must be to discover from whence this current comes, and to see if in running west or north-west, they can find a streight to run south, or an open sea to the northward.

Victuals they found none from the shore, but white partridges; the water they had was snow water, which fell abundantly into their ships every night: wine, aquavita, and other liquid things, did freeze in an exceeding manner, though it was but in fifty two degrees.

I conceive two especial benefits by *Hudson's* discovery; the one, That we have passed two hundred leagues more west than was ever discovered; that hereafter we may be bold to sail two hundred leagues directly, without losing any time to search one shore or other, which would have taken up a whole summer, if they had not intended to winter.

The second is, That whereas there was hope of a passage to fall into the *South Sea*, not many leagues after the entrance into the *Streights*, this discovery has put us out of doubt of it; so that I make account there is another summer gained.

I will suppose we are two hundred leagues in the *Streights*, and, as they say, we encounter with a north-west flood: but before we direct our course west and north-west, let us judge of this flood, and where they met it: if in the midst of the channel, we may the better believe it came out of the main sea; but if amongst islands, broken land, or rocks, we have no reason to ground our hopes of a voyage upon it.

For by experience upon the coast of *Britany*, or where there are many islands or rocks, the tides alter according to the rocks and islands; and I know *Hudson's* company confess they met them amongst rocks and islands; and therefore no hold to be taken of a north-west flood.

But according to the hope we conceive of this flood, we direct our north-west course, being entered the *Streights*, and in sixty two degrees. You must note, that in running north-west, every twenty eight leagues you raise a degree; and the further you run any point to the northward, the greater hazard you shall endure by ice and cold, the worst wintering, if you be put to it, and the further from your voyage, because the course lies southerly.

But one hope may be, That the northern part of *America*, which is made land in the maps, will prove sea. Allowing it to be true, and the *Streights* to run but two hundred leagues farther, either northward or westward, then let us compare the time we have to pass the *Streight*, and reckon our departure from *England*, and we shall find the climate very unseasonable, either to winter, or to make a factory, if we pass it not in one summer.

From *England* to the *Streights-Mouth*, seven hundred leagues; to the place discovered two hundred; to the sea imagin'd two hundred north-west, where I will suppose there is an open sea, though the contrary is known. Now have I run one thousand one hundred leagues, and in sixty two degrees.

And if we will know the distance from thence to the *Molucco's*, or where we have now a trade, this rule will lead us, (*viz.*) to measure with the meridian line from the entrance of the *Streight*, lying in sixty two degrees, due south, to the height of twenty three and a half, which is the latitude of cape *California*; then measure the distance from this meridian to the cape of *California*, and from thence to the cape *Mendacina*, which is the furthest known part of *America*, and after to the *Molucco's*, and

and you shall find nothing gained by this discovery; for that of necessity the land of *America* must be doubled, before we direct our course to any of the places aforesaid.

But suppose, upon the opening of the sea to the northward, the land proves, as is describ'd in most globes and maps, (*viz.*) all land, and no sea, then are you to run due west in sixty two degrees, as aforesaid; or as the land shall lie, so many leagues, as you shall measure by the former rule, (*viz.*) from the said meridian line to the cape *Mehdacina*, which, considering the distance and distemperature, the course alone would not be run in a whole summer.

Or if, being in sixty two degrees, we find a passage to run south-west, and to fall into the *South Sea*, about the height of cape *California*, it is great odds, that freight will not always run deep, by example of the *Red Sea* and *Persian Gulph*; both which want no breadth, though very shallow; and if this should prove deep and broad, yea, though the narrowest place be but one league over, we may have the honour to discover it; but any other nation shall reap as great benefit by it as ourselves, if we cannot make it good and fortify it on both sides.

Let us reckon how many leagues we shall run before we come to the *Molucco's* by the course into the *South Sea*: Allow we be in sixty two degrees, and nine hundred leagues from *England*; and that our entrance into the *South Sea* be in twenty three degrees south-west; then have we raised thirty nine degrees, which in a south-west course amounts to nine hundred and seventy five leagues; and from that height to *Java* the distance is certainly known, by the navigation of Mr. *Cavendish*, the pilot of whose ship, and many other principal men, are yet living; and have annexed the distance of places, the days of sailing, and their abode in every harbour where they arrived, to the *Discourse of the Voyage about the World*; as thus:

From cape *California*, in twenty three degrees and a half, to the islands of *Ladrones*, they note one thousand five hundred and fifty leagues; from the *Ladrones* to the *Phillipines* three hundred and twenty; from the *Phillipines* to *Java Major* five hundred and twenty five: so that by this computation, which cannot be disproved, it amounts to four thousand five hundred and seventy two leagues betwixt *England* and *Java*, by a passage into the *South Sea*; and reckoning from *Java* to *England* the common way, by observation of the said pilot, it is but four thousand five hundred leagues, (*viz.*) from *Java* to the cape of *Good Hope* one thousand eight hundred leagues; from

thence to *Flores* one thousand two hundred; from *Flores* to *England* four hundred and fifty; so that we find by demonstration, that it is further by four hundred and forty five leagues, by a passage into the *South Sea*, than by the known way of the cape of *Good Hope*, which is daily frequented.

But it may be said, by the north-west passage we shall have the trade of *Japan* and *China*; which will more avail us than the trade of the *Molucco's*, and the *East-Indies*, because they are many leagues nearer. If the passage be found, I confess there is something gained in the distance, but nothing in the navigation, allowing that this passage falls into the *South Sea*; as if it does not, little good is like to ensue of it, because of the hazard of cold, of ice, and of unknown seas, which experience must teach us.

But to disprove the opinion of such as are erroneously carry'd away with the conceit that the *Streights* are like to fall into the *South Sea*; about the cape of *California*, this that follows shall give an infallible satisfaction, by proof that has been made upon that coast to the westernmost part of all *America*, both from *Mexico* within the land, and from *Acapulco*, and the port of *Navidad* by sea.

*Ferdinand Cortes*, who was captain general of this new-conquered country of *New Spain*, and *Anthony Mendosa*, at that time viceroy of it, the one hating the other mortally, as is the custom where two such commanders have such equal authority; yet they both preferred the service of their master before their own spleen and revenge, and jointly undertook a discovery of *Quivira*, and the westernmost parts of *America*, being made believe it abounded in riches, and had a trade from *China*, and other parts of *Asia*. They employ'd in this journey one *Francis Vasques de Caranaca*, who arrived there by land with a number of *Spaniards*, both horse and foot; in which journey they endured greater famine and other extremities, than all the rest of the *Spaniards* undertakings in the continent of *America*.

Some of those *Spaniards*, though not many, returned by land to *Mexico*; from whence they departed, and reported the calamities and extremities they suffered. By this I collect, and by my collection will frame my unanswerable argument, to give the world satisfaction, that from *Mexico* to the westernmost part of *America*, in which space, if there be a passage, it must fall into the *South Sea*, in all their journey they found neither sea, freight, or other impediment, to hinder or stop their journey by land, but that they went and arrived at *Sibola* and *Quivira*; from whence they return'd, which they could not have done if there had been

a stoppage by water, either fresh or salt; neither did they carry any provision of boats, or other means to transport men or horse.

But for better satisfaction to this point, I will lay open a later proof, known to divers *Englishmen* yet living, that were with Mr. *Cavendish* in his glorious voyage about the world in 1586. After he had passed the *Streights of Magellan*, and the coasts of *Chile*, *Peru*, *New Spain*, he came to *California*, where he took his rich prize of seven hundred tons of *China* silks, coming from the *Philippine* islands, bound for the port of *Navidad* in *New Spain*: this ship had in her one hundred and ninety passengers; and after he had laden his own ships with her merchandize, he burnt both ship and goods, not being able to carry her with him; and for the men he put ashore at cape *California*; from whence they travelled by land as far as to the port of *Navidad*, whither they were bound by sea.

In their way they passed many *Indian* countries, not commonly known to the *Spaniards* before; in all which travel they found no interruption by freight, river, or other let of water, fresh or salt: and for the proof of their safe arrival at the port of *Navidad* aforesaid, besides the relation I have seen of it, it happened that many years after, a pilot of the said prize taken by Mr. *Cavendish*, and a *Greek* by nation, returning into his country, after twenty years spent abroad, happened into the company of one Mr. *Lock* an *Englishman*, in *Italy*, with whom he grew acquainted, and related to him all the particulars of his voyage, as well what happened by sea as by land, after Mr. *Cavendish's* putting them ashore. But leaving this argument, I will proceed farther.

Allow that we be in twenty three degrees, and in the *South Sea*, and direct our course to the islands of *Japan*, we are to run one thousand six hundred leagues a westerly course (*viz.*) to cape *Mendacina* seven hundred leagues, and from thence to *Japan* nine hundred, by the reckoning of *Francis Gall*, who was a perfect pilot, and had often sailed it; so that by this course we shall run three thousand four hundred and seventy five leagues from *England* to *Japan*.

To prove that nothing is gain'd by this navigation, I will allow we are at *Japan*, and resolve upon our return for *England* the same way we went: we must so cast our voyage, as to be sure of a sufficient time for our passage through the *Streights* in summer, otherwise we must resolve to be frozen or starved by the way; and what a hazard we shall run, if winds cross us, our masts break, our ships spring a leak, the sails split, men fall by sickness, I say, if any of these accidents happen, we are left destitute of all help or

hope, and the greatest calamity or misery that ever befel men will light upon us; for there is no death comparable to hunger and cold: and to shew how unlikely it is for us to return in one, or scarcely in two summers, let us examine the winds and seasons.

The *Spaniards* that come from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, stand over to the main land of *America*, and coast the shore, finding the winds all easterly at sea, inso-much that they are returning eight months, which they are going in ten weeks; and this is the rather approved by Mr. *Cavendish's* sailing from cape *California* to the *Philippines*, who never found the wind from betwixt the east and north-east, from the 19th of *November* to the 15th of *January*, in which time he sailed two thousand three hundred leagues.

So that although we shall arrive with a fair wind at *Japan*, yet, considering we shall find it against us in our return, we shall sooner by one third part, and with less hazard and danger, come home by the cape of *Good Hope*, than through the *South Sea*.

Let me now appeal to the opinion of any mariner, whether it were not better for a man to sail six thousand leagues in a certain and known navigation, where the winds nor seasons never fail, than three thousand in an uncertain sea, as we shall find to the northward, where the winds are variable, and the climate unnatural, except it be in the *South Sea*, which I have shewn the inconvenience of.

The delay of voyages is commonly when the factor is not ready to lay his goods aboard; for there may be time lost in seeking such commodities as his merchant writes for, for a convenient time and season to ship it; some want or disability in the ship or company, arrest or stay by the prince where they are, or many other casualties not thought upon; but when a ship departs from any harbour so far off as the *East Indies*, and seeks to recover the place whither she is bound, it cannot be any great hindrance to the merchant to lose a month's time in coming home, but the rather profitable, as I will demonstrate by one of those voyages.

For if by the north-west there be so quick a passage, and so short a way to go and come as is desired, I say, the trade in few years will be overlaid; for as it is now by the cape of *Good Hope*, since we and the *Hollanders* have had traffick in the *East-Indies*, pepper is bought from 2*d.* to 4*d.* there, and when it increases in price where it should lessen, and falls where it should increase, what think you in time this voyage will come to, if followed, either the one way or the other?

Let us likewise consider what needless commodities they bring from thence. I see not but this country may live as well without spices, as our forefathers have done; neither are they to be had in truck of our home commodities, as cloth, lead, and tin; but if the merchant make gain by this trade, the chiefest stock he employs must be in silver, which has, and will, in time, make such a dearth of money in *England*, as all men in general will rue it: and as I have said before, we shall have the less money, and the great quantity of those needless commodities, if the navigation should prove short and easy.

If a man will speak truly and indifferently of the trade of the *East Indies*, it is not so fit for any king or prince, as the king of *Spain*, who has other *Indies* to supply the silver that goes out of his country; then what hope have we to persevere in that voyage, who have no mines or means by traffick to bring money into this kingdom? For this take for an infallible argument, That country which receives more commodities than it vends, the overplus must of necessity be of money: and by reason of our wasteful expence, in such needless and superfluous things, as silks, lawns, spices, wine, tobacco, sugar, and a hundred such vanities; we must confess there comes in much more of these commodities, than goes out of the realm in truck for them: and then let us consider the benefit of this trade, and how long it is like to continue good, for the benefit and profit of this kingdom.

The mischief that is befallen us, by exhausting our silver was foreseen long since by *Charles V.* emperor; who, beholding the greedy gain of the *Portuguese*, in their trade to the *Indies*, was wont to say, "They were enemies to christendom, by carrying their treasure from *Europe* to enrich the heathens."

But now to proceed to what I conceive of *Hudson's* last voyage: I find we are hopeless of any good by the *South Streights* where he winter'd, because of the shallowness of the water in fifty two degrees; or if it had run as far as to have brought him into an open sea, yet it was a great error in *Hudson*, to bid his company welcome into the *South Sea*, upon that *Streight*, tending to the southward; for if you please to measure it by a meridian line, you will find it would have brought him scarcely as far as the islands of *Lucaias*, which is short of the *West Indies*, and the land *Columbus* first discover'd.

I verily believe the savage *Hudson* met withal, had been acquainted with trade; first, by adventuring so near the ships and men, the sight whereof would have daunted him, if he had not seen the like before. Secondly, that whereas at his first coming, he

brought with him three deer-skins, which he would not truck for a hatchet, esteeming them of better value; this shews he knew the price of the hatchet, and knew as well how to rate his hides: and thirdly, by the iron of his dart, which manifestly shewed, he used to trade with christians.

But if it be true, which is told me, that some did imagine the iron came from *Japan*, and that those of *Japan* traded with them people; the conceit is strange to me, that any man should believe that *Japan* lying so far thence as it is, should have trade with a people and country that affords nothing, no, not so much as victuals.

If the *Japonese* came to discover, they saw themselves out of hope to pass that way, by example of our men; so that it is like, that if they had been there once, they would not have come twice; and therefore little sign of a trade: or if they came to discover, it is likely they hop'd to find a sea, as well as land; and then I see not, but they might as well come to us, as we desire to go to them.

But whosoever will understand reason, need not go so far as *Japan* for it; for it is most apparent, considering the height, the distance from the ocean sea, from hence, and from *Canada*, where the *French* yearly trade, it is like this fellow had trade with the *French*; and I am of opinion that *Canada* is but one hundred and fifty miles from this place; and I further believe, That the relation the *French* give of a sea they have seen west in those countries, is no other than this *Streight*, or what else you will call it, that *Hudson* discovered.

Having shewed the small probability of a passage, and confuted such mens reasons as have pretended to have passed it, having alledged some arguments, that we should have gained little time, though it were discovered either north or south; and thirdly, what profit shall we reap by it, though it were found? especially considering we shall have no more privilege than any other nation, except it prove narrow, for us to strengthen and fortify?

Now lastly will I set down a project, how to undertake a discovery with small charge; and either find it, or be out of hope of it, in little more than two years.

Besides the charge and endeavour that is to be used in this voyage of discovery, I will persuade, though it be with some cost to the adventurers, That either a pilot be procured from *Spain*, that hath sailed from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, who I think is better able to give a light of this voyage, than by experience we shall attain to in many years:

Or if there be a difficulty to get such a pilot, yet that he may be conferred with, by

by some of good understanding in cosmography; for, no doubt, sailing along the shore, as they do in that navigation, he can be able to say, whether it be likely that any great river or streight can give hope of a passage that falls into the *South Sea*; or, at least, he is able to tell the distance from *China* to the main land of *America*; and whether the current sets from the north, or no, as *Francis Gall* describes; and he is able to tell the breadth of the main land of *America*, from *cape Mendacina* to *New Spain*, if you doubt of *Francis Gall's* report; and this will I wish to be done, before undertaking another voyage; for certainly it will give great hope or despair to our discovery.

I know it is conceived by the *Spaniards* in those parts of the world, that there is a sea to the northward that divides *Asia* from *Africa*; but if it be true, (as I think no less,) the entrance of it must be farther northward than yet we have discovered; and I am of opinion, we must bring the most northern part of all *America* southerly, before we run west; or as the land shall bear; and then finding no ice on the starboard side, we may be bold to say, we have entered into an open sea; for it stands against sense or reason, that any *Streights* should run deep or narrow, as it must do, if we profit by it, whether it run west, north, or south, so many leagues as the breadth of *America*, if *America* be truly described; as that we shall know by the conference with the pilot of the *Phillippines*.

But now to proceed upon the north-west discovery; The men that go that voyage, must be such as trade into *Iceland*; for they are best able to endure the cold, and most acquainted with the northern climates.

Three vessels are enough to undertake it; the one of two hundred tons, the other of fifty tons apiece. The ship is to carry such provisions for wintering, as shall be thought necessary, with a surplus of victuals to be put into the barks at the departure of the ship from them.

This ship may, if they see a convenient place, make her voyage upon the coast with fishing; if not, she may put round for *Newfoundland*, and buy her lading of fish, which being carry'd into the *Streights*, will make a profitable return, towards the charge of the discovery.

The two barks must be strong and short, because of their aptness to stay and tack, if they come into a narrow *Streight*, shoal water, or amongst ice.

The captains must be skilful mariners, and good cosmographers, men of good reputation, and of great resolution, for their credits to perform such a voyage; and

for their carriage, not to be daunted at any disaster.

Their commission must give them liberty to punish with death, if mutinies or disorders arise; but above all, nothing must be wanting that can be thought of for a two years voyage in a northern climate.

The masters must take an oath, to use their best endeavours to advance the voyage, and to keep secret the journal: the plats and cards, and all other writings that concern their navigation, must be taken from them at their coming home, and sealed up to present to his majesty.

There are many other cares to be committed to the captains and masters; as their mutual agreement; their husbanding of victuals; their drawing the proportion of every cape; the depth and distance from place to place; the observation of winds, times, and seasons; the variation of the compass, and care in keeping company; and to appoint a place of meeting, if they lose one another, hailing each one both morning and evening; what to do in fogs; to take possession of such countries as they come to for the king, and leaving some signs of their being there for whosoever shall come after. Many other things are to be thought on before their going from home, too tedious to set down.

If the two barks shall arrive in a place where a river or streight does open two ways, they are to part company, and each of them to proceed upon their discovery, as they shall agree upon, (with this direction,) That upon either of their returns, they appoint a certain place on shore, where to leave their letters wrapped up in a box of lead; and in those letters to make relation of their success, from their departure from one another.

There must be great providence to preserve their men in health, and from danger of their enemy; not to believe the allurements of savages, but when they stand upon their own guard; and if they be forced to use violence, to have a special care that the first piece they shoot, be sure to kill or hurt; for so shall the savages be more terrify'd, when they find the pieces kill as well as make a noise.

But leaving the discovery of the north-west passage to the care, wisdom, and discretion of the undertakers; I will deliver my conceit of a voyage, which hitherto no man hath written of, much less attempted; and that is, due north under the pole. One reason that induces me to it, is the nearness to *China*, *Japan*, and the *East Indies*, if there be a passage; for by computation, it cannot be above fifteen hundred leagues from *England* to *Quinsay*.

My

My other reason is grounded upon an error of the philosophers; who conceived it was uninhabitable under the line, which experience has taught us to the contrary: the like opinion they held of the pole; and we know they have no more reason for the one than for the other. And seeing the adventure cannot be great or dangerous for the undertakers, I would wish men to be as forward and willing to venture therein, as they are now in this to the north-west; for the proof is alike for any thing that is done as yet.

My third motive is grounded upon that which makes the impediment of the north-west passage; which is ice; and that I least fear or doubt of, for the reasons following.

The abundance of ice which floats in the sea, and hinders the north-west passage, is not the ice of the sea; for the great salt sea cannot freeze; but it is the ice frozen in fresh rivers and sounds, which, at the breaking up of the year, is driven out of the same harbours into the sea; which shews there is more land upon the coast of *Labrado*, than towards the north pole; for

ships have sailed one hundred leagues to the northward of the north cape of *Norway*, and sixty seven degrees, and have found no ice; whereas, if there had been land in that course, or to the northward of it, they would have found the ice, by the reasons aforesaid.

And whereas cold may be alledged for an impediment upon this discovery, we find by proof, and not without reason, that it is hotter to the northward in summer, than nearer the sun, because of the reflection of it, that gives a light and a heat for one half of the year: it is to be compared to a continual easy and gentle fire, which will cast a greater heat, and of a longer continuance, than a violent flame that is soon quenched.

And because all discoveries before spoken of, and that hereafter are to be attempted, have been, and must be, by the pains, labour, and industry of mariners, I think it not amiss to set down what I was desired by Mr. *Wright*, the great mathematician, to write to encourage and further a certain stipend for the maintenance of navigation, for seamens better instruction.

### *The Conveniency of a Lecture of Navigation.*

**I** HELD it not amiss to insert so much as I was desired to write, concerning the necessity of having a publick lecture read, for the instructing of mariners and seafaring men of this kingdom; which is as followeth.

If I should go about to prove, how much more fit it is for *England* to maintain navigation than any other country that lies upon the continent, I should do no more than many worthier persons have hitherto undertaken, or that men in common reason should conceive; for *England* is an island, and therefore bound to maintain shipping for defence of itself, offence to other nations, and enriching the commonwealth with trade: for neither can any man enter into peaceable or warlike sort, or we our selves pass forth of the kingdom, without the help of shipping.

And yet are ships alone no more available, without men to conduct them, than weapons without hands to fight. Seeing therefore that ships and seafaring men are inseparable, the one of no use without the other, we must have as great care to bring up men, and make them skilful in that art of navigation, as to maintain shipping for the good of the commonwealth.

But, with pity I speak it, we have not respected the instructing our mariners; and no marvel that we have sustained so great a

loss by shipwreck; for no more than our seamen get by bare experience, they never endeavour themselves to knowledge: and I judge the reason is, because they have no means to attain it; otherwise I think they would be as willing to know their errors, as it were fit they should be taught.

The help they received in these later times, was by mens writings, which I hold not so profitable as what they shall hear delivered by mouth; for the ordinary mariners are oftentimes ignorant of what they shall read, as not understanding either word or sense; and when they shall have it demonstrated to them, and the hard words and meaning made plain, they will both conceive what they hear, and be able to put in practice when they understand it.

Another discommodity they shall find by writing, is, That the secrets of the art will be published to the world, and other nations are likely to make as great use and benefit of it, as we ourselves: and therefore, as we ought to strive to exceed other men in navigation, in respect I have shewed it imports our country so much, so ought we to keep it secret, according to the example of *Spain*, which seeks to conceal divers rivers, and other places in the *Indies*, from us, which they know by discovery might breed them inconveniencies, and benefit us.

It is a question, Whether a man shall attain to better knowledge by experience or learning? and many times you have controversies arise, betwixt a scholar and mariner upon that point.

The scholar accounts the other no better than a brute beast, that has no learning but bare experience to maintain the art he professes: the mariner accounts the scholar only verbal; and that he is more able to speak, than act.

I confess this is great arrogancy in both, to stand so obstinately upon themselves, when they ought in reason one to assist the other; but especially the mariner is to receive comfort from the scholar; for he that has but bare experience, receives what he has by tradition, for learning is the original ground of all arts; but he that has experience joined with learning, it makes that man excellent in the art he professeth. What made *Abraham Kendall* and *Mr. John Davies* so famous for navigation, but their learning, which was confirmed by experience?

If we had but a lecture of navigation read, which seamen might resort to, they would soon reform their spiteful humours, and confess how needful it is, that learning should be added to experience. And this lecture, no doubt, in a little time will make men as famous as either *Kendall* or *Davies*, to the honour and benefit of the commonwealth.

Men of learning were able to give great light for the finding out the longitude, and for the discovery of new lands or passages, which experience must beat out, when they have their grounds from learned men.

Every man in travel or journeying desires to find the nearest and easiest way, for his rest and gain of time, to come to his journey's end: and so ought the mariner much the more; for the sea is tedious, and more difficult than the land. The land is firm and stedfast; the sea wavering and moveable: the land is known and determined by marks, signs, and limits; the sea is vast, and no marks to know it: the land has hills, mountains, and rocks; the sea has storms, tempests, great difficulties and dangers, and therefore the more need of help to avoid the fearful perils, and unlooked-for accidents man is sure to meet withal in the wide and spacious sea.

I am of opinion, there is no error the mariner finds at sea, either in card, star, instrument, or compass, but upon his information may be reduced by the skilful mathematician, and made perfect, if not suddenly, time may work it, by following such instructions as shall be prescribed by them.

It is strange to see our errors, that we prefer idle and frivolous studies that bring no profit, as namely, there are lectures of logick, rhetorick, and musick, allowed, and the readers of them have a competent maintenance for the same; none of which studies can be in election to bring the twentieth part of benefit to the commonwealth that this is like to do, if it be well used.

But I speak not, that I would have this lecture only erected, and the rest suppressed; for learning must be nourished in all commonwealths, being the ground from whence government is derived; and for my own part, I will rather wish a larger contribution for the maintenance of the rest, than a diminishing of what they have.

I am partly of opinion of our *Mathematicians*, that hold there is no certainty in the art of navigation in our ordinary masters that take charge; for if there were, they would not so much vary one from another, as usually they do: for proof whereof, let there be four or five masters or pilots in one ship that goes or comes from *England* to the *Tercera's*, if they be any time in traves at sea, you shall have some of them thirty leagues before the ship, and others as many leagues behind the ship.

Imagine by this what danger every ship is in that goes from *England*, and comes home again, which, to men of understanding, is a wonder that more ships do not miscarry, considering the danger of our coast: It is not art, but fear and care, that preserves them; for if they should presume upon their art to bear in with any land, the rocks would devour ten times more ships than they do: but the masters having so provident a care, and so great a mistrust in their own art, that though they observe the sun and stars never so exactly, they will not presume to bear in with the land which they have not made, except the coast be clear, and the wind large to claw it off again.

But if this art can be made perfect, and the errors corrected and reduced to a certainty by the painful study of the learned, it will prove a happy thing to all seamen, and by consequence to the whole commonwealth.

The only means of help that is to be expected or hoped for reformation of these ancient absurdities, which the mariner by all his wit and skill cannot correct, must be by a publick lecture allowed to be read, and competent means collected and gather'd for the same: for if the hearers of a lecture of the liberal sciences receive profit by hearing it read, you must confess they will receive much greater profit from this, being well taught.

For



For besides the common good we shall receive by this lecture, it will concern gentlemen to study it, who seeing the pleasure, and the necessity of it, will make them forward in actions by sea, which will be a great strength and stay to the kingdom; for it is requisite that gentlemen should have an insight into sea affairs; seeing they are commonly employ'd in his majesty's ships in time of service.

It is well known to other nations as to us, that *England* of late years has undertaken greater enterprizes, and achiev'd greater

victories by sea, than ever any of our forefathers have done. And that these famous memoirs of ours may remain to posterity, it is fit that gentlemen who live in this age, but especially such as have been actors in expeditions themselves, should contribute towards the maintenance of a lecture of navigation; which act of theirs will remain for a monument to those that are the founders of it: so shall they deserve well of succeeding ages, and their noble deeds will ever live fresh in memory of those that shall come after them.

*A Comparison betwixt our ancient and known Trades, and those now in being, since the late Discovery of New Worlds; with something relating to the Hollanders and Fishing, Particulars being referred to the Sixth Book.*

I WOULD have our hopeful fishing, now intended, compared and parallel'd with such actions of ours, as of late years have been achiev'd with everlasting honour and renown to our nation, as shall appear by that which follows, as well in the discovery of unknown countries, as in new plantations, and other fought trades, not heretofore known nor dream'd of by our forefathers; and yet the ambition of that mungrel and unmannerly nation of *Holland* seeks to lessen our praises: they cannot really challenge any thing of themselves, but that we gave them light of; as shall appear in the sixth book following.

I confess that such *English* as have been the actors, authors, and abettors of our brave enterprizes, have oblig'd the whole commonwealth to them; first, by the adventure of their lives, to seek out the secrets of commerce. Secondly, by the expence of their estates, till they brought it to perfection. And, lastly, by their labour, pains, and endeavour, to advance our navigation to that it was in former times; and yet if all these be examined and compared to our fishing, it will come short to the happiness our kingdom will reap by it.

If we enter into the original of our *English* trafficks, and the continuance of them, till the discovery of new countries, that gave us a greater scope to search out the bowels of the earth, you would think it strange our nation could flourish in so high a measure as it did, in comparison of the present times: for I find, that in sailing to the southward, we exceed not the bounds of the grand *Canaries*, which voyage in former times was held a greater wonder and stranger than now about the world: neither was the art of navigation so common, or so perfectly known, till of late years, that by our travels we have attained to it; for I re-

member my self the ignorance of a prime master, who, going to the *Canaries*, returned home without seeing any of the seven islands, for want of skill to direct him.

And to prove what I have said, That our traffick to the *Canaries* stretches no further to the south, this following shall clear the doubt, (*viz.*) That upon all treaties with *Spain*, since the discovery of the *Indies*, we were not prohibited by name the trade of the *Indies*; only we are tied to our antient and accustomed trafficks with *Spain*, which we cannot drive further to the southward than the grand *Canaries*, nor of right by that article of peace can require it.

Our ancient and usual trades, before the new discovery, was to all the dominions and islands of the kings of *Spain*, of *France*, of *Portugal*, the *Seventeen Provinces*, the several parts of *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, the *Baltick Sea* and *Island*: these were the limits and bounds of our *English* commerce, before the latter end of *Henry VII.* when we came acquainted with *America*, *Africk* and *Asia*.

It is marvellous if we consider what *England* is now, to that it was in former ages; what wealth is returned into this kingdom, in respect of times past; what increase is made of his majesty's rents and revenues, in comparison of his progenitors; what an increase there is of ships in number and goodness; what dread and fear all other nations apprehend of our greatness by sea; and what rumours are spread abroad in all the quarters of the world to make us famous. It is admirable if we call these things to mind.

And to come to the particulars of augmentation of our trades, of our plantations, and of our discoveries, because every man shall have his due therein, I will begin

gin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon the main continent of *America*, which the king of *Spain* challenges as first discoverer; but as we acknowledge the king of *Spain* the first light of the west and south-west parts of *America*, so we and all the world must confess, that we were the first that took possession for the crown of *England* of the north part thereof, and not above two years difference betwixt the one and the other.

And as the *Spaniards* have from that day and year held their possession in the west, so have we done the like in the north; and though there is no respect, in comparison of the wealth, betwixt the countries, yet *England* may boast, that the discovery, from the year aforesaid, to this very day, hath afforded the subjects annually one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and increased the number of many a good ship and mariners, as our western parts can witness by their fishing in *Newfoundland*.

Neither can *Spain* challenge a more natural right than we to its discovery; for in that case we are both alike: if we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their right, it is *Italy* that must assume the discovery to itself, as well in the one part of *America*, as in the other.

*Genoa*, and *Cbristopher Columbus* by name, must carry away the praise of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that voyage in agitation, or thought of it till *Columbus*, not only proposed, but accomplished it. The like may be said by *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who by his earnest intercession to *Henry VII.* drew him to the discovery of *Newfoundland*, and called it by the name of *Bacallao*, an *Indian* name for fish, for the abundance of fish he found upon that coast.

And speaking of plantations, I will begin with *Newfoundland* itself, which lay uninhabited, and the country unthought on to produce profit, till my lord *Baltamore*, and some merchants of *Bristol* undertook it. It may be they were the rather drawn to it by the plenty of fish, not once doubting of the soil, because they had no proof of the winters habitation; and they might think that a fresh and green shew of a hopeful summer to the eye, such as *England* yields, would send forth the like winter, and the like effect in winter; but by trial it failed, and proved a chargeable adventure, and the decay of my lord's estate. He returned for *England*, where once more he resolved to try his fortunes in a new plantation in *Florida*; but in the mean time, and in the year 1632. he died.

Let not this colony of *Newfoundland* eclipse my lord's judgment, or the adventurers with him. The chiefest exceptions against it, is the coldness of the climate;

and the like might have been said of *England*, upon the first plantation of it; for they lie both in one parallel. *Newfoundland* affords in view plenty of wood, grass, water, and other hopes of commodities, till time and experience gave light to the contrary; and at the first, therefore, not to be disproved, till a winter had made known the condition of the soil.

They had another help to their plantation, in that they were in no danger of savage enemies, which all *English* colonies are subject to, and have tasted the mischief of; but, above the rest, if the land had proved suitable to their hopes, and worthy of inhabiting, they might have planted and supplied it, at less than half the charge and expence of other colonies where the *English* are seated; for that there resort yearly one hundred and fifty ships to the fishing in *Newfoundland*, which ships go not half freighted, and not above fifteen or sixteen days sailing with a reasonable wind, that would be glad at a small rate to carry any provisions for the advancement of the plantation.

And seeing I have begun with *America*, I will take it in my way, not having relation to the years of the first plantation, but the neighbourhood to one another, and to the places where they are seated: and the next, according to the latitude, is *New England*, whose sea affords excellent and choice fish; whither divers ships of *England* yearly resort, to take and disperse it into several countries in *Europe*: the land, by mens endeavours, will be made to produce fundry commodities, as a book that is published can witness; but for want of time, for yet it is but a child, and lately born and inhabited, little can be said of it, more than a mistrust of the good success thereof, through the numerous and irreligious people that possess it, being refractory to the church-government of *England*. From thence running south, we arrive at *Virginia*, a place evil chosen for seat, soil, air, or any thing else to give encouragement for a plantation; yet seeing it was begun, and that the undertakers would not seem unconstant, to change their first resolutions, they have since 1602. continued a footing in it, with costly adventure, though hitherto it produced little more than tobacco. But this nothing lessens the worthiness of the undertakers, whose end is the general good of the commonwealth.

Not far from thence, to the southward of it, in the year 1585. a colony was sent to settle in *Norambega*, by the procurement of *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, a man much favoured and graced by the queen in those days; and the man chosen for the conduction of his ships thither, was *Sir Richard Green-*

*Greenville*, who upon his arrival was to leave the government to Mr. *Ralph Lane*; and though the situation, the climate, and the natural soil, and the proof of the commodities the country yields, was able to give encouragement for the prosecution of it, yet for want of means, and willing minds, which is the bane of all undertakings, it failed, and produced nothing but tobacco, which has brought a greater mischief to this kingdom than the profit would have countervailed, though it had proved successful.

Later than all these, and, indeed, which is now in the infancy, is a plantation in *Florida*, and near to an ancient colony of the *French*, who through ill government were in the end forced to quit it. He that can judge of things must confess, That of all other plantations, this gives the greatest hope and comfort, by proof that hath been made of it, and the temper, and the height it lieth in, if it be carefully followed, and sufficiently supplied. One danger must be eschewed, which other nations have found the smart of; which is the untamedness of the wild *Indians*, who are cruel to themselves, and worse to strangers, as both the *French* and *Spaniards* have tasted. God send them fortune that live there, to their desires, so they make not *England* still unfortunate with tobacco.

East-north-east from *Florida* lies the island of *Bermudas*, inhabited and peopled by our nation; whose extent can yield no greater profit than the circuit of the ground can promise, being but thirty miles in compass; by means whereof the planters are forced to till and manure their grounds in that excessive manner, that in a little time it will not be able to sustain their people, but force them to find another habitation; which will move the less pity, because they seek only to plant for tobacco, a thing so noisome and loathsome to this kingdom.

This island at the beginning was discovered by the *Portuguese* nation, and inhabited by them, till they found little profit accrued from it, and then they abandoned it, and left behind them such food, especially hogs, as they could not carry with them; and thus it lay waste for many years, with a general opinion to be inhabited with spirits, which made all men shun the sight of it at their return out of the *Indies*: though this error was easily falved; for I knew, above fifty years since, one captain *Russel*, a *Frenchman*, shipwrecked upon that island; and with great industry of his people, for few of his men were lost, they patched up a boat out of the materials of the perished ship, that carry'd them to *Newfoundland*, where they found relief and passage into their own country.

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I knew likewise in the year 1592. another *French* ship wrecked upon the same island, in which an *Englishman*, one *Henry May*, was passenger, he having belonged to one of the ships captain *Ryman* had, when he was drowned returning from the *Indies*. This *May*, and some few men of this *French* ship were preserved, and made shift, as the others did, to get to *Newfoundland*.

This plantation of *Bermudas* was not purposely undertaken by us, but accidentally fallen upon by the like shipwreck in Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers's* passage to *Virginia*, whither they were bound; and being delighted with the pleasures of that island, which was so well stored with hogs, they seated their colony remaining in it; since then they found a reasonable quantity of amber-grease floating out of the sea; and not without reason; for the coast of *Florida*, opposite to it, abounds in amber-grease.

The next, and more to the westward from thence, are the islands of *Barbadoes* and *St. Christopher's*; and whereas the *Canary Islands* were formerly called the *Fortunate Islands*, so would we have these islands called the contrary, (*viz.*) the *Unfortunate Islands*, in that they produce nothing but stinking tobacco; which, if we judge wisely, discovers the mischief it does: but it has such a bewitching power over the takers, that all the ill which comes of it, they interpret as good to their bodies, and have no more power to leave it, than drunkards when they are muzzled in it.

The next, and upon the next continent is *Guiana*, and the river of *Amazons*, where there have been many colonies settled by our nation in that spacious country; yet I could never hear of any commodities that rose by it, or not so much in value, as two miles of ground in *England* would afford; and yet I must rightly say of that evil tobacco, this plantation sends the best, if the strength of tobacco be so accounted. The benefit of this plantation is, That the savages are more civil and tractable than in other parts of *America*; and that the climate and soil gives hope of good to come of it: but where the *Dutch* have had footing, and quitted it, takes away my belief of it.

Further to the southward of this coast the *English* never sat down with a resolution to plant; and yet there are many ships that have made sundry voyages, some to trade, others with letters of reprisal, as well upon the coast of *Brazil*, as through the *Streights* of *Magellan*, who have after coasted to *Chile*, *Peru*, *Panama*, *New Spain*, and cape *California*, and took their leave of *America*, and the westernmost

cape *Mendofina*, the farthest land discover'd.

*Our Trade to Africk and Asia.*

The next addition of our new trade, is upon the continent of *Africk*, as far south as the cape of *Good Hope*, and then eastward to the cape of *Guardafusa*, which is the sea circuit of *Africk*; from thence we will pass over to *Asia*, till we arrive at the *Molucco Islands*, and the continent of *Cbina*, to all which places we are now no strangers, by our late and large navigation.

The first country and the highest to us, where we fettled a new trade, not frequented by our forefathers, was *Barbary*, under the king thereof, called *Mulley Abaleck*, in 1577. who gave the *English* large and fair conditions, as appears by the privileges extant; and from that year to this very day we have enjoy'd the same; and so prevail'd with succeeding kings, that we have beaten the *Portuguese* out of that trade, who at first laboured to do the like to us.

In our time of wars with *Spain*, our ships of reprisal have received great comfort and relief of the two ports or roads in *Barbary*, which, upon necessity of victuals, water, and other wants, they have supply'd us withal, and taken from us such goods, by way of traffick, as we have made sale of; but with that craft, subtilty, and danger of betraying us, that he who knows them well, would no further trust them, then necessity would compel him. The *Barbarians* had so much honour and civil honesty, that if a *Spaniard* and *Englishman* were in their ports together, they would forbid the meddling with one another, being enemies; so great a regard they had to the king's royalty: as otherwise, if they were never so little way off at sea, and one of them taken by the other, if he that took, would bring her taken into the port again, they would hold her prize to him, and give money for her.

I remember the like case in my self, *Anno* 1587. that coming into the road of *Sallee*, I found a ship of *Catalonia*, a subject to the king of *Spain*, there trading; and the *English* merchants on shore fearing I would make an attempt upon her, besought me not to offer violence in harbour upon her, assuring me, if I did, the king would take occasion to confiscate all the *English* goods in his country, and to imprison, and, perhaps, put to death the merchants: whereupon I forbore to attempt her.

The western parts of *Barbary* have two open roads, *Safin* and *Santa Cruz*; out of which the ships that ride there put to sea, when they find, by the bellow of it, the

wind likely to endanger them with a westerly gale.

Our *English* ships riding there have often been forced to put to sea, for their safety; and many times before their return they have met and taken several *Spanish* prizes; which have been more beneficial to them, than their merchantable voyage has proved.

And to conclude with the trade of *Barbary*, I must say, That though the *English* in time of war have often brought the subjects of the king of *Spain* prisoners into the ports, and though the *Moors* did more value buying the men than merchandize, yet how leud soever the *Englishmen* were, or what necessity soever they were driven to, it was never known they made sale of one christian.

The next bordering country to *Barbary*, is *Guinea*; unhealthy, through extremity of heat, and infection of the air, for which there are many reasons alledged, and antidotes invented to avoid the contagion thereof: but all in vain; for the putrifaction of the air is occasioned by the huge and monstrous beasts that country abounds in, which when they die, by reason of the excessive heat, cast such an intolerable stench, that infects and putrifies both air and earth, to the destruction of mankind.

The discovery of *Guinea*, and the sovereignty thereof, was given to Don *Alonso V.* king of *Portugal*, in 1471. which he enjoyed peaceably, and without interruption or challenge by any nation, till the year 1481. The voyage was intended by certain *English*, and the negroes themselves as willing to accept of their neighbourhood, with offer to give them a proportion of land, there to live and inhabit; but this design was frustrated, and proceeded not, at the instance and request of the king of *Portugal*, Don *John II.* to *Edward IV.* king of *England*. And since that time, to this very day, a footing in *Guinea* was never attempted or desired; which must be conceived to be out of the unwholesomeness of the climate and the air.

But though we were not resident in *Guinea*, by any place in the country we possessed, yet have we continued a yearly traffick to sundry parts of that coast on this side the equinoctial, ever since the year 1553, till this present 1632. and many corporations and patents granted by queen *Elizabeth* to her subjects of *Exeter*, and other the western parts.

Another benefit we have made of that country, is the relief it has given us in our longer voyages, as to *Brazil* and the *South Sea*; for all ships of ours, that have passed the *Streights of Megellan*, found succour and

refreshing at the port of *Sierra Leona*, where, at this day, we have a certain trade.

From the port of *Senega* in *Guinea*, we have made several attempts to discover *Tombakato* and *Gago*, two places within the inward parts of *Africa*, which afford the greatest quantity, and the purest and the best gold in the world; and from whence the king of *Morocco* or *Barbary* is furnished with all his gold, by his caravans he sends thither in great peril; for many times they are swallow'd up in an ocean of sands.

From this part of *Guinea*, or rather from the cape of *Lopez Gonzalez*, till you come to the cape of *Good Hope*, no christians have traded with the negroes, but the *Portuguese* themselves; in which course is seated *Angola* and *Congo*, which is inhabited by banished men sent out of *Portugal* for offences there committed; a place of that infection, as that it is fit only for men of that condition; and from those places they furnished the *West Indies* and *Brazil* with numbers of negro slaves, who work in their mines and sugar-works.

As *Sierra Leona* has been a relief to our nation in our long navigation, as I have declared, so is the bay of *Saldania*, within three leagues of the cape of *Good Hope*, a succour to our ships of the *East Indies*; for thither they resort in their going and coming from thence, though it yields no benefit but victuals and water, for which they truck with the most wild, ravenous, and irreligious negroes in the world.

From the cape of *Good Hope* there are two passages or navigations to the *East Indies*; the one by the way the *Portuguese* sail, keeping the *Africk* shore, on the left-hand or larboard-side; which course we likewise take with our ships that trade to *Cambaya*, a country subject to the great mogul; and in going there they sometimes touch at the island of *Socotora*, upon the mouth of the *Red Sea*, and where *St. Thomas* was shipwrecked. This island yields our merchants the best *Alloes Secatrina* in the world; and not far from thence it affords them as good commodities as the fleet of *Mecca* could send out; which I forbear to speak of.

And of late, by that track, we have found the trade of *Ormuz*; which island we gave the *Persians* assistance to take from the *Portuguese*; though I do not commend that act, in joining with turks against christians.

*Surat* and *Cambaya*, in that coast, affords us good and commodious traffick, though the *Portuguese* seek to impeach us: but besides the going and coming home of our ships, as also of other parts of the *Indies* where they remain, they are freighted, or else freight themselves, from port to

port, to their exceeding great profit and gain.

The other navigation from the cape of *Good Hope*, is to the southward of the island of *Madagascar* or *St. Lawrence*, but not frequented by the *Portuguese*, but upon great necessity, when they are forced to it in great penury, not being able to recover *Goa*, or other part of the *Indies*, as in my former book I have related: but to us that resort to *Bantam* and the *Molucco's*, or other parts of the *Indies* thereabouts, it is far the nearer, and much the safer; for we sail in a more open sea than the *Portuguese* do to *Goa*, where they meet with many rocks and shelves.

When our ships arrive at the settled ports, there trade is certain, and their return so usual, that there needs no repetition thereof: but our people not being contented till they had discovered such countries and places, as fame made report of, from hence they made an attempt upon the discovery of *China*, *Japan*, and the farthest remote places of the world, being led to it by the rumour of the magnificency and wealth of them.

But it proved like many other reports, rather shadows than substance; for though the people of *China* deserve more praise than others, for excellency of arts, and ingenious inventions, yet it is far short of the wealth that is said to be in it to our western parts of *Europe*.

This discovery hath resolv'd us of the state of those parts, which we so long desired to know, since we heard the fame of them, which made queen *Elizabeth* often send her letters to such princes as dwelt thereabouts, and desired how to convey them; and have answer of them. So desirous she was to understand the conditions of those parts, and employ'd some of her own subjects by the way of the gulph of *Persia*, thinking to find the conveniency from out the *East Indies*; but still failed by the sinister practices of the *Italians*, who incensed the *Portuguese* that they came for spies, and caused them to be apprehended and imprisoned, where they endured great affliction before they returned into their native country.

What I have said is sufficient to prove that our new and latter discovered trades have far exceeded our ancient and long accustomed commerces, before the year 1586. not only in value of wealth, but in distance, whither they resorted for them. And it is made apparent, that no part of *Africk*, *America*, or *Asia*, that any nation has traded to, but we have done the like: and that whereas in some places they have sought to impeach and restrain our trades, yet we have forced them to it, and brought them

them to our own conditions. And this shall suffice for the southern and western parts of the world.

*Our Trade to other Parts nearer to us.*

Now I will once more come nearer home, and put my self into the trade of the *Streights*, being more pleasant, gainful, and less dangerous or laborious, than the rest I have treated of. My first voyage shall be into the *Mediterranean Sea*, unworthy of the name of a sea, by reason of its straightness, in comparison of the great and spacious ocean.

This sea being anciently known to us, but not frequented, for these reasons: former times did not afford shipping sufficient to follow it. Secondly, such goods and merchandize as these countries yielded, were received from hand to hand, and we served by vessels of their own. Thirdly, we could not pass without great peril and danger of the turks, who surpris'd and imprisoned us; whereupon the *Venetians* engross'd the whole trade upon those seas, and furnished us with the rich merchandize of *Turky*, *Persia*, and *India*, at what rate they pleas'd themselves: and yet this was not all; for they labour'd to make us strangers to the *Great Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering countries, and brought them to that ignorance of our nation, that they thought *England* to be a town in the kingdom of *London*.

The *Venetians* sent yearly their *Argosers* to *Southampton*; which town enjoy'd a charter from the kings of this land, which was wrested out of their hands by the earl of *Leicester*, to the utter decay of that town: and the *Argosers* since then have become strangers in *England*; the last whereof took her leave with an unfortunate end, which my eyes were witness to, in the month of *October*, 1587.

This goodly ship of one thousand one hundred tons, being richly laden with the accustomed commodities they use to serve the kingdom with; and being come as high in the channel as the *Isle of Wight*, which land the *English* pilot visibly made: this pilot, called *Foster*, for his excellent skill, was not long before redeemed out of the *Turkish* captivity by the *Venetians*, to serve in this voyage.

Upon this good land-fall, the pilot put the passengers in hope, many of them being of great account and esteem, the next morning to harbour them; for night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the shore that evening; but the gentlemen being impatient of delays, and the land appearing to them, they thought themselves free from all danger, which is the common

ignorance of many that know not the seas. But to be short, they compell'd the pilot by force to put in at the *Needles*, the westernmost part of the *Isle of Wight*. When the poor man, neither with persuasions nor tears, could prevail, he did his best to enter the channel of the *Needles*; but such was the greatness of the waves, and the unweildiness of the ship, not answering her helm, that she struck upon the *Shingles*, where she, her goods, and company, except seven poor creatures, perished.

The sea betwixt the island and the main land was enriched by her loss, with several sorts of merchandize. What was saved was not worth speaking of. I had the fortune to light on two butts of muskadine floating on the sea; for then was I riding at *Cowes*, in the first ship I ever went captain of. I found these two butts of muskadine a great help to us in our voyage, when we were reduced to extremity for want of victuals.

About this time our merchants of *London* began to take into consideration these great and inestimable riches brought into the land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who absolutely enjoy'd the trade of *Turky*; and the great part of that wealth, which came out of *Persia* and *India*, was retail'd from them to us. They devis'd how such commodities might come to our hands by a more direct way, than to be served as we were at second-hand; and therefore resolv'd to make an overture by favour of the queen, and her letters to the great turk, for an immediate traffick from *England* to *Turkey*, and his dominions, and so home again, with ships of her subjects, without being beholding to others.

These letters were sent by her majesty, and received with great humanity and courtesy by the grand seignior, as appears by his letters yet extant. He could not give more respect and honour to her majesty, than by shewing a willingness to embrace her gracious propositions of trade: and in conclusion, articles were agreed on, and a grant of great privileges and immunities by her majesty's subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoyed.

We may reckon from this time the decay of the *Venetian* state in matters of trade; for *Argosers*, which were wont to visit us, are now unknown to us, and we possess the wealth they were wont to reap. The commodities of *Persia* and the *East Indies* are brought by our selves, in our own vessels, directly out of *Turky*; where we have obtained as great a freedom as we can desire: such places as the *Venetians* were wont to take freight in their ships, to transport from port to port, we now absolutely enjoy that privilege; for all strangers are more desirous

firous to put their goods into *English* bottoms than theirs.

Whereas we were wont to be served with great part of our spices from them, and they, by the way of the red sea, out of the *Indies*; now the passage is better known to us than to the *Turks* themselves, by the cape of *Good Hope*; and instead of receiving *India* commodities from them, we supply as well them as the *Turks* with the same out of *England*. And lastly, the terror of the *Turks* galleys, to impeach our trades in the *Streights*, is now taken away, by the privileges obtained from the grand seignior; and we may hold our ships in as great security as themselves: and moreover we may boldly say, we have sustained less loss by the pirates of *Algiers* than they have done; which pirates of late years have been the scourge of the christian trade.

In our time *Venice* flourished in ships and galleys, above all other ports or parts of the *Streights*, though there were a competition betwixt them and the state of *Genoa*: and it is not unworthy of note, that the first use that was made of ordnance and small-shot, after the invention of it in *Europe*, was in a naval battle between the *Venetians* and the *Genoese*.

This shall suffice for our southern, western, and eastern trades, or within the *Streights*, as high as *Constantinople*, *Egypt*, or other places, under the jurisdiction of the grand seignior. I will now return to the north, and run through its frozen climes, as I have already done through the south, and its parching heat.

*Sebastian Cabott*, a man before spoken of, having a sharp, acute, and solid brain, apply'd himself to the imitation of *Columbus*; who by his late and happy discoveries had enriched the world with wealth, and himself with reputation.

*Cabott* being carry'd that way of honour, out of a christian respect, to reduce the world to a perfect knowledge of God; or out of a hope of riches, it being the natural disease of mankind; or out of ambition, to make himself equal in fame with *Columbus*; or out of a desire to perform what he had long thought of, which was to sail round the globe of the world; which of these was his design, I cannot say, but charitably will conceive the best.

Whatever it was, I find an extraordinary and hearty desire in him to enrich the *English* nation, by adventuring his life in sundry attempts, to discover what he had long before conceived upon reasonable grounds, and effect what he had so wisely projected, as appeared by setting afoot the northern discoveries. There wanted no thankfulness in those days, either in king or country, to do him honour; and for requital of his

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travels, both in body and mind, he was chosen governor of the merchant-adventurers, for the discovery of new regions, dominions, islands, and other places unknown in the reign of king *Edward VI.* and a pension assigned him.

He gave the only information and instruction to the new-begun voyage and discovery of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* in 1553. which, though it proved unhappy to Sir *Hugh* himself, his ship and company perishing with cold in the port of *Arfina* in *Lapland*, yet his third ship recovered the harbour of *St. Nicholas* in *Russia*, where he settled a rich and commodious trade, prosecuted to this day by the merchants incorporated, and called *The Russia Company*.

The *English* not thus ceasing, but as men travelling, who arrive at a port or city where they had never been, would be inquisitive to know and learn the state of the country and its neighbourhood, without resting till they had satisfied their curiosity; so our *English* merchants finding the *Caspian Sea* famous by report, yet unknown to us, and its bounds one way upon *Muscovia*, they devis'd, though the journey was long, troublesome, and dangerous, to arrive at that sea, by the approbation and consent of the king of *Russia*; and from thence to make trial, whither the said sea would conduct them.

This was no sooner conjectured than effected; and our merchants furnished themselves out of *England* with carpenters, mariners, and other necessaries, to build a ship for such a voyage. This ship was twenty seven tons burden, and the first that ever wore the *English* colours upon those seas; from *Russia* they arrived in *Persia*, not once, but often, as appears by Mr. *Jenkinson's* relation. Thus was *Persia*, and all the countries adjacent discovered by us; first, to the northward, as far as *Russia*; after to the *Caspian Sea*; neither of them both being known to our forefathers.

The *English* did not thus rest; but as they were led to those unknown seas by a kind of fate, so they supposed the same fate did not end thereabouts, but had a passage farther to the eastward; which, perhaps, being discovered, might lead to *Japan* and *China*; and thereupon, for the shortening of the discovery, they sent a small ship at the spring, that wintered at *Comoro*, eighty leagues from *St. Nicholas*, which set sail from thence to find out the conjectured passage: this bark used its endeavour, so that no blame could be laid upon the master or the company; she passed to the eastward of the *Waggats*, where she was interrupted by extremity of ice and snow, and forced to return from whence she departed.

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This did nothing dismay the hopeful enterprize of the merchants, but once more they made an attempt with two pinnaces directly from *England*; the masters whereof (*Pett* and *Jackman*) with the same instructions of the other bark, wherein *Stephen Burrows* was, to find out the end of the eastern sea; but being likewise encountered with the extremity of weather, the one returned, the other perished, though both of them did their parts very sufficiently.

Being now hopeless by their often repulses they found in the north-east passages, yet they would not let die what they had in agitation, for finding the *South Sea*, as the *summum bonum* of all other voyages; for from the south-west part of *America*, which bounds upon that sea, is sent forth the greatest quantity and mass of gold and silver the earth affords: whereupon they left this attempt to the eastward, and made trial of that to the westward; for they imagined that all great and large seas have a correspondence with one another, if it could be found.

The first man that made the enterprize, as well upon the country of *Baccalaos*, which he found and named so, as also in his offer to look out a passage that way, was *Sebastian Cabott*, aforementioned; but failing of the passage, he hit upon the land; but by reason of the vehement cold at that time of the year upon that coast, he stood to the southward, and from thence into *England*, taking possession of the country for the crown of *England* along the coast he went.

This voyage and many more to those parts, was set out by the city of *Bristol*, which to this day continues its fishing at *Newfoundland*: but for the discovery of the north-west passage, the man that most laboured and waded in it, was *Sir Martin Forbisher* in three attempts: the first in 1576. the second in 1577. the third in 1578. After this, and in the year 1585, and 1586. *Mr. John Davis* undertook the discovery, but failed, as many others have since done; which is no wonder; for he that will read a discourse of the north-west passage in this book, shall be satisfy'd, it is a vain and hopeless thing; and so has captain *Fox*, that was employ'd upon it in 1631. at his return, confessed to me, for such reasons as I shew'd him before his going.

Now to come to my own observations: I am of opinion, that next to the discovery of *America*, and the wealth thereof, which it sends into *Spain*, the *Spaniards* have greatest cause to give God thanks, that the attempts of the north-west have failed; for thereby they enjoy the absolute benefit of the *South Sea*, and the incomparable wealth therein, without molestation, fear, or disturbance of any other nation; whereas if

the passage had been known, no christian prince but would have strove to have had a part with them; and now it is in vain by any great attempt to prejudice the *Spaniards*, but by the *Streights of Magellan*, which is the only known way thither. It is as vain for any enemy to possess and inhabit some of the towns there planted, in respect of the distance and danger to be seconded and supplied out of *Europe*; And, lastly, any succour out of the *East Indies* will frustrate any expectation of good, the winds blowing continually contrary to arrive from thence. I refer the reader to what I have said before of other discoveries that failed, and particularly to that, than which nothing can be said more to the honour of the discoverer *Sir Francis Drake*, in whose voyage about the world, may be seen what he did and attempted; and, therefore, I shall not repeat it here. But to proceed:

Comparing what I have said of our former discoveries, our labourious plantations, and our new-found trades, with our present intended fishing, which of them will yield greatest wealth, strength, and ease, I have made appear in my sixth book; and therefore I present you that now live and are in being with it, to judge which is good and best; for though it is true what is done, deserves the name of good and immortal praise; so that which is now in hope to be done does far surpass the former, and is to be achieved with less difficulty, less peril, and less loss, than the others that have made our nation so worthily famous.

When the contents of the sixth book shall be maturely considered, the laborious industry of the *Hollanders* will plainly appear; how they have raised themselves, and their new-erected commonwealth to an equality with princes. Now shall it rest a little to distinguish of their good deeds and bad; for fortune and fame gotten by craft, are commonly of no continuance, but lost with shame.

What is due to them in praise of their virtues, I will not rob them of; for I hold it a sin to belye the wicked. They are frugal in expence, the benefit whereof themselves and country find: they are industrious, as their actions abroad and at home demonstrate; they are just in contracts, making a conscience in the little religion they have to defraud a man: they labour to find out the secrets of lands uninhabited, and countries undiscovered; they are inventors of arts, which to their praise they enrich the world with: they are willing without excuse to contribute to any good for their state, not standing so much upon privileges or petitions of right, as to neglect any occasion of advantage to benefit the commonwealth: they are laborious and painful of  
body,



body, not admitting a beggar in their provinces; and willing to relieve and comfort one another in strange countries; they are enemies to the expence of law, and the griping of lawyers, and end most of their controversies by arbitration of friends; their expence in drinking is saved and mitigated by their misery in eating; for out of their excessive covetousness, they almost starve their bellies, and by their unmeasurable frugality they scarce cloath their bodies; for it is supposed, that their people, in one of their best cities, spend not in apparel the value of a prince's coat in a year.

But all these virtues are drowned with a covetous ingratitude, which has friendship with no body, but for interest; and no marvel, for popular states are no longer thankful than they receive benefits. There is nothing of shorter life among them, than the memory of pleasures and favours past; they are so careless to give satisfaction for the evils they do, that if we demand it at their hands, it is as much as to speak of valour to a faint heart, or charity to a merciless man, or a courtesy to a churlish disposition; it will prove but telling a tale to him that is asleep. The definition of philosophers in matters of friendship is as follows: *A friend is long sought for, scarce to be found, and hard to keep: a friend is always ready to comfort in adversity, to help in necessity, to bear with one's infirmity, and to reprove one's error gently.*

But the *Hollanders* are otherwise in their friendship: they are like an ill bird that lays an ill egg, an ill tree that bringeth forth ill fruit, or a young cub that grows crafty like his dam; they do patricise, and follow the steps of their predecessors, that make riches their heaven: and whereas it is held no hurt to know evil, but to do it, those people are very perfect artists in their trades, as well in doing, as in knowing evil.

But to speak the truth, their natural evil has been nourished and made worse by us;

for if we had not connived at them and their actions, to our prejudice, they had wanted power to have executed their ingratitude; therefore in reason it had behoved us to consider what we gave, before we gave; to whom we gave, or how we gave; for states ought to be governed by wisdom, and not by popular affection or passion: wise men should not measure things by outward appearance, but by discretion and reason; or else they behold their actions in a false glass.

But let us now at last seek to avoid that evil we have done, in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, lest we feel the effect of repentance. It is not the meanest point of wisdom to doubt and mistrust the worst; for doubts beget understanding, and thereby prevention.

As in natural bodies, the longer one lives in health, sickness is the more dangerous when it comes; so it is with us and the *Hollanders*, the longer we have lived in a mutual and unseparable peace; now that they have over-wrought us with cunning, and made us feeble by the strength they had sucked from us, it will behove us to recover our antient vigour and valour, and be no longer deluded with false pretences, as safety to us and the commonwealth: let us seek to follow the old rule, in seeking to quench the fire in our neighbour's house, though it be our enemy, lest it should flame into our own; for it is an easier thing to meet a danger aboard, than to repulse it at home.

In this book I have said little to prove what I have promised in our intended fishing, but refer the reader to my sixth and last book, dedicated to his majesty. And seeing I have made a relation of all discoveries and plantations of christian people; I will end that subject with a plantation of the *French*, for discoverers they cannot be termed, which is the next that follows:

#### *Certain Plantations of the French Nation.*

**T**HOUGH we cannot call the *French* discoverers of countries, because they never sought to find out any new worlds or passages that were not found to their hands; yet since the first discovery of other worlds, they have been always ready to infect them with piracy, and such voyages: for their going to *Peru* has been no other than to spoil and rob other nations.

And yet I must give them their due in what they have deserved; for though they cannot be called *Discoverers*, as I have said, yet they may worthily be counted in the number of planters, as well in the north

part of *America*, as in the south beyond the line, and upon the continent of *Brazil*.

To the northward they have inhabited the river of *Canada*, where they have found a rich commodious trade of furs, till the *English* supplanted them in the late wars betwixt us and *France*. The next place they had footing in, they themselves called it *New France*. The third habitation they made was in *Florida*. And the fourth, as I have said, was to the southward of the line, and upon the continent of *Brazil*; all which I will particularly handle.

But before I treat of them, I will lay a blemish and tax upon their nation; for some of their authors stick not to assume to themselves the names of discoverers of such places wherein they were but planters; herein they do manifest injury to the *English*, *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese*; for all nations do justly attribute to them the finding of those countries, as I have formerly declared and proved; the one by *Sebastian Cabott*, the other by *Pedro Alvares Cabral* in his voyage to the *East-Indies* in 1500. being the second that was gone after the first discovery. And now I will proceed to their plantations, and success in them.

The first undertaken voyage to *Canada*, (for I will begin with the north part of *America*;) was enterprized by *John Verasana* a *Florentine*, in 1524. employed by *Francis I.* king of *France*, which *Verasana* is said to discover from the fiftieth to the twenty eighth degree of the north latitude: but it is to be disproved in fact; for all the extent of land betwixt those degrees was long before discovered by *Sebastian Cabott*, in the right of *England*, as I have often repeated.

The next that undertook this colony was *James Carter* of *St. Malloes*, in 1534. with three ships, wherein that winter twenty five of his men perished with cold: but, however, the king prosecuted the voyage both in the year 1540. and 1542. and the *French* have ever since had a yearly traffick upon that coast for furs, as also in fishing, insomuch as it is written, that one *Sevales* made forty two voyages in person into those parts.

The next habitation the *French* undertook was in the year 1603. into the country named (though improperly) *New France*, which truly and properly belongs to *England*, as I have said before; for if the first discoverers be not allowed owners of the land they discover, by a law amongst christians, we, and all others, have as much right to the *Indies* as the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* themselves.

In the year 1603. *Henry IV.* king of *France*, the 8th of *November*, granted a patent to *Monfieur Le Mante*, for a plantation of those northern parts of *America*: this voyage was begun the 5th of *March* the same year by *Samuel Champlayne* of *Borage*, who inhabited it unjustly, and gave it the name of *New France*.

This *Champlayne* was a painful, industrious, and a laborious undertaker: he passed many dangers, wonderful travels, adventures, and treacheries often practis'd against him, as well by his own people, as the uncivil savages; and to second this enterprize, *Monfieur Mante*, the patentee, went thither himself in person in 1604. with the like

success, as all planters in those northern parts have found, (*viz.*) variable hopes and fortunes, to little purpose, as appears by divers voyages made to the succour and relief of that plantation.

The *English* in *Virginia* hearing that the *French* were become incroaching neighbours to them, and in a country that did properly, and of right, anciently belong to the crown of *England*, as several patents made it appear, which the queen granted to *Sir Humphry Gilbert* and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, knights; and those *English* fearing, that intime this intrusion of the *French* might beget a custom, and that prescription and possession might make a cavil in the *French* to insist upon a right; therefore the governor and council in *Virginia*, in the year 1624. advised and undertook to find out what the country produced, as also to be better informed concerning the *French* plantation, which they were only told of by certain *Indians*.

After some time spent in coasting along that shore, at last they arrived at the port and fort where the *French* had made their habitation, and finding in the same harbour a ship of *France* belonging to the planters, the *English*, suddenly, and at unawares, surpriz'd her, without the loss of a man on either side, except one *French* jesuit, who was slain even as he was ready to give fire to a piece of ordnance against the *English*.

The *French* in the port being dismay'd by the loss and disaster of their bark, the *English* landed with great celerity; whereupon the *French* desired a parley, and time to consider of their surrender; but this request would not be granted; and therefore they secretly convey'd themselves presently out of the fort, and in a hidden manner escaped, and left it to the possession of the *English*, to whom it properly belonged.

The *French* governor of that colony being expelled, and wandering up and down without a house to put his head in, sent to treat with the *English* commander, offering to become a subject to the king of *England*, and to hold his possession of him and his crown, pretending to discover many secrets of mines, and other riches, not known to any but himself.

But the *English* commander's end being only to hold their right in that country, and having no authority to connive or permit any nations living there, but his majesty's born subjects, he refused all propositions of accommodation, and return'd to *Virginia*, from whence he went, and carried with him another jesuit, companion to him slain, and sent him into *England*, where he received good entertainment: the rest of the *French* travelled to *Newfoundland*, where

where they found passage for their country.

Now let me speak like a christian, and with a heart of pity, to see so great and good a work, as the conversion of souls from infidelity and paganism, should be diverted and destroy'd by a vain word of ambition; for hitherto the country is not brought to that perfection, as to produce any thing that may make it worthy of fame, or a ground for an ambitious man to work upon: for if the quarrel betwixt those two countries be consider'd, it is like two dogs that should snarl and fight for the picture of a deer, or any other beast; for there is little more substance as yet to be expected in this wide, vast, and desolate country that can afford land sufficient to both the nations, if content would please them.

I will therefore wish and pray with my heart, that all princes would put to their helping hands in the planting and establishing the christian religion in all remote and barbarous countries, and that with one consent they would settle a national law within themselves, and to have it generally received by agreement, to prohibit violence to any plantations where colonies are seated for the propagation of the christian faith: as also, that they would add and consent to the like privileges to all poor labouring fishermen fishing upon the seas, that no disturbance may be offered them; their pains and danger well deserve it for themselves, and no less in respect of the general good, every man reaps good by.

The *French* had a colony in *Florida* more ancient, and countenanced by *Castillon*, the admiral of *France*, Anno 1562: a great upholder of the *Hugonot* sect. He sent for governor monsieur *Lanncar*, and *John Rigall*, who arrived in *Florida* in thirty degrees, and there erected a pillar with the *French* arms. At first they were friendly entertained by the savages; but soon after, according to the nature of the *French*, who cannot long agree in love together, there happened quarrels amongst them; for the commanders shewed such cruelty and insolency, that one of the captains was slain; and, rather than a great part of them would endure what they did, they put themselves in great adventure into a small pinnacle to go to their country; but endured that necessity of victuals, that they were driven to eat one of their company, and had furnished if they had not been reliev'd by an *English* bark at sea.

This colony was not reliev'd according to promise, because of the civil war in *France*; but that ceasing, *Lanncar* was sent once more, in 1564. but there ensued such murders, such mutinies, such killing, running away, and betraying one another,

as it is wonderful to read; and amongst the rest there was one *Francis Jean*, who, by great accident, got into the *Havana*, and made known to the *Spaniards* the *French* plantations and weakness; whereupon the *Spaniards* sent some to supplant and weaken them, who used execution upon most of them, and possessed their fort. Such as survived were put to most lamentable famine, and, indeed, had perished if Sir *John Hawkins*, at his return out of the *Indies*, had not been brought thither by a *Frenchman*, who left them a bark and some relief.

In the fourth voyage of the *French* to *Florida*, they requited the *Spaniards* as they had done to them before, and hang'd and destroy'd to the number of four hundred. After this slaughter they returned to *Rochele*, expecting great reward from the king for that service; but the *Spanish* ambassador prevailed so far, that the commander durst not appear, but hid himself.

*Peter Malindes* the *Spanish* general, when he exercised his cruelty upon the *French* writ over their heads, *I do not this as to Frenchmen, but to Lutherans and Hereticks*; the *French* commanders served the *Spaniards* the like sauce, and writ over their heads, *Not as to Spaniards, but to traitors, robbers, and murderers*. The *French* after this quitted the country and fort of *Florida*, and never since have had any footing in it.

Lastly, for the *French* planting in *Brasil*, it has been with the like success as in the northern parts of *America*. The first that undertook it was *Levius*; and the cause for which he undertook it was to plant and settle the new-reform'd religion, as they term'd it: he had an approbation of it by *John Calvin* their sect-master, who much encouraged the action: but it fell out that in time, one sect increasing out of another, as commonly heresies do, instead of amity, they lived in a contention, and never ceas'd wrangling and jangling upon the interpretation of the gospel, till it was decided by the pistol: for murders, mutinies, and all other mischiefs ensued upon it; so that in the end, *Levius* confessed it to be a work of God, as the author of peace, and the hater of divisions; whereupon he abandoned that sect, and reconciled himself to the church of *Rome*, in which religion he lived and died, as himself expressed in writing.

*Thevetis*, and after him *Stadius*, were two of the next that followed this plantation; and to make an end of the tragical habitation, *Diego Flores de Valdes*, in his return from the *Streights* of *Magellan*, as you have heard, in the year 1582. coasted the *Brasilian* shore, till at last he came to an harbour called *Paraiaba*; where he found five *French* ships, three whereof he burnt, and the rest he took, and inhabited.

inhabited the fort with his *Spaniards*: the *Frenchmen* ran into the mountains, where they lived in company with the savages..

But for a conclusion of these plantations, as well by us as the *French*, and to avoid prolixity, I will briefly describe the nature of the rude, wild, and savage people of *America*; who are not to be inticed with sweetness and good usage, nor to be master'd by force and cruelty. Generally their religion is alike, though they adore several creatures for God; and every nation has a sundry opinion and practice in their ceremonies; but their supreme God of all is the devil, the enemy of mankind.

The soil and temper of many plantations exceeds us in temperature, and planted, manured, and husbanded at the charge of a prince's purse, no doubt but they may be brought to perfection; for the bane of all colonies is private mens undertakings, that are impatient of delays; for if it yield not an expectation of private gain, they are willing rather to lose their first adventure, than to shoot a second arrow to find the former shot: and moreover, factions arise amongst people that are not governed by a prince's direct authority; envy reigns amongst them, to see some advanced above themselves, and are ready to cast aspersions upon their rulers, and to tax them with deceit and fraud, whether they deserve it, or not.

*Advice how to plant the Island of St. Lawrence, the greatest Island in the World, and reckoned a Port of Africk.*

HAVING handled at large the discoveries and plantations the christian nations have laboured in, and by their industrious pains have brought to good perfection, I will now at last say something of the likeliness of a country, that in all probability may produce good; I will only collect some reasons, and refer the rest to the examination and consideration of those that are well inclined to the honourable undertaking and proceeding of new plantations.

There are two particular things to be required in a colony: the one I have already spoke of, which is, That it be the act of a prince and his purse to bear the charge; but if that be wanting, and the action be put upon private mens expence, there are three things to be considered upon such an enterprize; the one, is the length and distance from home; the second, how to supply it with least charge and most conveniency; and the third, for hiring of vessels for transportation of men and materials, the condition of which ships must be according to the place they inhabit, and the enemies they are to fear.

I observe in all the *English* and *French* plantations, the hopes are alike; sometimes they feed themselves with the hope of a passage into the *South Sea*; other times with the riches of mines; and the commodities they produce, and make large relations to persuade people to persevere in it.

But the conclusion is mutinies, murders, seditious desperate adventures, want of victuals, and other calamities, more strange than ancient histories can acquaint us with.

If the charge bestowed upon such vain hopes were valued with the gain they have reaped, it were not worth a purse to put it in; and for ours in *England* it would be consumed in smoke: for our staple commodity which it sends out, is stinking barbarous tobacco; for from the barbarous savages it is derived; a brave original for civil men to learn and imitate.

The *French* herein far exceed us; for by their industry, and laborious endeavours, they have attained to a rich and profitable traffick of costly furs, which makes our shame the greater, when we consider how easily they have effected it, and how profitably they persevered in it, whilst we are sucking of smoke, that brings with it many inconveniencies, as time has made it too plain to us.

This being done, the next consideration is the climate, the nature of the soil, and what profit it will yield at present; as also what hope of future; the nature of the people, and whether they may be made capable of reason, and be reduced from their barbarous incivility.

Of all the places I can think of, for conveniency and profit within the bounds of *America*, *Africk*, or *Asia*, out of my experience and study, is the island of *St. Lawrence*, antiently called *Madagascar*, five hundred leagues from the cape of *Good Hope*, the greatest island in the world, and the place of all others I principally commend; for our planting will be in fourteen degrees of south latitude, where our *English* are now no strangers; for commonly they refresh themselves, and find succour in their voyages to the *East Indies*.

There is nothing that I observe to further a plantation but this will yield: First, the winds are certain, at the time of the year, to carry us directly thither, without striking sail: and though it be farther distant from *England*, than *Virginia*, or that part of

of *America*, yet I hold it will be often sooner gone to than *Virginia*, where the winds and weather are both uncertain in going and coming. Secondly, whereas the charge is great to hire ships purposely to transport men and provisions to *America*, where the numbers are many, they are subject to sickness, and other disasters of the sea; I do make account that it may be so ordered and contrived, that every ship trading to the *East Indies* may be hired conveniently to carry twenty planters, without annoying or pestering the ships, being spacious, and of great burden; and this will prove less charge to the undertakers, than to hire them purposely for *Virginia*.

And if we examine the nature and condition of the country, and the people that inhabit it, with the experience we have of our *Englishmen* that resort thither, we shall find the climate singular for health, and the ground fruitful to produce wealth, as the great and extraordinary oxen the place affords, can witness. This alone exceeds all the hope *America* can at present yield us: for our increase of cattle upon that continent must be raised by such beasts as we carry'd out of *England*, which must be done with great charge, trouble, and long time before they be brought to perfection.

The cattle we shall there find, will bring us a certain commodity of hides; and as we shall seek to increase them, so will our gain and profit increase the more.

What other benefit we shall make by this plantation, time and our own endeavours will make it appear: for the two barks which I wished to be kept there for intelligence from other places, I would wish that the one should discover the south part of the island, and the other on the north side; and to make their rendezvous at the same place from whence they departed; so shall we discover the very heart of the whole island; and no doubt but we shall discover variety of gainful things, unthought of by us as yet. I have known of my own experience, and by examination of divers *Portuguese*, with whom I have spoken, that the *Moors* who live and inhabit the main continent of *Africk*, over against it, have a singular trade with the people of *St. Lawrence* for elephants teeth, ambergrease, &c. all which we should enjoy with ease, when we are settled, and perfectly known to them.

Besides the plenty of beef it will yield us for food, there is other delicate meat to be found, as muttens, but with hairy skins, hens, and other sorts of fowls; oranges and lemons, and other kind of rare fruits there naturally growing; which *America* will not yield us, unless we plant them; which will prove a work of many years, and in the

end fail of the excellency of the others in respect of the climate. The sea and the rivers will afford plenty of fish of all kinds, and for the present we shall not want a sufficient quantity of maiz and cassado for bread, till we sow our *English* corn of all sorts.

And for the people in that part of the island, it is known to all that have been there, that they have behaved themselves lovingly and respectfully to one another, and no less to strangers. By their civil behaviour and labour they draw their cattle to a tameness, as with us; which shews they are naturally civil, which is not usual amongst such people: and to prove it the more, as well in that as in their other courses, they are *Mahometans* in profession of religion; and though it be as false as falsehood may be to truth, yet by that religion they are taught more civiler conversation and humane behaviour, than the *Indians* or infidels are instructed in, who acknowledge several creatures for gods; some the sun, some the moon, and some several beasts and creatures of the earth: but I make account with our familiarity, love, and good usage, we shall entice their children, with consent of parents, to bring them for *England*, where they shall have good education and breeding, answerable to our own; and this will be the method to work our good in our plantations of that country; and the only means to propagate christian religion in remote parts.

Having a plantation or settled dwelling in the island of *St. Lawrence*, we shall make our navigation to the *East Indies* much more pleasant, short, and profitable, by using and settling a magazine of commodities betwixt us and the *Indies*. First, by their receiving our commodities, and returning those we receive from thence, by the same ships we employ; for part of one fleet, may be sent from *St. Lawrence* to the *Indies*, and return the commodities those countries afford to *St. Lawrence*, which our ships shall there receive, and bring them directly for *England*; so that all our ships shall be continually going and coming, and every twelve months have a return from thence; which now is more than double the time.

I desire that this project to *St. Lawrence* may be compared with those our nation has undertaken to *America*, and the reasons duly considered, without partiality; and being so satisfied, that they would follow them with a general consent, and so settle their plantations; that there may be a neighbourhood from one to another; for being, as they are, thus divided, they can give no help or succour, but must stand upon their own strength, what attempt soever shall

shall be made upon them by an enemy; besides many other reasons one may produce, that would much avail them: for what succour can *Newfoundland*, which is the furthest part north, give the island of *Providence*, the furthest part south, or any other places betwixt them that we inhabit, as namely, *New England*, *Virginia*, cape *Florida*, the *Barbadoes*, *St. Christopher's*, *Tartuga*, and the island of *Providence*, if you examine the distance from one to another,

and how the currents and winds set upon these coasts.

As the island of *Providence* is the last I name, so it is the greatest in fame by the persons that countenance it, and by the purses that maintain it; and because you shall know the difference betwixt that island and *St. Lawrence*, I will here make a description of the island, and refer it to your own judgment.

*The Nature of the Island Catalena, or of Providence, as called by us.*

AMONGST many ridiculous and vain plantations we have had footing in several places of *America*, as appears in this book, there is one small island, whose name we have changed from *Catalena* to the island of *Providence*; because some pretend to foresee it may damnify the *Spanish* nation, if they shall hereafter give us occasion of war.

This island of *Providence* is seated upon the coast of *Terra firma*, one hundred leagues north from *Carthage*, eighty leagues north and by west from *Nombre de Dios*, and from the headland of *Gracias a Dios*, thirty five leagues. This island for the greatness of it, may be termed rather a rock than an island, not exceeding ten or eleven miles in length, and five in breadth; a small proportion of land to promise either victuals for sustenance, or commodities worthy of labour to countervail the tenth part of charge that has been bestowed on it.

For it is like a barren and uncultivated ground, that of itself can send forth nothing, if pains and labour do not make it capable to afford nourishment; even so this least and worst of islands can promise no more than the ill ground I compare it unto; but our undertakers think by the situation of it, that it will advantage us much against *Spain*, the impregnableness of it by nature considered, which we have helped by art.

The island has these particular benefits in it: A port containing eighteen foot in depth, with good ground to ride in; it is environed with huge and high rocks and cliffs, and made impregnable against landing the harbour on westernmost side of the island, which makes it a safe riding, by reason of the perpetual easterly wind that blows off the shore. There's only one place to land in; for that excepted, it is encompassed about with such rocks, that a boat cannot come near the shore. If a ship put but one mile to leeward of the harbour, she cannot recover it again by reason of the current; unless she put for *Hispaniola*, and disemboque betwixt it and *Cuba*, at least three or four hundred leagues, back-

wards and forwards; neither can they directly go from thence to *Cuba*, by reason of the shoals and flats in their nearest course. Therefore a ship must stand over for the mainland thirty five leagues from *Providence*, and pass through a channel, not half a mile in breadth, and yet four leagues in length.

The wind and current sets to the westward from *Providence*, till within twelve or fourteen leagues of the shore; and then the current sets to the southward, though the wind keeps its continual course from the east; and were it not for the change of the current, it were impossible for to fetch *Nombre de Dios*, *Porto Bello*, or *Carthage*. Our *English* ships have a great advantage of the *Spaniards*, by reason of their fastness by a wind, which the others cannot beat it up, because of their leewardness.

Every fourteen weeks, the climate wherein the island is seated, produces an harvest of corn, pease, potatoes, and other roots and herbs: the potatoes make a delicate kind of drink, both pleasant and wholesome. The sea affords such great abundance of fish, that two boats and ten fishermen will be able to feed one thousand persons every day.

There are two other islands not above sixteen leagues from *Providence*, the one call'd *St. Andrew*, the other the *Mosquito*, not inhabited. These two islands afford great quantity of tortoises, which will be a great relief to the island of *Providence*: they are not to be dwelt upon, because they cannot be made defensible; and *St. Andrew's* is full of rocks and shoals, and dangerous to come near, by any that do not perfectly know it; neither has it an harbour, though in the westernmost part of it one may anchor in safety. And thus much for the description of the island, as namely, the height, the seat, the distance, the temperature, and distance from other places. Though there is cause for me to write more particularly of this island, yet will I not here insert it, but speak more amply of it in my fifth book; to which I refer you.

T O T H E

# P R O J E C T O R S

O F

## T h i s   A G E .

**I**F I could think of a more proper word than *Project*, to entitle this ensuing book, I would do it ; for the name of projects, and the inventors of them, are grown so hateful and contemptible, that all honest men abhor and detest them.

There are no burthens, which the sharpness of lewd brains can invent to vex the commonwealth with, but they stile by the name of projects, when indeed the name *Promoter* were more proper, as people fitter to be loathed than cherished in a well-govern'd kingdom. Such men are a curse to the country that breeds them, to their friends and parents that nourished them, and to God himself that created them ; for there is no man, directly or indirectly, but finds himself hindered or injured by them ; their courses incite God to punish, and men to abhor them. A father of the church saith, *It is a greater sin to project, and lay unlawful things on the poor, than a merit to relieve them.* A favourite to *Alexander the Great*, whom we may rather term a projector, advised him, after his great expence in war, and wealth decay'd, to lay taxes upon his subjects : but *Alexander* answered, *That gardiner did ill who ploughed up the herbs and roots of his garden : for the king is like a gardiner ; roots, trees, and herbs, like the kingdom.* A flatterer told *Antiochus*, *That all things a king did were lawful.* *Yea*, he said, *to barbarous kings ; but not to him that respects justice.*

*St. Lewis*, king of *France*, was angry with one that advised him to lay new taxes upon his subjects, saying, *That God punished such examples in kings.* This king well deserved the name he bore, who had more respect to his subjects than to his profit.

A king of *Persia* being desired by his favourite, to grant him an unjust suit, he told him, *No : but that he would give him the value of the thing he requested, because it would not make him poor ;* but said, *I will not do what you desire, because it is unjust.* Projectors should have as little employment under this king, as they have reputation amongst honest men.

Though *Augustus Cæsar* did not by name dislike the condition of these people that vex the commonwealth ; yet in his precepts given to the governors of his provinces, he intimated a detestation of them, when he told them, *I do not send you to rule, that you should envy the innocent, or be a hangman to offenders ; but that with one hand you should be an helper to the good, and encourage the evil to amend ; that you be a tutor to the fatherless, a pleader for widows, a staff to the blind, and a father to all.*

I have heard of a judge in our time, who by his audacity, and forced authority and impudence, was able to pervert and wrest laws to his appetite and liking : this wicked judge had got a popular applause and esteem amongst the ignorant multitude, and by his friends was commended to king *James* of *Great Britain*, for a good minister to his state. The king answered, *Yea, if I would become a tyrant.* Intimating, that the judge who misconstrues laws, were a fit servant for such, and not for upright kings. *Solon* was such an enemy to the projectors, that he established a law, *That whosoever proposed any thing to the prejudice of the commonwealth should die.* He also decreed, *That it should be lawful to revenge an injury that should be offered to one another, that every man might have a feeling of the party injured.*

*To the Projectors of this Age.*

The difference betwixt the projectors of our age, and the projects I tender in the ensuing discourse, is this, They pretend evil under the colour of good ; they set a fair countenance on a foul face ; they smile on those whose throats they would cut ; they do, like *Scipio*, and all other rebels, pretend reformation, and taking away the abuse of the common-wealth, when themselves are abusers of it.

In my projects I have no other end but the common good of the kingdom ; I neither expect or desire gain ; I set up no new devised taxes or tolls ; I invent no impositions, nor raise contributions ; I force no man to undertake or compel people to adventure ; but I persuade like a philosopher, who advised four things to be considered, before the taking of any important thing in hand ; *To examine the beginning, to consider the middle, to approve the end, and to consult with the wise.*

If any of my propositions prove profitable to the state, and acceptable to the subject, I have obtained my wish : if not, I desire they may die, without any more appearing in the world.

**B O O K**



## BOOK V.

# Containing divers Projects and Stratagems, tender'd for the Good of the Kingdom, &c.

*The first Project shall be for the Safety of his Majesty's Navy; and the Conveniency and Inconveniency in keeping it at Chatham or Portsmouth.*

**A**S there is no man that builds a house, but at the first groundwork of his building will be sure to make his foundation firm and staple, (for on the strength thereof all the rest of the building must depend,) even so it is with kings and princes; for that king who means to live in safety, and to avoid dangers at home, or from abroad, must first seek to make his state firm and sure, as well in defence upon an invasion, as before he enterprize any action of offence upon his enemy, or else his building is upon glass and ice, and will suddenly fall for want of a settled foundation.

Therefore, like a careful builder that will provide to encounter a danger, in my ensuing projects I will first lay down a means and remedy how to secure this kingdom against the attempts of our neighbours, if in time they become our enemies, before there shall be cause of hostility, or before we make any enterprize upon them in a warlike manner. And the first thing I will handle, as the greatest importance to the kingdom, is the safety of his majesty's navy, and the conveniency or inconveniency in keeping them at *Chatham* or *Portsmouth*, as I have said before.

### *The Conveniency of Chatham.*

1. *Chatham* is so safe and secure a port for the ships to ride in, that his majesty's navy may better ride with a hawser at *Chatham*, than with a cable at *Portsmouth*.

2. The reason of the long continuance of the navy at *Chatham*, is the conveniency of docks, and all other places, for the conveniency of ships; and considering that the officers of the navy are there seated with their whole families, it would breed a great

innovation and change to bring them to *Portsmouth*.

3. The nearness from *Chatham* to *London*, from whence they may be supplied with all things they shall stand in need of, for that *London* is the storehouse of all *England*: it is necessary therefore that the navy should be kept at *Chatham*, rather than at *Portsmouth*.

4. *Woolwich*, *Blackwall*, *Deptford*, *Limehouse*, and *Ratcliffe*, yield more docks for the building and repairing of ships, than all other places of *England*.

5. All *England* cannot furnish sailors like to *London*, and the *Newcastle* trade, which once in three weeks repairs to the port of *London*.

6. No part of *England* can victual a navy so conveniently, speedily, and at so small a charge as *London*; all the corn for bread, beer, butter, and cheese, &c. is brought by water from the adjacent countries thereabouts. And for beef, pork, and bacon, *London* is placed in the center, far more conveniently than *Portsmouth*, which has never a river to bring commodities from other shires; nor the country of *Hampshire* so fruitful as to furnish it.

7. Our trade to the *Eastland* returns their commodities to *London*, which furnishes us with all materials belonging to shipping, as, namely, cables, cordage, pitch, tar, rosin, masts, yards, &c. which cannot be done at *Portsmouth*, the place yielding nothing that creates a trade.

8. The water at *Chatham* flows sufficiently every spring tide to grave the greatest ships; and it is a doubt whether it can be made to heighten so much in *Portsmouth*, as to do the like.

9. No wind or weather can endanger the coming home of an anchor in *Chatham*, and the

the river affords sufficient space for every ship to ride, without annoying one another: as to the contrary, a storm, with a wind from the north-east to the south-south-east, will stretch the cables of the ships in *Portsmouth*; and if any of their anchors come home, they cannot avoid boarding one another, to their exceeding great damage and danger, the channel being so narrow.

10. A navy lying in the harbour of *Portsmouth*, the safety of them depends upon the town of *Portsmouth*; and if *Portsmouth* should be surprized, or taken at any time, the whole navy falls into the enemy's hands.

11. Not a cable, anchor, mast, yard, barrel of powder, or any other thing that belongs to the furnishing a fleet, but must be brought from *London* or *Chatham* to *Portsmouth*, with an exceeding great charge, and no less delay and danger, considering the uncertainty of winds, the peril to be intercepted by enemies, and the hazard of shipwreck.

12. The excessive charge in sending down carpenters, cawkers, and other several workmen belonging to ships, with impresses of mariners, will amount to an extraordinary great expence. All which will be eased by being at *Chatham*.

*The Exceptions to the Navy lying at Chatham.*

1. The several winds to carry them to *Portsmouth*.
2. The hazard of the shoals and sands in going thither.
3. The distance from *Chatham* thither, if the *French* should attempt any thing upon us.
4. And some there are that advise part of the ships to be kept at *Portsmouth*, and the other part at *Chatham*.

Whosoever shall alledge these reasons, must distinguish of the service in hand, whether it be offensive or defensive, or against *Spain*, *France*, *Holland*, or any part of the east country.

If *Holland* or the *Eastland* become our enemies, then doth *Chatham* lie most with advantage to annoy them, if they attempt any part of our north coast, or *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, and *Kent*, which are places of most peril, considering their nearness to the city of *London*.

If we have wars with *France*, there is little advantage gotten betwixt *Chatham* and *Portsmouth*; for being at the *Downs* at *Dover*, we shall be over-against *France*, and nearer to the *Isle of Wight* than *Brest* is, or any part of *Brittany*, where I suppose the fleet of *France* will be made ready; and for the two navies, *English* and *French* meeting

at sea, no place or time can be assign'd them, ships being in continual action, and sailing one day on one coast, and another day on another.

And whereas the several winds are objected as an impediment to our navy at *Chatham*, you must know that an easterly wind keeps in a fleet at *Chatham*; and so it doth the *French*, if they be in any part of *Brittany*: and our ships also, if they should be at *Portsmouth*, though they should be in the *Channel*, yet with that easterly wind, they cannot go to the eastward; so that you see an easterly wind brings an equal inconveniency, as well to the one, as to the other.

And whereas from *Chatham* we must have two winds to bring us into the *Channel*, or to *Portsmouth*, the one southerly or westerly to carry us to the *Downs*, the other northerly or easterly to bring us to *Portsmouth* in three tides; with fair weather, from the *Downs*, we shall be able to fetch *Portsmouth* howsoever the wind is; in which traverse we shall be as likely to meet a fleet of *France*, as in any other part of the *Channel*.

To answer the objection of sands and shoals to endanger us in our coming about from *Chatham*, we see that by the care and skill of pilots, no memory or record can tell of a ship of his majesty's so lost, as out of *Portsmouth* it is fresh in old mens mouths, and the ribs of the ship I have often seen, called the *Great Henry*, a ship-royal of king *Henry VIII.* there perished.

I likewise remember in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, and in the year 1586. that the *Revenge*, (after taken by the *Spaniards*,) was as near destruction, coming out of the harbour of *Portsmouth*.

And to satisfy the advisers that wish part of the navy to be kept at *Chatham*, and the other at *Portsmouth*, this I say, That an army on land, or a navy at sea, which shall be divided, is easier to be cut off before they meet, than if they were met together in a main battle, especially in so narrow a sea as ours, where fleets cannot pass without encountering one another.

Moreover, if the *French* should anchor with a number of ships sufficient to encounter with either of our two fleets divided, either at *St. Hellen's-Point* in the *Isle of Wight*, or the *Downs*, or *Gorend*, it were impossible for our fleet to pass unseen or unmet withal; by which means they may cut them off before they meet.

But, as I have said, the country must be considered with whom we have war; for if we have war with *Spain*, neither *Portsmouth* nor *Chatham* is so convenient as *Plimouth*; for in the winter, which is the time that ships must keep harbour, they shall have space sufficient to make provision against the spring

spring, and ease a great charge in carrying the ships from *Plimouth* to *Chatbam*, and after from *Chatbam* to *Plimouth*; which we cannot allow less than two months, if not more: and moreover, from *Plimouth* we shall put to sea with our ships nimble and clean, sooner, and better manned and victualled, than either from *Portsmouth* or *Chatbam*.

Therefore I conclude, in comparison betwixt *Chatbam* and *Portsmouth*, *Chatbam* is the best and safest place; and wish that our whole navy may be kept at *Chatbam*, and not make any continual residence but there only, considering the former reasons. Never hurt befel any of them that made their being there, either by weather or attempt of enemy; and yet I must confess, they are not altogether so safe and secure from the assault of a fleet that shall be brought from the eastward with an easterly wind; and therefore it behoves us to be cautious and wary of it, as follows:

In the stratagems contained in my third book, I advised a general to provide to withstand an enterprize to be made upon ships in harbour, where they are usually moored with two cables, to which directions I refer you; but with leave, somewhat I will say of the state of our navy at *Chatbam*, and the danger that may befel us from *Holland*, if they become enemies to us, as also shew the way of prevention.

*Holland*, by reason of their abundance of shipping, the number of soldiers quartered in all the parts of their country, and their daily and speedy use in gathering their forces together for present service, as they often do, will give us the less suspicion if they should intend any sudden stratagem upon us; and the first thing that they will attend, is the opportunity of a settled easterly wind, to bring their ships, without striking sail, as high as *Gravesend*, and there suddenly put eight or ten thousand men on the *Kentish* shore, to march to *Upnor Castle*, four or five miles from thence; where they shall find no resistance, the castle being both weak and weakly provided; and having it, they have an entrance to the river, where the ships ride.

The ships having done so much as belongs to them, in landing their men, they will, no doubt, repair presently to *Upnor*, which is the place they will principally shoot at; and the castle being taken before their coming, their passage is made for them to surprize our navy, which they will find unprovided of men, more than the ordinary ship-keepers; their ordnance commonly ashore, and without powder or

shot; for unless there be employment of ships to sea, the ammunition is always kept in the *Tower of London*, and too late at that time to be supplied from thence, if this devilish design should prevail; I protest the very thought of it makes me tremble, and wish it may be prevented.

And for prevention, it will behove us to seek how by art and skill to raise works and fortifications, both by land and water, for the guard and strength of *Upnor Castle*; and to order and appoint that a certain number of trained soldiers, thereabouts dwelling, upon every allarm repair thither with their arms, which will prevent any sudden surprize; and in the mean time we shall have leisure to draw a greater army together, than they will be able to withstand.

And so much as concerns the defence of the river, by booming, and making sconces upon it, I have said sufficiently in my former stratagems; but seeing this is a matter of so great import as the safety of our navy, and by consequence the security of our kingdom, I advise, and wish that the ordnance, or greatest part of them, be continually kept aboard the ships, both mounted and fitted with all kind of ammunition belonging to them: that as in the case of *Upnor Castle*, the trained soldiers of the country, have order to repair on board the navy with their arms: that the ships themselves be warpp'd and towed as low as the innermost boom, and there to moor themselves a head and a stern to welcome an enemy with their whole broad-sides. And if all these fail, (as God forbid,) then the ships to sink themselves at an anchor, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy; which ships are easily after to be weigh'd without hurt or detriment.

Having left a remedy, as you have heard, for the securing our navy, my next project shall be to hinder *French* attempts upon us, they being a nation of most danger, by reason of their nearness and greatness, and especially if they be assisted with the help of *Holland* with shipping, as no doubt, but in matter of state *France* will labour to gain *Holland* from us, and to settle it with a firm league and friendship with them, to redeem their loss of *Scotland*, who for many hundred years made their dependency upon that kingdom; and if *Scotland* prove honest to *England*, they may fear by our conjunction, of foes we are become friends, and that *Scotchmen* may as well turn their swords upon their breasts, as they have done heretofore upon ours.

*A Project to prevent the French landing in England, if they become our Enemies.*

WE in *England* look upon *France* to be a strong and potent country; the people in it to be both warlike and valourous: but it lying upon a main continent, and ours an island, divided with a sea, we think we may easily offend them, and not be offended by them.

This opinion is generally received; and, indeed, not to be confuted, but by such as understand the sea better than the ordinary sort of men: but for the explaining it, if ever there happen a war betwixt *France* and us, I will truly set down the danger that may redound to us by *France*, and the means how to prevent it, as I have already done, or will do, if a war happen betwixt *Spain*, or *Holland*, and us.

The general position is, That *France* is no way to compare with us for number and strength of shipping; and by consequence, we are to fear no danger from thence, upon any attempt they shall make.

In answer hereof, it is true, if the meeting and encountering a fleet at sea were certain, the strongest are likely to prevail against the other. But I have formerly shewed, that there are three principal things to be required in a sea-action: the first is providence, to learn the design of an enemy, to prevent him: the second is secrecy, to keep the enemy from intelligence: and the third, is how to work for advantage of wind and weather.

If the *French* intend to invade us, we may easily conjecture, by their preparation by land and sea, and the drawing down their army to their port-towns; but where they mean to attempt us, if they keep their design secret, it will be hard to discover; and the chief reason we are to conceive, is according to the place where they keep their rendezvous, the observation of winds to bring them from thence to seize our coast, and the weakness of our harbours, where we may conceive they think to land.

If there were no more difficulty than the vulgar and common conceit, it were probable not to be in the power of *France* to hurt us; but speaking like a seaman, for that sea actions must be governed by the winds, thus much I must let you know, That a southerly wind, which brings them for our coast, keeps our ships in harbour that we cannot budge; so that they shall neither fear our force by sea, nor our ships be able to impeach them, unless by chance and accident they arrive in the same harbour our ships retire to; so you see it is neither the number or strength of fleets, that

can withstand them, if they observe the advantage of a southerly wind.

This is a peril that every man conceives not; for if *France* can of themselves afford a quantity of vessels, to transport an army, or by hiring ships abroad, or compelling strangers to serve that come into their ports to trade; it is not much material whether they be of strength, or no; for with a southerly wind they shall not fear any force to meet them at sea.

There was never fore, but God provides a salve; and this fearful hazard must be cured by prevention: (as thus,) Our fleet must divide into three squadrons; and being at sea, and forced to seek the shore, every squadron be appointed a particular harbour to repair to; by which means every port on the south coast shall be defended and guarded by our ships; which will be a force sufficient to withstand the strength of *France* by sea, if they be not assisted by *Holland*.

The ports being thus guarded, they are prevented of landing; for an invador is not so mad, as not to provide a harbour for his security; and no road or bay with an outwardly wind, is able, without great danger, to give him conveniency of riding or landing, the sea and siege will be so great.

But it may be objected, That though this serve for the southern coast, yet the north part of *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales* lies open to their landing. The answer to this is, That if our three squadrons be divided, the one to make good the *Downs*, another the west country, no fleet can pass betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, but they of the *Downs* shall have a view of them; and the same wind the others have, will serve them to follow, and to prevent their landing: the western squadron will do the like upon any attempt that shall be made upon *Milford Haven*, *Wales*, or any of that part of *England*.

But our surest course will be with some ships to beleaguer their harbours of rendezvous in *France* a good distance from the shore, for fear of embaying: we must consider that such winds as serve to bring them for *England*, make a secure road upon that coast to ride in; and such winds as are dangerous to keep that shore, make it impossible for the *French* to put out of harbour; as I will shew more particularly, when I treat of the way to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting.

Thus you may perceive, that an invasion out of *France* into *England* or *Scotland*, is to be prevented. But his majesty has another

other kingdom of more danger, the conditions of the people, and the openness of the harbours considered; and that is *Ireland*, which I will a little handle.

*Ireland*, as it is an island, is in the case of *England*, though more dangerous, in respect the people are more rebellious, and divided from *England*, that cannot be with celerity relieved, if an enemy do land: besides, the *Irish* nation and their natures do not so well simbolize with the *French*, as with the *Spaniards*; or if they did, the *French* have less advantage to invade that kingdom than the others; for so much as the same wind that carries a fleet out of *France* into *Ireland*, the same wind serves us to follow them out of *England*.

But seeing I am upon this subject, I will let you know the difference betwixt the danger of a *French* invasion and a *Spanish* into *Ireland*. You must consider that a south-west wind that brings a fleet from *Spain* into *Ireland*, is not only against us to go into *Ireland*, but keeps our ships in harbour, that we cannot put to sea: by which occasion the *Spaniards* may land in despite of us.

Moreover, if with that wind they land to the northward of *Ireland*, though it be no further than to the river of *Shannon*, we must have not only a north-east wind to carry us to *Misen-Head*, or cape *Clear*, but when we are at either of the two places, we must have a contrary wind to carry us in pursuit of them that land to the northwards, which is a southerly wind; and how this is like to happen, and what dan-

ger may befall us in the mean space, is a main point of consideration: and therefore it fell out very luckily to us, that in the *Spaniards* last expedition to *Ireland*, they landed at *Kinsale*, to which place one wind carry'd us directly out of *England*, to give a relief to our army, and to prevent a second supply from *Spain*.

If they had landed further to the northward of *Misen-Head*, we should have had, as I have said, two contrary winds; besides, they would have come to them, where they should have found succour and relief, far from our army by land, where our march had almost been impossible, considering the season of the year, and the weak help that the country would have yielded us.

My advice therefore is, When an enemy is feared in *Ireland*, that there be a care to keep our fleet at sea off of *Misen-Head*, as a place to take advantage of all winds; and that the beacons be well watched on shore, with directions to the watcher, that they give notice to our fleet at sea, to distinguish the enemies landing to the northward or to the eastward of that place; for our ships lying open of the cape of *Misen-Head*, they will be able instantly to follow them, whether they shall go to the northward or eastward.

But this caution I give, that no occasion but necessity compel the fleet to seek a harbour: for I have shewed before the inconvenience of it; and the difficulty to get them in again; that in the mean time an enemy may work his mischief.

*How to prevent the French and the Hollanders meeting to rescue one another, if they become Enemies to England.*

Considering how things stand, or may hereafter stand betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to the prejudice of *England*, (for that every state changes with time and advantage to themselves and commonwealth,) it will not be amiss, for prevention of evil that may happen to this kingdom, to follow the practice of a skilful physician, in the cure of his patient, to give him cordials to avoid the disease, rather than afterwards, when it has seized upon him, to go about with physick to recover him; and according to this example, it will be better for us before-hand to withstand the peril, than seek to shun it when it is too late.

The dangers are of two kinds: the one by an increase of ships in *France*, that may in time prove prejudicial to the state; for it is perillous to have neighbourhood with danger: the other is, the assistance they may find in foreign parts by sea, and above all other nations, the *Hollanders*, who are nearest able to equal us in shipping.

The fear of an invasion out of *France*, our ancestors never much dreaded; for our ships were still the walls and bulwarks of our defence, and ever made that nation recoil with dishonour and loss, as our histories do at large declare; and rather than the *French* ambitious thoughts should now aspire to greatness of shipping, it were far better, happier, and safer for us, to proclaim an everlasting war against them, than by a suffering peace, they should attain to a strength by sea; for princes in matters of most importance ought to govern by rules of state, and to be directed by precedents of times.

We will not oppose the *French* greatness amongst themselves at home, when it shall have no relation to us abroad: But if *France* will not be contented with what they have been, but labour to be greater than we think fit they should be, wisdom bids us provide for the best; which we cannot better do, than to abate the pride and power

power in the beginning; for it is an old saying, That peace and power are incompatible, and live not long together; and the strongest pillar of peace, is to take away the occasion that may breed a war.

But in case, according to my proposition, that *France*, out of matters of state, shall seek to give assistance to *Holland*, and we to impeach it at sea, this that follows shall direct those that have the command of so great and weighty a charge as the government of our seas.

Our fleet, consisting of a number of ships, must be divided into three squadrons, and appoint three several places for their rendezvous, (*viz.*) the *Downs*, the isle of *Wight*, and *Guernsey*, all of them opposite to the harbours in *France*, betwixt *Calais* in *Picardy*, and *Ushant* in *Britany*.

Our squadrons are to work according to winds; for that wind which is dangerous for us to keep the *French* coast, is impossible for their ships to put out of harbour, as I have formerly shewed; and therefore we need not put our selves to hazard, but upon a just occasion, when the wind shall serve them.

Although some of their ports are better than others, yet there is none of them in the distance aforesaid, but are bad harbours, and dry from half tide to half tide, that a ship cannot get either in or out, but by favour of a whole tide.

And it is moreover to be considered, that there is no wind that will carry a ship out of those harbours of *France* into *Holland* or *Zealand*, but a southerly or westerly wind; for though they may put out to sea with an easterly wind, yet being at sea, they cannot recover the places aforesaid, and therefore had better keep the harbours, and avoid the danger of meeting us at sea: and besides, that such winds as aforesaid will carry them out of harbour into *Holland*, we shall be as ready to take the advantage of them from our own coast, as themselves can be from theirs; considering what time they must have to embark their men and provisions, and observe their tides for going forth of their ports. The *Downs* lie conveniently to guard *Calais*, *Bullen*, *St. Vallery*, and *Havre-de-Grace*; the isle of *Wight* will have an eye over *Diepe*, *Sherbrook*, and all the creeks to the *Hagg*; the islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey* will do the like to *St. Maloes*, which is a port of greatest importance on that coast.

But the places of greatest weight, are *Brest*, *Blavet*, and some other harbours for the entertainment of their best and greatest ships, which lie east and south-east from *Ushant*, and not within the channel opposite to *England*.

But those *French* ships that shall there remain, must have two contrary winds to bring them into our channel; the one to get about *Ushant*; and that being done, the other is to sail into *Holland*, in which course they must pass our three squadrons aforesaid, and will find it impossible to escape us.

*Havre-de-Grace*, which is the second good harbour next to *St. Maloes*, lying betwixt *Calais* and *Ushant*, is in the same state of *Brest* and *Blavet*, which must have two contrary winds to carry them to *Holland*; though they be nearer to *Holland* by many leagues, yet they shall run the same hazard and peril of *Brest*, as I have declared.

Thus you see how easy a thing it is to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting, if a discreet and understanding commander have the rule of things, and knows what belongs to it.

For the better information of those that shall be employed, I will set down the state and condition of every harbour in *France*.

#### *The State of the Harbours in France.*

**T**HERE is a bank in the middle betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, south from *Dover*, and west and by south from *Calais*, that has but four fathom at low water, and four leagues long.

The *Old-Man* is a good road for north-east, east or south-east wind, six or seven fathom deep.

*St. John's* road, nigh to it, is a good road for the same wind, and is fifteen or sixteen fathom deep.

*Bullen* is a barred harbour, and dry at low water.

The river of *Somme*, where *St. Vallery* stands, if it were not for a bank that lies at the entrance thereof, were a good harbour.

From the *Old-Man* to *Diepe*, south-south-west, betwixt them lies the river of *Hen*; the town of *Treport* is upon it at low water dry.

*Diepe* at full sea three fathom: there are three bouys to direct you at half flood: small ships may go in at low water dry.

*Feckban*, four leagues, west-south-west, a good harbour, two fathom at low water.

*Havre-de-Grace*, at high water, three fathom; and at low water one. There is no failing from hence up the river of *Seine* to *Roan*, without a pilot.

*Caen* is six leagues south-west from *Sand-Head*, a barred harbour, and full of sands going in.

Four leagues eastward lies the island of *St. Mark*, and to be sailed about, but foul ground.

The

The bay of *Hogs* is a good road for north-north-east winds, and, indeed, for all winds.

*Cberbourg* is a small dry creek.

From thence is *Faux-Moberil*, a dry haven.

A league from hence is *Cape de Hague*: west, three leagues from this cape, lieth *Aldernay*, west-and-by-north, almost three leagues long, east and west: the east is good to sail near the shoar, but the west is bad, and the south side worse.

From *Aldernay* to *Guernsey*, west-south-west, eight leagues; the east end of *Guernsey* is flat, the west stoope. Beware of the island of *Aron*; it is full of rocks: betwixt the castle and the land it is a good road at six or seven fathom, and without the castle at twelve or thirteen fathom: it ebbs or flows here at six or seven fathom up and down. There is good anchoring round about the island.

From *Guernsey* to *St. Malo's* seven leagues south-south-east, and to *Sacke*, east-and-by-north, one league: you may anchor about it at twenty six or twenty seven fathom.

From *Guernsey* to *Jersey*, south-east, eight leagues: There is good anchoring at *Guernsey* round about it; and yet there lie rocks to the west side: on the north side there is a good road for a north-west wind. *Cateline Bay*, on the east side, is a very good road. You may go between *Jersey* and the rocks, called *Pater-Noster*, eleven fathom, and anchor at *Trinity Bay*.

From the west end of *Jersey* to *St. Malo's*, south-and-by-east, eight or nine leagues. In the way there are rocks called the *Monks*.

The course from the *Hagg* to *St. Malo's* by *Grand Ville*, *Mount St. Michael*, and *Caucall*, is full of rocks and sands.

The island near *St. Malo's*, called *Zezembre*, a ship may go round about it safely.

The tides hereabouts rise and fall seven fathom. There is no entrance but for small ships into *St. Malo's*.

About five leagues west from thence lieth

a great sandy bay, where one may ride six or seven fathom at all winds.

You may ride about the islands of *Brisack*; and a league and a half from hence are the islands of *Pickle*, islands which you may sail about; as also the seven islands, at four fathom, as likewise *Greveland*.

The haven of *St. John's de Dieu*, three leagues from *Morlaix*, is a barred harbour; from whence you may go to *Morlaix* through the rocks, and anchor in five fathom water.

All havens thereabouts are barred, but *Rosco*, which is deep water, and has many good ships belonging to it. It is the *Bas* that makes *Rosco* so good a harbour.

*Brest* is the best harbour in all *France*, and *Blavet* the next: *Odogerne* is a good harbour; the bank before it is five or six fathom deep on both sides; there is three fathom within at low water.

*West Penmark* is a good harbour, three fathom at low water. *Bindett* is a dangerous harbour for rocks.

There is good anchoring about the island of *Mutton* and *Groye*.

*Blavet* is an excellent harbour, four fathom at low water.

*Morbeau* is a good harbour, but forceable tides, eight or nine fathom; within the east side is a bold shore.

Behind the west point of *Croisick* there is a good road, at five, six, or seven fathom, and safe as in a harbour.

The river of *Nancy* is a good harbour, seven or eight fathom water; but you must have a pilot.

The island *Heyes* has no good road; but the best is a south-west, or west-south-west wind.

*St. Martin's* twelve leagues, east-south-east from *Heyes*.

From *St. Martin's* to *St. John de Luz*, is fifty four leagues, and never a harbour in the way, but *Bourdeaux*, worthy to be accounted, being all of them barred harbours.

### *A Project how to war upon Holland, if they give Occasion.*

**I**F the *Hollanders* shall neglect our favours and friendships, or become obstinate, perverse, and insolent, and so proud withal as to disdain us, I have not that mistrust of the force of *England*, but that it will prove the revenge, and punish their unthankfulness, as well by what I have said in the precedent project, as by this that follows; for as in natural bodies, the longer they live in health, sickness is the more dangerous when it assails them, so it will prove in an unsuccessful war of the *Hollanders*, who have so long failed with a prof-

perous and fortunate gale, when at last they taste of the perverseness of fortune.

What can they value themselves upon, (to speak truly,) but *England* deserves the honour of it? We were the first that gave them life; and it is such a life, if they would consider it, that if we feed them not, they faint and famish. Let them remember an old observation of state, *That he who entertains an army of strangers, takes a wolf by the ear*; for as it is dangerous to detain them, so it is more perillous to let them go. And if his majesty at any time call home his

subjects from their service, that have been the wolves to their enemies, they will soon become silly sheep for others to prey upon; for things easily and unlawfully gotten, are soonest lost and consumed, if they be not supported.

If *England* at any time excepts against their ill usage, and calls them to account for injuries, they will find that we are the stronger, and able to give them laws, and they the weaker to accept of the less evil; for where can they trade but they shall find interruption by us, laying aside their passage through our seas? that without our leave and harbours, they cannot subsist in their navigations? But now to my purpose, to what I have in hand.

I will imitate the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, a man eminent in *Spain* for his experience, employment, and good success in sea actions, who upon the breach of peace with *England* in 1585. presented to the king his master a relation how his territories should be defended, and the *English* annoy'd.

And as an imitator of the marquis, I advise, seeing we know not how soon matters of unkindness may burst out betwixt *Holland* and us, that in the mean time we inform ourselves of the true state of their provinces by sea; and that there be a choice made of two sufficient seamen to be sent in a secret manner into the *Low Countries*, to take a view of their shipping, as namely, the number of vessels, their ordnance, and quality of them; to enquire of their ships abroad; and the conditions of them at large; of their number of mariners, and to distinguish betwixt the fishermen and sailors; to enquire of the decay of their trades, if their men and ships be employ'd in warfare; to observe how a war with *England* will relish with the multitude, and where and how they think most to annoy us; for these things are necessary to be known from an enemy.

The next must be to supply and guard our forts and castles on the sea coast; for it is a main and important thing to keep the *Hollanders* from the succour of our harbours; and if they be forced to keep the sea in foul weather, with contrary winds and long nights, the length and narrowness of our channels, the cliffs of *England* and *France* will be enriched with their wrecks.

Such towns seated opposite to *Holland* and *Zealand*, ought to be extraordinarily guarded and fortified, but especially *Sandwich*, *Harwich*, and *Yarmouth*, in respect of their harbours and roads to entertain fleets, their natural situation for strength, and the number of people there resident that are descended from *Holland*.

But how all these places should be guarded and defended by shipping that are so far

distant and remote from one another, there rests the difficulty.

In this case we must work according to the winds; for all sea actions are guided by it. And suppose the *Hollanders* with an easterly wind direct their course for *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, or other northern parts of *England* or *Scotland*; and that our ships with that wind lie in the *Downs*, which is our ordinary rendezvous, this northerly or north-east wind is full in our teeth to pursue them.

Or by keeping the sea with our ships, our meeting is as uncertain, the sea being wide and spacious; and if we be taken with a hard gale of wind, and put to leeward, whilst we seek to fetch it up again, they shall have time and leisure to land where they list, as I can instance in this case many precedents.

And therefore, instead of the *Downs*, I conclude *Yarmouth* to be the only road for the rendezvous and seat of our shipping; for there we shall be ready upon all occasions to set sail, what wind soever shall bring an enemy from *Holland*, though it were into the river of *Thames*, or the northern parts, having the least warning, which we cannot fail of with fire-beacons, or pinnaces to be kept at sea. And as the advantage of an invader is to work with the advantage of the wind, so must the defendant seek as well to prevent them by the same advantage of wind.

The next thing I would wish to be put in execution, which rather should be the first, as of most importance, as I have already declared, is, the guard of his majesty's ships in harbour at *Chatham*; for the prosperity and welfare of *England* consists in their safety: and if *Holland* should prove an enemy, now that *Flushing* is in their possession, and within fourteen or fifteen hours sail from *Chatham*, gives them a brave opportunity.

I think good to give this caution, That an attempt upon the navy is more perillous for an enemy to the eastward of us, as *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Germany*, than from the southward, as *France*, *Spain*, or the *Streights*; for ships from the eastward are able to come directly with one wind from the countries aforesaid, as those from the southward must have two contrary winds, the one at south-west, to bring them to the *Downs*, and after, an easterly wind, to carry them to *Chatham*, which perhaps will not happen in an age.

And it is not unworthy consideration, how fatal those easterly countries have been to this kingdom; first by the *Saxons*, and after by the *Danish* conquest.

My next advice is, that we strive by all means possible to possess ourselves of the  
TOWN



town of *Flushing*, being of more importance to our state than any town of *Europe*, as I will declare in my next project: first, we shall be strengthened with as many ships as belong to *Middleburgh* and *Flushing*: secondly, it will draw all the rest of *Zealand* into our subjection, the principal harbour being *Flushing*: thirdly, it will be a bridle to *Holland*; for they can no more maintain their navigations to the southward, than a subject to live under a king, and disobey his laws; for we having *Flushing*, and guarding the *Downs* in *Kent*, all succours and safety for their ships upon that coast is taken from them.

Now to proceed to the *Hollanders* encountering us at sea; for that it must come to, not once but often, if wars ever happen betwixt us.

They will in reason labour to put their fortune upon the first battle at sea, because their state cannot maintain a long and lingering war with us: secondly, their ships and mariners, by which they live to support their state, their revenues being contributions raised out of trade, necessarily must fail, when their ships and men are converted to any other use than merchandize; but especially when the same ships and men must be maintained out of this kind of revenue, that was wont to bring in gain.

Thirdly, the victory first gotten redoubles the courage of the victor; it astonishes and disheartens the vanquished; it shakes the fidelity of subjects, many whereof are too much inclin'd to the *Holland* faction; it gets the reputation, and gains friends and alliances abroad, who commonly sway with good success: and therefore, I wish we never present them, at the first encounter, with less force than to determine the quarrel.

The benefit the *Hollanders* shall make upon our coast, is, the use of our roads, though we debar them our harbours; which roads are open, spacious, undefensible, and will succour them in all winds and weathers, as namely, the *Isle of Wight*, *Portland*, *Torbay*, &c.

And to prevent them herein, must be to divide our fleet into three squadrons, as I have often said before; and being so divided, no ship can escape us; for though they shall pass one squadron in the night unseen, or in a fog, they cannot avoid falling into the lap of one of the other two: And we shall make our *East-India* voyage no farther than our own channel; for their ships must pass it going and coming.

I will not omit to put in execution a stratagem when our fleet shall be thus divided, viz. to place along the sea-shores fires like beacons from the cape of *Cornwall*, to to the *North-Foreland* in *Kent*, with a care

they be well watched and guarded; that when a fleet shall be descry'd at sea, or ships arrive in the road aforesaid, the beacons next adjoining to be fired, and like a running post, one fire to take it of another, that in a little space an easterly squadron shall have notice what happeneth to the westward, and the west to the east; so that howsoever the wind is, one of the squadrons shall come round upon the other, and upon the ships in the roads aforesaid.

But perhaps some will say, That if so few ships as those of *Dunkirk* did so great a spoil to us in time of war, what can we expect but distraction from the *Hollanders*, that have an hundred vessels to one of the others in those days.

To which I answer, That though the *Dunkirkers* took many ships in the queen's time, yet they never lessened ours nor the *Hollander's* numbers; for by reason their harbours were not to be entered at all hours and tides, but only at a half-flood, they used to take out the masters and merchants as pledges to perform such conditions as they agreed upon for releasing the ship and goods. And at that time they stood in that danger of our ships, and the *Hollanders* who guarded the coasts, that they durst not keep their prizes longer than they had made this contract aforesaid.

But with us it will be otherwise; for all such ships as we take, we shall be able to enjoy without danger or fear, our coasts and harbours being nigh us, our ports capable at all times and tides to receive us. And I dare boldly affirm, that if his majesty will give free liberty to his subjects to take and spoil as many *Hollanders* as they can in their trades at sea, in a little space they will be able of themselves, without his majesty's help or assistance, to take or destroy the better part of their vessels within their provinces.

For let us compare them with the pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, who till of late years, that they were instructed by *Christians*, were ignorant in what belonged to ships or mariners: and if we considered in what little space they increased to the number they are now of, being all of them ships of *Christians*, and not one of their own, it is to be marvelled, and our case to be compared with it.

For if we fit, furnish, and man such ships as we shall take from the *Hollanders*, and employ them against the *Hollanders* themselves, the natural inclination of our men at sea considered, the small expence in rigging, victualling, and furnishing them; the little distance they shall sail both outward and homeward, and the continual supplies from land they shall receive, for one ship the pirates

of *Algiers* have taken, as aforesaid, we shall become owners of forty, and make one of them the destruction of another, without farther help, either at home or abroad.

For securing our *Newcastle* trade, it must be to fortify our ships with ordnance, to go in fleets, and to sail near the shore, that if they be chased, or in danger of taking, to run on land. The countries upon the sea-coast must be commanded to keep a good watch in the day-time, and to be ready to rescue any ships that shall be so distressed.

And because I have named the ships of *Newcastle*, I will say something of them, and compare them with the ships of *Holland*, which some of my countrymen so much magnify, and hold so terrible, that they are frighted with the name of them, and desire to fright others.

What I shall say may perhaps be wondered at, and my judgment by some taxed; but, if well considered, it will not seem so great an error, as upon the first apprehension.

I will compute two hundred sail of ships, betwixt two and three hundred tuns in burden, belonging to the trade of *Newcastle*, vessels for their strength in building, for their spaciousness within board, for the decks to place their ordnance, and all other conveniency to make men of war, I dare say *Holland* has not the like.

If these ships be fortified with *English* ordnance, which *Holland* affords not, but with grief I may say, is supplied from us; and if one hundred of our trained soldiers be put on board every one of them, which we may do of our own nation, and which *Holland* cannot do, unless they dissolve their land-army, and put themselves into the mercy of the enemy, I will be bold to say, that these ships alone will be able to encounter the whole force of the *Netherlands*, and, as I have computed but two hundred ships, by a project contained in this book, we shall double the number of two hundred, and, by consequence, be as strong again.

Though this trade seems to be but of small account, in respect of the grossness of the commodity, that it is amongst ourselves, and in the kingdom, and that the ships return from *London* unladen, yet we may account it of most importance and consequence to the state of *England*, considering the multitude of mariners it breeds,

and the readiness of them for his majesty's service, when he has sudden occasion to use them; for every three weeks these ships never fail to make their repair into the river of *Tkames*, if they be not hindered by wind; as all other trades but this is out of the kingdom, and upon their voyages in summer, that if his majesty have need to furnish but two of his ships to sea, there will not be found mariners sufficient to man them, if it be not for the *Newcastle* trade. Leaving this, I will once more return to our annoying the *Hollanders*.

And if we go further from home to seek out the *Hollanders*, yea, as far as the *East Indies*, a place that has puffed them up with pride, and has bred a heart of disdain against us, more for the number of their ships that resort thither, and the length of their navigation, than for any profit they find there. The next voyage we undertake shall be to seek them in their return from thence, in a desolate and uninhabited island, called *Mauricius*, after the name of the last prince of *Orange*, lying in the course betwixt those places of the *Indies* they trade to, and the cape of *Good Hope*. This island affords them great comfort and refreshing, which makes their navigation much the easier and commodious; and as the meeting of ships is more certain in a harbour than at sea, so is ours the more sure to find and take them there.

If it happen that the *Hollanders* sail falling in with that island, which must proceed more out of negligence than will; for they are to expect a great succour in their way home by that island, then they to repair to *Saldanna* bay, near the cape of *Good Hope*; or missing that, then to the island of *Santa Hellena*, well known to us, and long frequented by the *Portuguese*; for no other places can succour their unsufferable wants.

And though we should fail to meet them in any of these places aforesaid, nevertheless they cannot account themselves safe at home, when they remember the long distance they have to sail, and the dangers they are to pass through our channel, if we become their enemies, unless they avoid us, by going into the north part of *Scotland*, which in my fishing project I have handled.

There are many other ways to offend the *Hollanders*, which I forbear to speak of, referring them to my breast, till there be occasion; and I will prosecute my design upon the island of *Wakerland*.

*A Project how to get Possession of the Island of Wakerland, if the King of England will compound with the Natives.*

**I**N my former project I wish'd, as a matter of greatest importance to our state, to seek and get the possession of the island of *Wakerland*, wherein *Flushing* is seated; the reasons whereof I have in some kind declared; and now shall follow the manner how to compass it with consent and liking of the inhabitants, if they will accept and hearken to reason, before we attempt them with violence or force: for it is a maxim, *He that is master of the sea, shall be able both to take and defend Flushing, or most islands.*

The first thing we must put in execution, we must have a book printed and divulged in the name of some person, pretending to be born there; and advising the inhabitants of the island to hearken to his reasons, being moved to write out of a natural affection he bears his country.

His first reason is for them to consider the end for which they have so long fought, (*viz.*) their religion, their liberty, their security, and their commodity, and have not as yet attained them, nor like to do, so long as the king of *Spain* is made able to subsist in that war.

The second consideration, is how to compass these four ends by a more gentle, and easy course than by war, which may be effected if they will judiciously weigh the ensuing reasons.

The book must make it appear, what discourtesies and oppressions *Holland* imposes continually on them; which indeed is unsufferable; but that both their security depends upon their mutual agreement, because of the third that is enemy to them both.

To wish them to consider, That though their payments in the island of *Wakerland* do equal *Holland* in their proportion, and that their men of war of *Zealand* are esteemed and known to be more warlike, and to have done braver exploits than the *Hollanders* by sea, yet notwithstanding what service is done, either by land or sea, is all attributed to *Holland*; for *Zealand* and *Wakerland* is not once mentioned; and therefore to advise them to divide themselves from *Holland*, that their worths and virtues may appear to the world.

The way to attain to happiness must be by the countenance and assistance of some powerful neighbour prince to rely upon; and *England*, above the rest, would be able to obtain that for them, in a peaceable manner, which with the loss of their blood, they could not enjoy in seventy or eighty

years of war: and if the ensuing conditions may be yielded to, by the king of *England*, they may boldly sheath up their swords, and never have cause hereafter to draw them again.

*The Conditions on which the Inhabitants are to contract with the King of England.*

The beginning of all mens actions must tend to the service of God, every one according to his private conscience; and no other king in these parts of the world, but the king of *England*, does maintain the religion by them professed; and for the better proof thereof, his majesty's father, of famous memory, shewed himself a principal pillar, and the absolute cause to settle the true religion in their provinces; as it appeared by the council of *Dort*, against the innovation of the *Armenians*; which sect *Wakerland* was never known to favour or embrace: nor will his majesty assume the nomination of their elders, or preachers, or meddle with their church-discipline, but refer it to themselves.

Whereas they are over-charged with contributions and excises, in the government they now live under, they may condition with his majesty, to ease them the moiety of what they now pay, and the other moiety be reserved for defence against an enemy; or in fortifications or maintenance of garrisons; all which soldiers to be *English*, as people that are no strangers; to them in acquaintance or conditions, as they have made proof when they lived together, without any kind of discourtesies.

Forasmuch as many times they appeal to the general states, residing in the *Hague*, or upon occasion they are often called thither, to their great expence and discontent they shall be eased of that trouble and charge, and determine all questions, and settle their affairs, amongst themselves, by authority from his majesty, without having relation to any other provinces: this will prove a greater freedom and liberty than they could all this while compass by the sword, or can otherwise do by any way they can think of.

His majesty by this grant, and other immunities he may give, without innovation or infringing their ancient laws and customs, will make them freer than ever they have been; and his protection will be so strong a defence to them, that no prince or nation dare offer to injure them, either at home or abroad.

It is apparent what benefit they shall reap by these privileges: First, in easing them of the moiety of their exises; but most especially, if his majesty will be drawn to grant them the privilege of his subjects in their customs within his own dominions, and to have a freedom of their ships to take freights within his majesty's ports, which the laws of the land prohibit to any but his own subjects; this will be much greater to their advantage and profit, than ever they shall attain to by living under the government they now do.

Perhaps his majesty may be drawn to consent to the remove of the *English* staple from *Delph* to *Middleborough*, where it had long continued heretofore, to the commodity of the whole island, as themselves best know.

In yielding their obedience to his majesty, is no new precedent amongst themselves; for in the year 1424, after *Holland*, *Frizeland* and *Zealand*, with the island of *Wakerland*, had continued in the line of *Tbieri* of *Aquitain*, the space of six hundred years, *Jacoline*, widow and heirs of these provinces, resigned them to *Philip I.* duke of *Burgundy*; by which resignation these

three states became joined to *Flanders*, and the rest of the provinces, and still continues in the line of *Philip*.

If these people may enjoy their religion quietly, their liberties freely, their security peaceably, their commerce, trade, and wealth plentifully, and have the honour to be subject to so mighty a king; no man can justly pity them, if by refusing it they fall into the hands of enemies.

And if their pride and obstinacy refuse this solid advice of a friend, as the state of *England* now stands, that by our permission the *Hollanders* are grown to so great a strength by sea, it behoves us to seek a remedy for our safeties; which cannot be better done, than by possessing the island of *Wakerland*, which does more concern us than any plot of ground elsewhere.

And if we be put by force to enjoy it, there is no more to be said than I have often repeated; That so long as we are stronger by sea, that we keep our ports guarded and armed, and prohibit their entrance into them, not only all *Wakerland*, but *Holland* and *Zealand*, will be at our devotion as aforesaid, as may appear by the project that went before.

*Of the Harbours of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, in order, if we have Wars, to take Advantage of them.*

THE *Texel* has three channels, whereof the *Spaniard's*, or the king's, is the best: when you are within, there is a good road under the island of *Texel*; and from thence you go up to *Amsterdam*, and all places within the *Zurick Sea*.

To the northward of the *Texel* lies the *Vlie*, a good channel, but narrow; for ships that come out of the *Zurick Sea*, there are two channels going out of the *Vlie*.

From the *Texel* to the *Maese*, S. S. W. twenty four leagues, the *Maese* goes into the *Brill*, and has three channels, whereof one is better than the rest, and has sixteen foot at a full sea: within the *Brill* the channel carries them to *Skedam*, *Rotterdam*, *Delph Haven*, and other places thereabouts. The old *Maese* carries them up to *Dort*.

From the *Maese*, or the *Brill*, up to *Goree*, two leagues S. W. The *Goree* hath eighteen foot at low water; and so you may go up at *Helvoet-Sluice*, where you may ride with the greatest ship of *Holland*.

From *Goree* to the island of *Wakerland*, six leagues S. W. The island of *Scowden*

is betwixt them; and *Bruers-Haven* is in that island.

*Flushing* is the best harbour in all *Zealand*, and lies in the island of *Wakerland*; the channel has four fathom, at the water going in.

From *Flushing* to *Graveling*, twenty four leagues W. S. W. these harbours following lie betwixt them, and all upon the coast of *Flanders*, (*viz.*) *Ostend*, twelve leagues; from thence to *Newport*, three leagues; from thence to *Dunkirk* five leagues; from thence to *Graveling*, four leagues. *Mardike* lies betwixt the two last, and is the best harbour upon all that coast, as it is now made.

From the *Texel* to the *Foreland* in *England*, S. W. forty seven leagues.

From the *Texel* to *Yarmouth*, W. thirty two leagues; from the *Maese* to *Harwich*, W. a little southerly, twenty nine leagues; from the *Maese*, or *Goree*, S. W. and by W. thirty six leagues; from *Flushing* to the *Foreland*, W. twenty four leagues.

*A Project how to make War upon Spain, written in the Queen's Time, and presented to Sir Robert Cecil, by her Majesty's Appointment.*

THE continual annoyance our small ships of war have for many years offered the Spaniards upon their own coasts, makes them of late more provident than before they were, by drawing home their ships in fleets, that were wont to come straggling; as may appear by the *West Indies* trade, whose ships strove to be first at home, to take the better market; but now they use to repair to the *Havana*, where they attend the coming of the plate fleet; into which ships they put their silver, gold, and things of value; and are wasted themselves by the same fleet; by which means few of the *India* ships, have been of late years taken into *England*.

The *Portuguese* trade is more general than the Spaniards; as namely into the *East Indies*, *Brazil*, *St. Thome*, *Castle de la Mina*, and other parts of *Guinea*; from the two latter they use to send their gold brigantines to *St. Thome*, and transport it into *Portugal* with the fleet, which returns in *September*, both into *Brazil* and hither; they freight the boats of *Holland*, and the east country that are of good force, which defend themselves, and their lesser ships in their company from the *English*.

These fleets of later years have avoided touching at the *Tercera* islands, which were wont to afford them relief and succour, because they were continually haunted by the *English*; and such armada's as were wont to be sent to those islands, now keep off the headlands on their own coast, as the surest means to defend them; for whosoever seeks a coast, will first fall with a headland or cape.

#### *How to employ our Fleets against Spain.*

The last summer's good fortune that *Holland* and we both had, in taking each of us a carrack, may encourage us both to employ our sea forces against *Spain*, being a means to work us both security, and for *Holland* to prosecute their wars with more advantage: and if by one consent we agree together, we must resolve upon the employment of two several fleets; the number, the time, and manner how to employ them, with the hopes of what we are to make by hem, are as follows:

The carracks outward: the plate fleet homeward.

The *Firm Land* and *New Spain* fleets outward.

The carracks and *New Spain* fleet homeward.

The carracks departure from *Lisbon* is certain; for if they exceed the 15th of *April*, they are commonly forced back, not being able to double *Abrobo*s shoals on the coast of *Brazil* in the eighteenth degree.

And, as I have said before, that the meeting of a ship or fleet is more certain upon a headland, nigh a port whither they are bound, than in an open sea, where they may escape by night, by fog, by being to leeward, or many other casualties; therefore, besides the gross fleet that should make good the coast of *Spain*, it were fit the enemy were busied in both his *Indies*; and how to offend him in his *East Indies*, I have set down in this book; to which I refer you. Our second and most material hope, is upon the plate fleet, whose coming home is uncertain; though for the space of four or five years past, they have observed the months of *March* and *April*: the ports whither they resort are *St. Lucar* or *Cadiz*; the likeliest place of meeting them is cape *St. Mary's*, the headland they commonly make before they put into *St. Lucar*.

The greatest doubt of meeting this fleet, is the intelligence they may receive out of *Spain*; considering the small distance betwixt them and the *Indies*, and the certainty of the winds, whereby they may give warning to their fleet to winter there, if they see cause; and therefore the subtlest and securest course to prevent them, is to send two or three pinnaces, excellent choice sailors, to lie before the *Havana*, to attend the coming out of their fleet, and after to pursue them astern, till they bring them into the height they mean to hail in; which done, one of the three pinnaces may repair with all speed to our fleet, where they shall have directions to find them, and give relation in what state, and in what height they left them: the other two pinnaces are not to leave company of the fleet, unless the fleet alter its height; which, if they do, one of the two pinnaces is to follow the same directions the other did, with this caution, That if they find themselves in danger of being taken, they throw their instructions over-board.

The third and last hope of our fleet is the ships of *Terra Firma*, or the *Firm Land*, which go for the next year's plate, and are commonly to depart from *Spain*, at the coming home of the other fleet: the place to meet them is eighteen or twenty leagues from *Cape Canteen* in *Barbary*. We may know by the wind, within a point or two, how they will steer, as also the time of their departure

departure from *St. Lucar* by the moon; for they must observe the spring-tides to come over the bar: we may likewise provide to have intelligence by the way of *Mamora* or *Salley*, two towns in *Barbary*, opposite to that part of *Spain*.

If we should prove so unhappy as to miss this fleet, if her majesty will purpose this squadron to the *Indies*, they will not fail meeting with them at the northermost part of *Dominica*, where they use to water; or being departed from thence, their course is certain to cape *de Vela*; and after to *Nombre de Dios*, where commonly they take in their treasure, and where they may be easily surprized.

I will suppose our second fleet to be at sea, upon return of our first, who have these several hopes likewise: the carracks and *New Spain* fleet homeward; and the *New Spain* fleet outward. If her majesty will resolve to keep a continual fleet, as is proposed, few of these ships can possibly escape us, either going or coming, seeing we know the course they sail, the season of the year they must needs pass, and the harbours whither they are bound.

The *New Spain* fleet outward, is to depart from the same part, through the same seas, and in the same course, the *Terra Firma* or *Firm Land* fleet doth; only they differ in the time of the year; for they exceed not their midsummer-day to set sail from *Spain*, because of their safe getting to the port of *St. John de Ulva*, before the entrance of the northerly winds, which are perillous upon that coast.

Their watering-place is *Guadalupe*, where a small strength were able suddenly to surprize them; their men and ships being out of order and farme, by their rummaging them, and doing other works about them when they come to water; and their force consisting but of two galleons of war, the one admiral, the other vice-admiral.

#### *The Security to our State.*

These undertakings being followed according to the designs set down, and taking that good success that is hoped for, are one great means to breed security to our state; the enemy being impoverished, and we enriched.

Our only security must be to cut off *Spain's* forces by sea, seeing their means of invasion and strength of defence depends upon their shipping: how this service may be affected, and the benefit that will arise by it, is here briefly handled.

First, and principally, we must keep employed two main fleets upon the coast of *Spain* eight months in the year, that is,

from *March* to *November*; every fleet to consist of forty five ships, to be divided into three squadrons; one to lie off the rock to intercept all traders of *Lisbon*; the second at the *South Cape*, to stop all intercourse to *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, and to and from the *Indies*; the third to the islands, lest they should there stop, and put their goods ashore, having intelligence of our being upon the coast of *Spain*.

Our fleet being thus divided, no army at sea can be prepared, or at least gathered to a head, but we shall intercept them; we shall not only debar the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* their own trade, but all nations to them; they will not be able to feed without our permission; nor no nation can be brought to greater extremity than they will be.

Perhaps the number of these ships will exceed the proportion her majesty is willing to employ; but if *Holland* will be drawn from the trade of *Spain*, and join with us, the number may be easily raised by them, and our maritime towns in *England*, so that her majesty needs employ but six ships of her own in each fleet, to serve for admiral and vice-admiral of every squadron.

It is not the meanest mischief we shall do the king of *Spain*, if we war thus upon him to force him to keep his shores still armed and guarded, to the infinite vexation, charge and discontent of his subjects; for no time or place can secure them, so long as they see or know us to be upon the coast.

The terror is so great they conceive of her majesty's ships, that few of them presenting themselves in view, do commonly divert their actions, as may appear by these brief observations following.

In the year 1587. Sir *Francis Drake* with twenty five ships prevented an expedition for *England* that summer, which they attempted the next year, 1588. because they were not molested, as in the year before.

Our action to *Portugal* following so suddenly upon the overthrow of 1588. made the king of *Spain* so far unable to offend, that if it had been prosecuted with judgment, he had been in ill circumstances to have defended it, or his other kingdoms.

From that time till 1599. he grew great by sea, because he was not buied by us, as before, as it appeared by the fleet that took the *Revenge*; which navy it is very likely had been employ'd against *England*, if it had not been diverted by my lord *Thomas Howard* in 1592.

And for four years together he employ'd his ships to the islands, for the guard of his merchants, which made him have no leisure to think of *England*. The expedition to *Cadiz* in 1596. did not only frustrate

strate the intended action against *England*, but destroy'd many of his ships and provisions that should have been employ'd in that service.

In 1597. he meant a second revenge upon *England*, but was prevented by the expedition of my lord of *Essex* to the islands; which action, if it had been well carried, and that my lord would have believed good advice, it had ruined the king of *Spain*.

The next year, that gave cause of fear to the queen, was 1599. the king of *Spain* having a whole year, by our sufferance, to make his provisions, and brought his ships and armies down to the *Groyne*; which put the queen to a more chargeable defensive war, than the value of an offensive fleet would have been maintained upon his coast.

This great expedition was diverted by the fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* pursued to the islands.

The year that followed was 1600. which gave hope of peace; for nothing was attempted on either side till the year 1601. that he invaded *Ireland*, but with ill success, as you have heard.

The last summer, 1602. he was braved by her majesty's ships in the mouth of his harbours, with the loss of a carrack, so that he was not able to prosecute his affairs against *Ireland*; for no sooner was Sir *Richard Lewson* returned, but I was sent again upon that coast, as you have heard, who kept the king's forces so employ'd, that he betook himself only to the guard of his shores.

The sequel of all these actions being duly considered, we may be confident, that whilst we busy the *Spaniards* at home, they dare not think of invading *England* or *Ireland*; for by their absence, the fleet of their *Indies* may be indangered; and in their attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

Thus have I ventured to deliver to your honour, so much as you desired at my hand; and so much as I think is convenient for our present actions.

How to work for intelligence out of *Spain*, I have shewed in my first book; but will proceed to the state of the harbours in *Spain*, for us to take advantage of.

#### Of the Harbours in Biscay.

From cape *Machibaca* to cape *de Pennas*, lies the coast of *Biscay*.

From cape *Machibaca* to *Bilboa* thirteen leagues, S. S. W. *Barmea* is in the way; a barred haven.

*Placentia*, W. from it; a barr'd haven. *Bilbod*, a good harbour; but in it there is a fand, called *la Barse*.

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*Castro*, five leagues from *Bilboa*; no safe-guard for ships but with a S. W. wind.

From *Castro* to *Lavedo*, six leagues, W. a good harbour for great ships.

From *Bilboa* to *St. Antonio*, W. and by N. nine or ten leagues.

From *St. Antonio* to cape *Kesgo*, W. three leagues.

From cape *Kesgo* to *St. Andre*, five leagues, W. and by S. a good harbour.

Betwixt *St. Andre* and cape *Pennas*, thirty seven or thirty eight leagues, W. and these havens betwixt them:

The haven of *St. Martin*, W. five leagues from *St. Andre*; a barred harbour.

*St. Vincent*, five leagues, a barred haven, from *St. Martin*.

To *Cbares* three leagues, in a barred harbour.

*Roi Sella* — five or six leagues; a barred harbour.

From thence to *Villa Vicioga* two leagues; a barred harbour.

From thence to *Sanfon*, seven leagues; betwixt it and a little island, there is a good road.

In the west side of *Sanfon* is likewise a good road.

*Orion*, where fishermen lay their nets.

*Torres*, a good road for a S. W. wind.

The cape *Pennas*, three leagues.

From cape *Machibaca* to cape *Pennas*, sixty eight leagues.

But coming from *St. John de Luce* in *France*, *Fuenterabia*, four leagues; from thence a good road for a N. W. wind.

*Passage* is the next, a good harbour, at seven fathom.

*St. Sebastian*, three leagues W. from it; a good harbour, five, six, or seven fathom before the town.

From hence to cape *Machibaca* thirteen leagues.

It is good anchoring in all the bays upon the coast of *Biscay* twenty fathom.

#### The Coast of Galicia.

From cape *Pennas* three leagues S. S. W. to *Aviles* a good harbour, and a good road without, seven or eight fathom within the harbour.

From *Aviles* to *Ribadeo*, three leagues, S. W. and by W. a good harbour, three fathom water.

N. W. from *Ribadeo* eight leagues, cape *Brilo*; and within *Vivera*, a good harbour, one may go about the island of *St. Cyprian*.

From *Vivera* to *Ortegal* nine leagues, W. N. W.

*St. Mark's*, in the way, a good road, at seven or eight fathom without; safe for a S. W. and a W. wind all the coast along.

A good road under *Ortegall* for a N. W. wind, and a S. W. wind.

To cape *Prior*, S. W. eleven leagues; betwixt them is the haven of *Sequera*, a good harbour, ten fathom within.

Three leagues from cape *Prior* lieth *Ferrol*, an excellent harbour at twelve fathom.

S. and S. and by W. to the *Groyne*, three leagues, a good harbour.

It is foul about the island of *Cizarke*.

*Queres* is a good harbour for great ships.

From *Cizarke*, to *Mongie* S. W. and by W. thirteen leagues.

*Cocobayno* hath eight or nine fathom.

*Rio Roxo*, full of rocks; but being in a good harbour.

*Ponte Vedra*, eight or nine fathom; in some places forty fathom deep.

You may anchor under the island of *Bayonne*, ten, eleven, or twelve fathom.

*Vigo*, a good harbour, ten or twelve fathom before the town.

*Bayonne*, five fathom; but a blind rock before the town.

#### Portugal.

*Viana*, a barred haven, a narrow channel, but a good road without.

*Villa de Conde*, a barred harbour.

*Metelena*, two fathom full sea.

*Porto*, two channels; the south is the best, but alters sometimes before the town, ten or twelve fathom.

*Aveiro*, two fathom; but within four or five fathom.

*Peniche*, a barred haven: the islands *Berlengas* off at sea, a good road, at ten fathom.

*Lisbon* has two great channels going in, before you come to *Belem* castle.

*Cezimbre* is a good road, fifteen or sixteen fathom.

*Setural* has three fathom and a half at half-flood.

Cape *St. Vincent*, a good road for a northerly wind.

#### A Project how to increase two hundred Sail of Ships.

LEAVING the voyages usually gone in to foreign countries by our nation, the next I will undertake, shall be to sail to *Newcastle*, which we may properly call our *North Indies*, because of the commodity and strength that ariseth to the kingdom by it, as shall appear by what follows.

The chief trade we have now-a-days to increase mariners and shipping, is our trade to *Newcastle*: there are yearly set to work in that trade two hundred sail of

#### Algarva.

*Lagos*, *Villa-Nova*, and *Faro*, all barred and small havens.

*Tavila*, a crooked, dry haven, and alters every year.

#### Andaluzia.

*Ayamonte* parts *Portugal* and *Spain*, and is one of the best havens in all the *Condado*, three fathom half-flood.

*Lepe*, or *St. Michael's*, not to be entred without a pilot, the channel alters so.

*Palos*, or *Saltes*, six fathom within, at the bar three and a half at half-flood.

*St. Lucar* has a great bar, but deep within for any ship.

*Cadiz*, a brave bay at eight, ten, twelve, or fifteen fathom: from thence to the *Streights* mouth eleven leagues.

#### Barbary.

Opposite to this part of *Spain* lies *Barbary*, though the king of *Spain* has most harbours in it, as namely, *Oran*, *Centa*, *Tangier*, *Alaracke*, *Mamora*, *Asamor*, and *Marzagoa*. The *Moors* have only *Salley* on the north, and *Safin* and *Santa Cruz* on the west.

*Arzila*, the north channel, good ships may enter.

*Alarache*, the river crooked, but a good road without, at fifteen or sixteen fathom.

*Mamora*, two fathom at entrance, but a good harbour within.

*Salley*, a barred harbour all that coast; a good road at fourteen or fifteen fathom.

*Marzagoa* must have a pilot to bring in a ship.

To cape *Cantyn* thirteen leagues, only a cape to ride under.

*Safin*, a good road, ten, eleven, or twelve fathom.

The island of *Magadore*, a good road for small shipping.

*Santa Cruz*, such a road as *Safin*.

ships, which ships and mariners are once in three weeks in the port of *London*, ready for his majesty's service, if there happen any sudden occasion.

All other trades are out of the kingdom, and upon their voyages in the summer-time, so that if his majesty has occasion but to furnish two of his ships with men, the kingdom cannot afford them at that time of the year, if it were not for the trade of *Newcastle*,

The



The course how to effect this project must be by increasing this trade, whereby more ships may be set to work, (as thus,) to prohibit all strangers to fetch coals at *Newcastle*; and for us to make our staple at *London* or *Woolwich* for all strangers to fetch their coals from thence, after we have with our own ships brought them thither; for whereas there are two hundred sail of strangers ships set to work to the trade of *Newcastle*, the same number of ships would be increased, if his majesty's subjects had the bringing of them for *London* or *Woolwich*.

*I will now prove it to be rather beneficial than hurtful to strangers.*

1. The stranger will be able to perform this voyage in ten or twelve days to *London*, when many times he is five or six weeks to *Newcastle*; so that he shall make three returns for one.

2. Whereas the stranger carries only ballast in his ship to *Newcastle*, because that country cannot vent such merchandize as they would otherwise carry, they need not come empty to *London*; for that *London* will take off all such commodities as they bring, to the increase of his majesty's customs.

3. Whereas most of the strangers that come to *London*, go away in their ballast, by which means they carry out of the kingdom such moneys as they receive for freight, if the staple of coals be settled in *London*, they will be glad to imploy their moneys in coals, which will be profitable to them; and we keep our moneys in *England*, which is now carried away.

4. The bar going into *Newcastie*, and there lying on ground with their ships, consumes and weakens them, having their weight of coals on board; I mean the strangers ships, that are not built with the strength that ours are. As in *London* their ships will ride and float, and take in their coals out of one ship into another, which will lengthen their ships four years in the ordinary age of ships; so that they will gain the third part of a ship in changing their ports.

5. They shall not be subject to the spoil

of pirates, as hath been of late years to *Newcastle*; for pirates never resort into the narrow seas, because his majesty's ships are continually there.

*The Stranger cannot except against this, because the like is used in other Countries.*

1. The *Venetians* have a law, That no strangers shall take in goods into their ships, in any of their ports, before their own ships be laden; or else they will take the lading out of other ships to lade themselves.

2. In *France* there is a penalty, That our *Englismen* may not bring salt for their own spending; if they do, it is forfeiture of ship and goods.

3. In *Calais* they will not suffer any passenger to go for *England* in other vessels than their own.

4. In *Dunkirk* they have lately taken up the *Venetian* law.

5. In *Holland* they will not suffer any ship of another town to take in goods from one town to another, but they must transport it in a ship of their own town; as for example, a ship of *Flushing* to go to *Rotterdam*, to carry to *Flushing*; but it must be sent in a ship of their own town: and this they do, because they will make an equality in setting their ships and men to work.

6. The *Biscainers* have the same privilege over all other *Spaniards* the *Venetians* have over strangers; and the reason is, because *Biscay* affords all the best mariners in the kingdom of *Spain*; and to encourage them to sea, this privilege is granted them.

Now I have strengthened this kingdom with defensive forces to withstand the power of an invasion, and shewed the means how to invade our neighbouring enemies, if they become so, I will not contain myself in the temperate zone, but seek what projects may be produced in the torrid zone, where the sun has such a scorching power, that the philosophers thought it was uninhabitable; and I will take *Guinea* in my way to the *East Indies*, it being the place from whence they were first discovered.

*A Project in the Days of Queen Elizabeth for the settling her Subjects in Guinea; shewing of what Conveniency it would be. Writ in the Year 1597.*

THE neglecting the opportunity in times past, by refusing the offer made by *Columbus* to *Henry VII.* for the discovery of the *West Indies*, which *Spain* then accepted of, has made *Spain*, which was one of the most inferior kingdoms in all *Europe*,

now become the mightiest in wealth, greatness, and esteem; and to think to lessen them in those parts where they are grown so mighty, is now too late, their footing is so strongly settled in *America*, and especially between the two tropicks, which naturally

ly affords gold and precious merchandizes ; for in colder climates we can expect little gold, by what we have found in *Norrenbega*.

But many are erroneously carry'd away with an opinion of *Guiana*, and the plenty of gold in it, which makes them forward to settle an habitation in that country. The only reason I conceive men can have to induce them to it, is the climate, that may afford gold, but no proof of any hitherto found there ; and I have given my reasons of the unlikeliness of finding any there in my fourth book.

My reasons for disapproving our planting in *Guiana* are these : first, it is in the continent of *America*, fronting upon the *Spaniards*; whom we shall find very ill neighbours to us. The second is, the men we send must be by sea, and that far off ; and the number cannot be so great to cope with the *Spaniards* that are there already : and it will so much concern them, not to accept of our neighbourhood in those parts, that they will rather employ their whole forces to remove us, it concerning them so deeply, not to have any partakers with them in their *Indies*.

Thirdly, we shall enter upon a poor barbarous country ; the people wild and rude, that can give us no assurance of their fidelity, being void of understanding. The provisions we must live on, must be carried by us, the country having no strength but by nature, no towns or houses to lie in ; and requires a long time and great charge to be furnished with victuals, fortifications, and buildings.

But leaving *Guiana* for the reasons here given, I will a little handle the planting and inhabiting *Guinea*, and will prove it the most convenient place for us, now in time of war, to possess and keep.

The country is nearer to us than *Guiana*, the trade certain to the *Portuguese* for gold, and other commodities, which *Guiana* affords not ; our settling in it in times past was so much feared by the *Portuguese* kings, that they sought by all means possible to divert us ; and king *John II.* understanding of a preparation of a fleet in *England* for a voyage to *Guinea*, doubting it would prove prejudicial to him, sent *Rui de Sonfa*, a principal man of his country, ambassador into *England*, to confirm the old league with *Edward IV.* and to acquaint him with the title he had to the feigniory of *Guinea*, desiring him to lay aside his fleet that was preparing for that coast under the command and conduct of *John Tynen*, as also not to suffer or permit any of his subjects to trade for *Guinea*.

The king was willing to yield to his request, and desirous to accept of his league ;

for in respect of his domestick troubles at home, he could not have leisure to seek the enlargement of his kingdom abroad : thus for necessity sake our country lost the opportunity of trading and inhabiting part of *Guinea* in the days of *Edward IV.*

And since the year 1553. there was a voyage undertaken by the persuasion of *Antony Ames Pinteado*, who being a man of good regard with the king of *Portugal*, by false suggestions was cast out of his favour, and forced to fly his country ; and coming into *England*, he discovered to certain merchants the benefit and commodity of *Guinea*, he having lived there some years himself.

The king of *Portugal* hearing of this fleet, sought by all means to take off *Pinteado* : first, by promise of great rewards to procure his return ; which failing, his death was practis'd by some *Portuguese* in *England*, which he having knowledge of, prevented.

Lastly, the king thought to frustrate his designs, and arm'd a galleon to intercept him at sea. This galleon met the *English*, but durst not offer any violence.

The voyage was proceeded on with great hope of good to follow ; but through the wilfulness of *Windham*, who had the command of it, a man both rash and headstrong, preferring his own stubbornness before *Pinteado's* experience, the voyage was overthrown ; for after they grew rich by trade, *Pinteado* persuaded their return for that year, alledging the danger of sickness by their longer stay upon that coast : But *Windham* neglecting his council, in few days after there grew a most contagious sickness amongst them, that they both died, and many of their company, before they could recover home.

Doubtless if this voyage had been discreetly carry'd, as it was projected, it had returned great profit for the present, and had settled a continual trade into *Guinea* in a small space ; for the negro kings offered them many immunities, and a place to dwell and fortify ; and this happen'd at the beginning of the *Portuguese* plantation, which in little time it would have been occasion for us to have eaten them out of their trade, and given us opportunity to discover new lands and trades within the country, as the *Portuguese* did from thence into the *Indies*.

Many more voyages have been attempted by the *English*, upon that coast, with profitable returns : but at the chief place, which is the *Castle de la Mina*, we could never attain to have a trade ; but if her majesty please, yet there is no time overpast, but that the country may be subdued, her subjects settled in it, and the trade maintain'd

tained with a yearly and certain benefit to her majesty, as now it is to the king of *Spain*.

The place of importance for strength and wealth is the *Castle de la Mina*, the taking whereof makes all the rest of the country tributary of course, it being the only place defended by the *Portuguese*, and where they have settled the chief trade of the whole country.

*John Baptista de Revolasco*, at my being in *Portugal*, had the country of *Guinea* in farm from the king, no man having licence to trade thither but himself, whose course was not to seek the negroes in their own ports, and make the voyage long and uncertain, but he sent his merchandize to *Castle de la Mina*, whither the negroes resorted, as well from the inward part of the country, as from the sea side, to utter their commodities; by which means he made *Mina* a continual mart, being always furnished with great quantity of gold.

The place being taken, the wealth in it will be great, the keeping it not chargeable, and the living in it secure, it being strongly fortify'd to their hands, with helps that we shall add unto it: it yields plenty of victuals: the town is fairly built, the people civil, the country not unpleasant; all these are sufficient encouragements and motives for us to inhabit it.

Though many object the sickness of that climate, by example of divers ships of ours that have felt it, yet the true cause has grown from want of experience: for there are divers observations to be followed by them that shall resort there to live.

The first is the time of the year in going, which is in *September*: the second, is the time of staying, which must not exceed *March*. And whilst they abide there, they must keep and observe a certain diet; for there are three things principally to be avoided, (*viz.*) the unmeasurable eating of fruits, the serene or dew that falls morning and evening, and the company of the negro women.

I have examined the voyages made thither by our *English* nation, and find the greatest death of our men is in their return home, coming out of the hot countries into the cold; which proceeds principally from want of cloaths in the poor mariners; and this is ordinary in our shorter voyages: but such as shall live in the country, no time of the year is to be respected for their health; for it is to be supposed that no man is so gluttonous as to over-eat himself, where he shall find so great a plenty, and so good a choice; for nothing breeds a surfeit so soon, as after a scarcity and want, to come to plentiful feeding, and want of government

and discretion to temper themselves in their diet.

Moreover, those that live ashore in *Guinea* shall have houses to defend them from the serene, or other infection of the air. And in answer of the negro women, I think no *Englishman* so barbarous as to offer it.

By possessing the *Mina* it may give us a great encouragement of other discoveries; neither do I see any reason but from thence we may find a way by land to *Tombagoto* and *Gago*; that would afford as great plenty of gold to the queen, as *Peru* does to the king of *Spain*.

The king of *Morocco* has a trade to those places; and the chief merchandize carried thither is salt: if we could get thither by land, I doubt not, but from thence, or near thereabouts, we shall find some river to fall into the sea, that in time we may come at it by water; and then shall her majesty become as great and rich in the eastern parts of the world, as the king of *Spain* is now in the western.

Her majesty having *Guinea*, may turn it to her best profit and commodity, as to plant such things as the earth will bear, the soil affording as great plenty of merchandize as the *West Indies*, (as for example,) *Guinea* and *Brazil* yield as good, and as great store of ginger as the other doth; but the king of *Spain* commands that no ginger shall grow in either of them both, but such as they preserve for their own use, and call it green ginger; for if he would give leave to plant it in *Guinea*, the increase would be so great, that he would make it of no value in the *West Indies*: likewise the *West Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*, will yield a better grape, and a greater quantity of wine will be made there than in *Spain*; but the king will not grant it, nor permit the general planting of grapes. Thus does he politickly keep one country under another in their commodities, and bars the earth from bringing forth the increase for the use of man, as God has appointed.

There will be required for this voyage five hundred soldiers, and convenient shipping to transport them, with all things necessary for such an action. The men that go must be choice in their abilities of body, and clear from sickness and diseases; for infected men carried from home, have been the overthrow of many enterprizes.

The greatest force the *Portuguese* presume upon, is their number, and the valour of their negroes, whom they make believe, we desire to conquer and kill; and that our quarrel is their defending them.

But to prevent this policy of theirs, we will carry negroes with us that speak their

language, and have lived in *Europe*, and seen the difference of our using of them, and of the *Portuguese*; for in *Portugal* they buy and sell them, as we do horses, in markets.

When these things shall be known to the negroes, it will be a means, not only to desire peace and friendship with us, but to animate and provoke them to rise against their masters.

In this journey there must be special care and choice in victualling, both for the goodness, quantity, and diversity; for our ordinary victualling with salt meats breeds a putrefaction of blood in hot countries, and is one great cause of their sickness in those parts. The men that go, ought to have shift and change of apparel; for the nature of the serene is to rot any kind of garment.

Though this voyage was not undertaken in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, which was the active age for such enterprizes, and the time gave great advantage, by the weak

provision the king of *Spain* had thereabouts, yet since the war ceased, by our laborious endeavours, we have attained to a profitable trade on that coast of *Guinea*.

I must confess I much laboured to put this voyage in execution at the time we were authorized by a war with *Spain*, to justify our doings; and to shew my willingness the more, at my release out of my imprisonment in *Spain*, in 1591. I procured a rutter of the coast of *Guinea*, that shewed the distance, the height, and course from port to port; the dangers, and how to shun them; the conditions of the people; the commodities the country affords, and what they desire from us; which I think not fit to insert in this book, for making the volume too spacious and great; but will proceed to a design of the *West-Indies*, which was presented by me, and promised by the queen to have it undertaken as I projected it.

*A Project of a Voyage to the East Indies, with a Design to have had Footing in the hithermost Part thereof.*

I Will prosecute my voyage from *Guinea* to the *East Indies* with my insuing projects, as *Bartholomew Dios* proceeded in his discovery; and the first port I will arrive at, shall be *Mosambique*, a place of great importance and relief to the *Portuguese*, both going and coming from the *Indies*.

If her majesty will please really of herself, or by joining with her merchants, to undertake a voyage to the *East Indies*, it will prove a great annoyance to the king of *Spain* and his subjects, if the projects following be well undertaken and prosecuted.

The only good we are to expect of this *East India* attempt, must be the provident proceeding in our first voyage, as well to settle a certain and secure trade, as to have habitation in the country.

And therefore to go abruptly, and to offer them a trade, considering we are, or shall be disgraced by the *Portuguese*, and *Hollanders*, were a thing uncertain, and full of hazard; for though those two nations love not one another, yet to bar us of our resort thither, they would not stick to cast many foul aspersions on us.

For prevention whereof it were necessary her majesty made choice of an able and well experienced gentleman, who, besides the charge of the voyage, should have the employment of an ambassador.

His message and letters should import the greatness of her majesty's state, her power by land and sea, her protection of the *Netherlands*, and the several disgraces and overthrows she has given the king of *Spain*,

whereby it is to be supposed, that some of the *Portuguese* his subjects, in their secret hate to our nation, not being able otherwise to revenge themselves, have most unjustly scandalized our proceedings: therefore wishing them that they would receive what she writes for a truth, coming from so mighty a prince, and to give no further credit to the *Portuguese*, than as the behaviour of her subjects shall deserve.

What presents or obligations of friendship her majesty should send in sign of her love, I will omit, only there must be care to win such persons as have most credit with the princes with whom you shall traffick. And the conditions and articles settled, we desire that an ambassador may be sent to her majesty, with offer of pledges for his safe return.

The exceptions against this voyage, are, the great distance from *England*; the danger of the people, having no religion to engage themselves by; the force of the *Portuguese* by their long continuance there; and the commodities we must send, which are fine silver and oil, the one we may ill spare, the other our country doth not naturally yield.

The method to provide against these inconveniences, is, whilst there is no suspicion of us, to possess and keep some town of the *Portuguese* nearest us, it will prove a great refreshing to us, and make the journey both short and pleasant. Secondly, we shall be the more respected by the people, when they see we have footing so near them. Thirdly,

ly, we shall weaken the *Portuguese*, and prevent their carracks wintering at *Mosambique*, if they fail doubling the cape of *Good Hope*. The reason I prefer *Mosambique* before the rest of the *Indies*, is the nearness to us, and where the carracks certainly water in their way to the *Indies*; and the time is so certainly known to us, that we shall undoubtedly intercept them.

The riches of the town are both gold and merchandize; for the governors and dwellers of *Mosambique* are allowed only the trade of *Sofala*, lying under that jurisdiction. The keeping of the town will be easy, the dwelling in it safe; for it is seated in a strong and defensible island; it has plenty of victuals, corn excepted; the town is fairly built, with many commodities to it, and in every point like the castle *de la Mina*, I have formerly described.

When we are masters of the town, and have fortified it, and possessed our selves of the carracks, the enemy will be weakened, and unprovided of entertainment in their way to the *Indies*; for that it is the only place where they have refreshment.

The *Portuguese* use this place for their refuge and succour, not for trade, but only what the governor drives with *Sofala*, as I have shewed; but we will make it our chiefest town of mart, and thereby our voyage shall be made short and easy; for our ships

that go thither, shall fetch away the goods that our ships bring from *Goa*, and other parts of the *Indies*; by means whereof, every twelve or thirteen months we shall have a certain return of our adventures.

The way of proceeding upon this expedition must be to send an extraordinary number of sailors, besides the soldiers; the sailors to man the carracks, the soldiers to defend the town; they must depart from hence in *February*, and be at *Mosambique* by the last of *June*, which will be twenty days before the carracks arrival.

The money and goods taken in the four carracks, may amount well nigh to six thousand ton in bulk, which may be there unladen and kept in store-houses, and vended into the *Indies* by our ships yearly; for they are such commodities as will keep, and the return of them in truck will be more commodious than five times the bringing of them for *England*.

Our hope is no less in meeting their carracks in their return for *Portugal*, at the islands of *Santa Hellena*, where they never fail to water; and if we have the happiness to enjoy them both going and coming, we shall be masters of an inestimable wealth, and bring the *Portuguese* dwellers in the *East Indies* to such an extremity by it, that they must be forced either to revolt, or accept of our trade.

### *A Project and Reasons against our East India Voyage, fully answered before the Trade began.*

THE *Hollanders*, who are a people both apprehensive and laborious in what they conceive or undertake, having light given them by the two voyages of *Sir Francis Drake* and *Mr. Cavendish*, what the *East Indies* and *South Sea* afforded in wealth; and being likewise seconded and encourag'd by the sollicitation of some of their own nation, who put themselves into the service of the *Portuguese* trading into the *East Indies*, and whilst they were there, understood the depth and secrecy of it, revealing it at their return, were so far prevailed upon, as to spare no cost to make trial where there was likelihood of profit; and accordingly began a trade into the furthest part of the *Indies*, and have yearly since continued it with various success.

Not long after, we, who are rather imitators than first enterprizers of things, where there is not a present return of profit, finding by the success of the *Hollanders* that the voyage was worth our embracing, by the rumour of gain spread abroad, (though in this, as many other reports, fame proves as often false as true,) thought fit to venture

something upon it: and accordingly our *English* merchants gathered their joint-stocks together, and from thence-forward to this very day they have settled a trade in the *East Indies*; and what it has produced you shall understand at the end of this argument.

But forasmuch as every innovation commonly finds opposition; from some out of partiality, and from others, as enemies to novelty; so this voyage, though at the first it carry'd a great name, and hope of profit by the word *India*, and example of *Holland*, yet was it writ against, and answered, as in the ensuing discourse shall appear.

1. Object. *This voyage will be an occasion of exhausting our silver, which is already too much diminished by the Irish wars, and by the Hollanders drawing of it and our gold over into the Low Countries.*

Answer. I confess this is the strongest reason of the seven, that are alledged; yet I think not but there may be means to draw out of other countries such a quantity of silver, as would furnish this voyage yearly; if there

there could be means to keep our own silver from transportation into the *Low Countries*: for it is to be feared, that the best part of silver the *Hollanders* send into the *East Indies*, is drawn out of *England*. But this objection is fully answered by the project of *Mosambique*.

2. Object. *It will be the decay of many a good mariner, in the climate there, and by the way being so untemperate, that either the one half, or a third part of our people cannot but perish.*

*Answer.* This trade, in my opinion, will be so far from diminishing our seamen, that no voyage will or can breed better mariners; for long voyages make the skilfullest and best navigators. But whereas the unnatural heat is alledged for the cause of the death of men, we find by experience, that the greatest infection and death of people is not whilst they abide in the hot countries, but in the entering into the cold out of the hot, which comes principally for want of cloaths in poor mariners, as I have said sufficiently in my discourse of *Guinea*.

3. Object. *It will be the decay of shipping; because, unless they be sheathed with lead, they prove so worm-eaten, that they are never after serviceable, except it be for one voyage only.*

*Answer.* I cannot see how this can any way prove the decay of shipping, but rather the maintainance of greater ships than have been used among our merchants; for if they mean to maintain an yearly trade, they cannot have less than eight or nine ships of one thousand or twelve hundred tons each; which, upon the occasion of service, are of greater strength than the whole shipping of *London*; and where there are so many good ships set to work, it will be a maintenance both of ships and men; for as people die, double the number will be bred and harden'd by these voyages.

All this while we speak by conjecture, not by experience; for what greater trial can there be, than of the *Portuguese* ships, who make their voyages a year and half long; and yet most of them make twelve or thirteen voyages: after this proportion they continue much longer than ours; yea, I have known one carrack make twenty four voyages.

But if you allow that sheathing them will continue them the longer, we may better do it in *England* than *Portugal*, because our country affords it.

4. Object. *It will hinder the vent of cloth; for whereas now our merchants may put over their six months bills of debts, as well for spices as other merchandize, thereby to make the more speedy return; our East India merchants will be able to afford them so cheap at our own doors, that our merchants and adven-*

*turers shall be forced to abstain from bringing in of spices, and so want often times present commodities to make return of.*

*Answer.* Here we speak generally, that it will hinder the vent of cloth, because the merchants may put over their six months bills for spices; but the spices being afforded better cheap at home, the merchant must be forced to leave off his trade, as though our chief vent of cloth were in exchange of spices: but I conceive that in most countries where they utter our cloth, merchants do not return spices; as into *Barbary*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. From some parts of the *East Country* we have some spices, but very little, which was wont to have come from *Turky* to *Venice*, and so dispersed into the *East Countries*; but since our trade to *Turky* it has not been much.

What inconveniences can then grow of this trade, but to our *Turky* company? which, if they cannot have other commodities than spices, to exchange for our cloth, it were better for the commonwealth to dissolve that trade, than that to the *East Indies* which is the spring-head from whence spices flow.

As we are now served with spices, it is at the third hand, and at an unreasonable rate, which enriches some private men only; but surely, if this trade to the *East Indies* were encouraged, and carry'd with equality, the commonwealth would be the better for it; inasmuch that all manner of spices would be far cheaper than now they are. If any find prejudice by this trade, it will be the *Turks* themselves; when they shall see all *Europe* served with *Indian* commodities, directly by sea, their trade will be overthrown.

5. Object. *They will bring in such quantities of spices as will lie too long upon their hands, and not to be vended in due time; as was seen by the pepper of the carrack, which notwithstanding a general restraint against the bringing in of all other pepper, to the hindrance of many a merchant, yet it was a year before it could be made away.*

*Answer.* Allow that our trade will decay in *Turky*, especially for spices; and that we be serv'd with no other spices than shall be brought out of the *East Indies*, all casualties excepted; for you must understand they will sometime stay long for their lading; some of their ships, it is likely, may miscarry, others not return justly at the time appointed; so that I make no doubt, but *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, will be able to take off a great part: if not, the *East Country* and *Russia* will utter more than we can spare.

Whereas you refer yourself to the example of the carrack, it is thus to be answered: They that bought the spices of the queen  
in

in the carrack conditioned, That till they were vended, none should be brought into *England*; by which restraint, and they having ingrossed the whole quantity of the spices, before they made sale of them they provided that the whole store should be spent within the realm; and then they forced every man to pay what they listed, knowing we could not otherwise be supply'd: and this proceeded out of abuse; for when the greatest quantity of the carrack's spices was unfold, then were they at the greatest rate: and to the contrary, if there had been no spices in *England* when the carrack came in, and that they had not been engrossed by some few, no doubt but in a year they had been wholly vended.

6. Object. *The original of this voyage was secret malice of some against the Turkish company, and a greedy desire of private gain; the effect whereof would be such a molestation to our neighbours the Hollanders, and such hatred we shall reap at their hands, as all our gain shall not be able to countervail this one inconvenience.*

*Answer.* We are not to enter into the hatred or private grudges of men, but into the commodity or discommodity that will arise to our nation by this trade: if it be more profit to maintain traffick into the *East Indies* than into *Turky*, I see no reason that for the benefit of some private men of the *Turky* company, we should nourish the one, and neglect the other; but methinks if there were no more reason of gain than out of spleen to some merchants of the *Turky* company, they should not adventure so great a stock, without a hope of profit.

We see by experience what commodity the *Portuguese* have made this hundred and odd years by that trade, and we conceive the *Hollanders* find a great commodity by it, which may give us satisfaction in it: neither do I see that the *Hollanders* have more advantage to persevere in that voyage than we.

For offence to be given the *Hollanders*, I see not how in right and justice they can except against us; for they can challenge nothing of discovery, since of the two we gave them light thereof by the voyage of *Sir Francis Drake* and *Mr. Cavendish*, who had been there before there was ever mention of *Holland* or *Hollanders*.

Secondly, they are not subjects to them, with whom we shall traffick, but free princes of themselves, that may make election and choice with whom they will entertain leagues.

Thirdly, we may with better reason, and we have better means to bar the *Hollanders* of traffick with *Turky*, *Barbary* and *Russia*, than they to restrain us of this;

for we were the first light-givers of those trades.

And therefore, if all her majesty's gracious respects to them should in the end be recompenced with ingratitude, the world would confess their unworthiness and evil requital of so many favours: but suppose they should do their worst against us, we know how to be even with them by many advantages we have over them, as before has been declared.

7. Object. *Lastly, the money thus transported pays no custom at all to her majesty; nor are the merchants bound to return home so much treasure in value or quantity, but only upon their bare words.*

*Answer.* Though the money, upon the transportation of it, pay no custom, yet the merchandize which is bought with that money pays a great and extraordinary custom; and her majesty's custom will be increased by it: but to take away all exceptions to this point, the merchants offer to become bound to bring into the land so much silver as shall be transported in this voyage.

And seeing therefore the particular objections are answered, of exhausting our treasure, consuming our mariners, destroying our ships, hindring the vent of our cloth, bringing in commodities not utterable in due time, that malice was not the cause of it, that in justice it cannot be prejudicial to the *Hollanders*, that it will be no decreasing of customs, and the silver we send not to be our own; all these things being rightly weighed and considered, I refer my self to the censure of any indifferent man, whether the objections be fully answered, or not.

What was written in the former discourse, as well by the objector as the answerer, was but conjectural, till time and experience, which are the discoverers of truth, resolve the question doubted of.

But now having twenty and odd years trial, what this voyage to the *East Indies* has produced, a time sufficient to judge of the conveniency or inconveniency to the state, or the commodity or discommodity to the common wealth, and the profit or disprofit to the adventurer, I will thereupon collect out of the reasons aforesaid, betwixt the objector and answerer, and how near their opinion sorted to the truth, as also what errors, and by whose means they prov'd prejudicial to the subject.

The first objection of exhausting our coin was answer'd, and confessed to be the strongest argument of all the rest: but a third person, whom I term the moderator, says, That if the company had provided, as they promised, and as they might easily

have done, to have brought the quantity of silver out of foreign parts, and have put it ashore at *Dover*, for all people to behold, till their ships of the *Indies* had passed by, and then had embarked it, this would have taken away all occasion of repining by the subject, that their coin was transported out of the kingdom to uphold the *East India* trade; if this had been really done, without evasion or cunning, the objection had been salved, and our moneys found no impediments to the voyage.

The second, was the death of our men: and though this was answered fully, yet to confirm the opinion of the answerer, there cannot be a better proof than experience, that peoples bodies do as well agree with, and return from the *Indies* in health, as from shorter voyages; and that whosoever has been there once, desires to go thither again: some there are that have made six or seven voyages, and found no distemper or difference in their bodies; and if there were no greater objections than this of health, it were tolerable, and worthy to be encouraged.

To the third, that it will decay shipping, the answerer disproves it very sufficiently; but, indeed, the greatest abuse of the voyage shall now appear in the covetousness and desire of gain in our merchants, according to the nature of *Englishmen*, who strive to be presently rich, and have not patience to stay a time for it.

The bane of our *East India* voyage was, that they exceeded the proportion of eight or nine ships, treble to the number of those that were projected: this was the decay of timber, which this kingdom will hereafter smart for; for the loss of men and money, it will be regained in an age, when timber must be growing many ages.

*A Project how to intercept the Ships of Cambaya that trade yearly into the Red Sea.*

**T**HOUGH the trade of the *East Indies* was first found out and prosecuted by the *Portuguese*, and in these latter times frequented by us and the *Hollanders*, yet can we not say, but that the natives of these remote parts had use of navigation, commerce and traffick with one another, long before the resort of the *Europeans* amongst them; as is apparent by the continual intercourse and trade, to this day, betwixt those of *Surat*, subjects to the great *Mogul*, and *Ziden*, a part within the *Red Sea*, which is commonly called the fleet of *Mecca*.

The vessels which pass these seas we cannot properly call ships, because their built is much differing from ships; they are neither able to brook the waves of a grown

This proportion of eight or nine ships would not have overcloy'd the trade, either there or here; nor have brought the commodities of the *East Indies* to so great a price as now they are there; neither would it have drawn so mighty stocks of money by the company to maintain it, whereby all the kingdom find themselves aggrieved, imputing the want of money to this cause: thus it is apparent, that the voyage is not the cause of the inconveniency, but the ill ordering and managing of it by the merchants.

The fifth objection is imputed to malice against the *Turky* company, and the molestation we shall offer the *Hollanders*. The moderator alledges, that there are very few of the *Turky* merchants that are not admitted with their stocks into the *East India* company, and all questions accommodated; whereby their malice ceased: and to the point of the *Hollanders*, we see that it is not that trade alone, but all others in general they seek to deprave and deprive us of; and it is true, that it is trade that sets their hearts against us, not only in our own traffick, but that of late we have debarred them of their trades, which before, out of cunning, they only ingrossed and possessed; as namely, that of *Spain*, and the king of *Spain's* dominions, whilst they had subtilly engaged us in a war; but now that our peace debars them of it, and that we enjoy it our selves, these are the motives of their hates to us; and as for their love, it is to be valued according to the profit or use they can make of us, as in the next and last book I have at large declared.

This shall suffice for our *East India* trade; but I will still have relation to the *East Indies*.

sea, or of force to withstand the power of an enemy: these vessels are carry'd with a certain, settled, and constant wind, both outward and homeward, as I have declared, when I had occasion to speak of the nature of the winds, called the *Monsons*; yet, as ugly, and as unshapely as these vessels are to our eyes, they transport inestimable riches and wealth betwixt the places aforesaid.

And whensoever his majesty shall please to prohibit the trade of his subjects to the *East Indies*, and that the merchants shall be weary of it, which will be according to their loss or gain; for the nature of a covetous merchant is like an usurer, that values and esteems his own profit more than



than the conveniency or benefit of the state: they are not satisfied with abundance; for the more they have, the more they desire.

But leaving the passion and humour of such men who are only for themselves, let us enter into the true condition of this kingdom, and the way to benefit his majesty, as well as his subjects have been benefited by the *East India* trade; and here I present a design to his majesty, if he shall prohibit the trade of the *East Indies*, as I have said before.

It is not like other sea actions, that enemies are authoriz'd to take from one another in a broad and ocean sea, where ships are hard to be met, or shall contest with force and strength; or in such weather as shall forbid ships boarding; or such winds as shall make it difficult in fetching up a chace; or such vessels as shall make a doubt of the riches of their lading.

My project is to encounter the *Cambaya* fleet, in their return out of the *Red Sea*, in their course from thence to *Surat*: these vessels are not freighted with merchandize of mean and base condition, but with the richest that *Egypt* and *Turky* can afford: their strength not able to resist their sailing in a sea, that never endured storm; their winds and seasons so certain, as some of our *East India* ships can put us out of doubt of, who have heretofore friendly visited them.

The wealth in them, and the ease in taking them, being thus known, we are to

think of the hurt and mischief that may ensue upon it, and to ballance indifferently, whether it is to be embraced or rejected for conveniency sake.

There are two sort of people, and both infidels, that will find themselves aggriev'd if this design be set on foot. The one is the *Grand Seignior*, into whose country they resort, to barter their *East India* commodities, and make a return of merchandize there exchanged, to the great increase of customs, that accrue to the great turk by it.

The other is the great *Mogul*, king of *Cambaya*, but of late years known to us by the traffick of our merchants: they are the subjects of this king that trade into the *Red Sea*, who besides his customs and other adventures in the voyage, will receive detriment by the loss of his ships, which no doubt will exasperate him.

These are the considerations on which depends the conveniency or inconveniency to ground this voyage upon, Whether the forbearance of that trade by us, or the profit that will redound by it, will carry away the stronger force.

Two ships of his majesty's, for countenance and strength, will be sufficient, with choice of victuals, and other provisions for health; the rest of the ships to be rated in tonnage, according to the proportion that may be judged to contain the goods taken in the ships aforesaid.

### *A Project of the Genoese to have brought the East India Commodities into Muscovy by Land in 1520.*

AS commerce and trade draws a course of people where commodity appears, and by consequence acquaintance, and civility, knowledge of one another's customs and countries, and the ways and means to direct them thither; so did this trade of the *East Indies* most especially, being so lately discovered, and yielding such great wealth and riches, a thing not dreamed of, till time gave light thereof by the *Portuguese* new discovery.

The way, and the nearest way that could be thought of, to attain to the *East Indies*, was after attempted by several nations, sometimes by the cape of *Good Hope*, other some by the *Streights of Magellan*, and then again from *New Spain*, and, lastly, by the north-west passage; which shews a great willingness and desire people had to search out the secrets of those countries, which they found so plentifully stored with all manner of riches.

And because the *Genoese* were a people not much accustomed to voyages in the ocean, wanting both ships, sailors, and harbours,

for such navigations, yet because they would not be accounted slothful or idle, and seeing it was an age of wit, in which every nation sought to exceed one another, they in the year 1520. proposed a journey by land from the *East Indies* to *Muscovy* and *Russia*, and one *Paul Centeraneo*, a merchant of *Genoa*, was employ'd in it, and went with authority from that state to *Basilus*, then king of *Russia*, with offer to bring that trade thither. He shewed the rivers and countries they should travel through, and acquainted him that the *Portuguese*, who served all *Europe* with spices and drugs, brought them by sea, whereby they became mouldy, and lost their true operation and virtue, though indeed it was otherwise; for after the *Portuguese* loaded their goods in their carracks, they never moved or unshipped them, till they arrived at their port of *Lisbon*; as on the contrary, if they should come to *Muscovia*, they were to pass many rivers, where they should unlade, and lade again, to the spoil and loss of their merchandize, besides many dangers

dangers they should suffer by the Arabian thieves, which the king of *Russia* did wisely foresee and consider; and therefore re-

fused and rejected that offer made by *Paul Centeraneo*, and it was never after attempted or proposed.

*A Project how to attain to Tombagatu and Gago, the richest Parts of the World for Gold, seated in Africk, and never yet discovered by Christians.*

MANY and several attempts have been made by the *English* trading into *Guinea*, to arrive at the two places aforesaid, being incited to it by the fame of the abundance of gold they yield, and the fineness of it by the daily proof that is made of it in *Barbary*, whither it is brought in truck of mean commodities.

The king of *Morocco* or *Barbary* yearly sends certain camels, which pass with much hunger, pains, and peril, in going and coming thither; and many times they are taken with violent storms, and southerly winds, which swallow and devour them like the sea; but yet this danger does not hinder the trade, because the profit is so great, that a camel laden with salt will return his load in gold. And this is the encouragement our *Englishmen* have to attempt it by rivers; but have still failed, either by death of the undertakers, by want of victuals, by the encounter of the wild negroes, or shallowness of the water to hinder their passage.

I will set down the errors I conceive of the former undertakings, and deliver my opinion, how it is fitting to enterprize it with little charge or hazard to the actors or adventurers, by example of the *Portuguese* happy and honourable attempt made upon the discovery of the *East Indies*, which gave the first light to all succeeding discoveries, as I have touched in my fourth book.

King *John II.* of *Portugal*, wisely imagining with himself, that the riches of the *East Indies*, brought to us of *Europe* by the way of the *Red Sea*, might have a passage from thence by an open sea, if it could be discovered, and the trade convey'd from thence directly to *Portugal*, without being beholding to infidels, as then we were, he caused timber to be felled to build two small ships for that discovery of the *East Indies*.

In the mean time whilst he was employed in furnishing the pinnaces for this voyage, he employ'd these persons following to discover by land the state of the *Indians*, and to get what light he could to encourage his sea intention.

The first man he employ'd was a *Franciscan* frier; who for want of language returned from *Jerusalem*, without effecting

any thing. The next he sent were two servants of his own, both of them skilful in the *Arabick* language, the one called *Pedro de Govillam*, the other *Alphonso de Pava*. They left *Portugal* the 7th of *May*, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, parted company: *Alphonso* went to *Prefter John's* country, where he died: *Govillam* travelled to *Callicut* and other places of the *East Indies*, where he fully informed himself of those countries.

In his return from thence he met with two *Jews*, the king of *Portugal* had sent to meet and advise him to inform himself thoroughly of the state of the *East Indies*.

One of these two *Jews* he sent back to the king, with a relation of the state of those countries; the other he carried with him to *Ormus*, from whence he sent him likewise to the king with a further relation, and himself travelled to *Prefter John's* country, where the king, whose name was *Alexander*, treated him courteously; who dying, the succeeding king detain'd him prisoner, where he died, and never sent more to the king of *Portugal*.

The king being truly informed by the relation of the two *Jews*, he hastened the preparation of his two ships; which voyage proved successful by the discovery of the *East Indies*. By the example of this land undertaking, we are to prosecute our intention for *Tombagatu and Gago*, and to labour how to arrive at them two places by land, that we may with more ease, after we are there arrived, find out a passage by a river, when the country is made known to us.

The men by whom we are to work our design, must be the black people of that country, whose complexions are suitable to those of *Africk*; for white men would seem monsters to them, and soon be destroyed by them. The climate of the country, the diet, the travels, the avoiding other dangers and inconveniences, the negroes can better suffer than white men can undergo.

Therefore I advise, seeing what we do must be by the travel and endeavours of the negroes of the country, that every *English* ship that goes yearly to *Guinea*, may be enjoined to bring from thence three negroes, with care to treat them civilly and kindly, that

that at their return they may have just cause to commend our usage of them.

These negroes being arrived in *England*, may be sent into several cities and corporations, two or three of them in company together, where they may be set into free schools, to be taught the *English* tongue, to write and read, and the true worship of God, with necessary provision for their apparel and diet; and when they are thus made capable to perform so much as they shall be employ'd about in their own country, then to send them back again, there to follow such instructions as shall be given them, for finding out the way and passage to the two places aforesaid; and after they return from thence, to assign them a place where they shall find a ship and men to entertain them; for the only thing that is to be required in this voyage, is to discover a way to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to know the true state of that country, and a means how to settle a trade with the people thereof.

The rivers by which we must make this attempt, are *Senega* and *Gambia*; and though there be two entrances into them, yet they make but one river, and betwixt them compass an island.

I confess there have been many undertakings by the *English*, to find a passage by

the river to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, but to little purpose, as it has been carry'd; therefore my design and desire is, that what follows may be put in execution.

Besides the ordinary ships that trade to *Guinea*, and make their return for *England*, I wish that two pinnaces, each of twenty tons, and two substantial shallops, be appointed to follow the discovery in the rivers, to be well manned, sufficiently victualled and armed, to stay out a whole year, with several commodities the negroes desire to have, to allure and entice them to us.

These two barks are to sail so high into the rivers, till they be stopped by shoals, and then to cause the two shallops to proceed further with their oars; for the greater way they go by water, the less journey the negroes shall have to travel by land.

These ships and shallops are to make their aboad thereabouts the space of nine or ten months, and to employ themselves in traffick, to know the state of the country, to learn the condition of the people, to win them by civility; and by consent of them to obtain a place ashore to inhabit and fortify, and make it a rendezvous for a yearly course and trade ever after, as the *Castle de la Mina* is to the *Portuguese*.

### *A Project for a private Voyage to Guinea.*

**T**HERE is much more use to be made of the country of *Africk*, than either we, or any other nation have laboured to find out; which I do impute to the unhealthfulness of the climate, and the neglect of people in not labouring to bring the blacks to civility by courteous handling and treating them, as I have touched in my precedent project.

And because I would have nothing attempted that may not bring a possibility of profit, I here present a private voyage with one ship of two hundred tons, and four or five shallops, to be quartered and carried in her.

It is not unknown to as many as trade to the *East Indies*, what succour they find in the bay of *Saldanna*, near the cape of *Good Hope*, especially of oxen, where there are the greatest abundance, and the biggest of body in the world; and the seas thereabouts afford great quantity of whales, out of which may be made train oil.

My directions in this voyage are to buy and freight a *Holland* ship of two hundred tons burthen, with the number of shallops aforesaid, to carry in her to the value of two thousand or three thousand pound cargo, two hundred ton in cask, with all things necessary to kill and boil the whales; and three or four butchers to slay their beefs.

The place whither they must first resort, is the bay of *Saldanna*, aforesaid; but in their way, to touch at the isle of *May*, at cape *Verde*, there to take salt to save their hides they shall truck for. At their coming to this bay, some of their men must be employ'd in traffick with the *Blacks*; some in killing their cattle for their hides; and others in fishing the whales, and making oil of them. And as they shall find a decay of either oxen or whales, then to remove to the northward, where I doubt not but they shall find a sufficient store of both, as also gold and other rich commodities, to settle a trade ever after.

*A Project how to trade to the West Indies for Tobacco, with the Consent of the King of Spain, or some one Merchant his Subject.*

THE colour of our *English* ships resorting to the *East Indies* in time of peace, is to seek a trade for tobacco; and under that pretence they have committed divers piracies, though the king of *Spain* has used all the strict means and courses possible to avoid that mischief: he has made it death by law, if any of his subjects, either directly or indirectly traffick or have commerce with any foreign nation; and has often used the rigour of that law, as well upon his own subjects that have offended in that kind, as upon strangers with whom they have traded; and yet gain is such a temptation, that in some places the *Spaniards* will not forbear traffick, though they run into imminent danger.

But to take away the occasion of this abuse, and that *England* may be served with better tobacco than any other growing elsewhere; and that the king of *Spain*, for his part, receive no prejudice in his customs for tobacco, this is the way that I devise.

That a merchant of *Spain*, and another of *England*, do make a contract, that the *English* shall take off such a quantity of tobacco, and at a certain rate agreed on, and receive it at one of the *Tercera* islands; which will be an ease to the navigation, having the less way to sail, and by consequence, the less danger of the sea and pirates; and this to be done with a ship of the *Spaniards*, and manned with *Spaniards*; and for such commodities as shall be brought out of *England*, to deliver either at the islands aforesaid, or in any port of *Spain*, at the election of the *Spaniards*; whereby the king of *Spain* shall not be deceived of his custom either going or coming.

When the *Spaniards* have a certain vent

for their tobacco, which is the thing they desire, they will not hazard to trade with any strange nation by stealth; and when the *English* perceive they are out of hope to truck for tobacco in the *Indies*, they will be disappointed of trade, and in a little time make them become strangers in those parts; and this is the reason that must be used for the king of *Spain* to grant his consent to it.

And when we shall be served with tobacco, and shall have proof of the goodness of it, in comparison of the beastly stinking tobacco that comes from other places, people will desire it for wholesomeness, and detest the other; which when our planters at *Virginia*, and other colonies, shall find their tobacco undervalued, it will be a cause that the people will apply themselves to more beneficial labours than they now do, in planting tobacco only.

And because tobacco shall be better used, and made up, to make it the more vendible in *England*, (for the goodness and badness of tobacco consists in the ordering of it,) we desire that two or three *Englishmen*, practised in that art of making up tobacco, may be hired by the *Spaniards*, and carry'd to the *Indies*, to make it merchantable there where it grows; so shall we be sure to serve *England*, with none but choice tobacco, where it will give a better price to the seller, and more content to the buyer.

Both the kingdoms and subjects of *England* and *Spain* will receive benefit by this project, if they be governed by the directions aforesaid; and if there be a question of the king of *Spain*'s consenting to it, it is no more than merchants within themselves may contrive, without making request or suit to either of the two kings.

*An Answer to a Project of the Hollanders for surprizing the Island of Canaria, and that of St. Thome, under the Equinoctial, Anno 1599. in Reproof of some of my Countrymen, who seek to prefer their Actions before ours.*

IT is wonderful to behold and see the mutability and uncertainty of this envious spiteful age of ours; and amongst many intolerable vices that reign, emulation is most rife; for let a man be advanced by virtue in his vocation, as, namely, a scholar to promotion and dignity by his learning, it breeds a secret hate in all scholars against him: the soldier for his service, makes all soldiers envy him inwardly: the courtier preferred by favour of the prince, makes all courtiers

repine at his fortune, and enter into examination of his merit above others, as though they should be judges of their own worth. This shews the corruption of mens minds in our time; for virtue was never envy'd, but by men of vice; nor honour despised, but by them that could not judge of it.

Envy stops not at private grudges; for very often it enflames the hearts of princes against the greatness of other potentates; it reigns in one kingdom against the prosperity

perity and welfare of another ; but this kind of emulation I confess to be tolerable ; for the example of one good prince may make another virtuous ; and the example of one kingdom, make another strive and endeavour to equal it.

But the fault I find, is with this malicious humour you shall find in my ensuing discourse ; where, in this expedition of the *Hollanders*, my countrymen are apter to give them honour, and to attribute good success to them, it being an action of their own, than if they had joined with us.

I know not what to impute it to ; whether envy to others, because they could not be actors themselves ; or a natural love to the *Holland* nation, not perfectly knowing them ; or to their popular government, because they have cast off all subjection to monarchy : but sure I am, that their partiality has discovered a great deal of envy, as they shall know by what follows ; for I will so unmask them, that they shall not deny it.

After their engaging us in a war with *Spain*, it is known, to as many as know any thing, that notwithstanding our prohibition of trade with *Spain*, which continu'd eighteen years, they never committed any hostile act by sea against *Spain*, nor had encounter with fleet or ships of *Spain* ; but to the contrary, supply'd them with all manner of provisions and ammunition against us.

Then seeing there appeared no act of theirs, to commend either their sufficiency of valour, it is strange to me, that my countrymen should extol them above our selves, only out of an imagination of what they would do, but not by proof of what they have done.

This trade of theirs into *Spain* continued all the reign of king *Philip II.* But he dying, and his son succeeding, he caused a general embargo and arrest of all ships within his dominions, which belonged to any parts of the *Netherlands*, that were not obedient to his father's government ; and published an edict, That it should be lawful, from that time forward, to use the same law upon any such ships as should be found in his country.

This was effected accordingly ; and the *Hollanders* being certify'd thereof, knew it was not their advantage to suffer their ships to lie and rot without employment : neither had they means to maintain so many mariners as were in the country, without they had the use of navigation. For these two reasons, and a desire they had to annoy the king of *Spain*, they sent this present year, 1599. seventy three ships to sea, the general whereof was *Peter Van Doist*.

Whilst this preparation of theirs held, there was an overture of peace made to her

majesty by the king of *Spain*, and archduke *Albertus*, which the queen was inclined to hearken to ; but upon the earnest intercession and request of the *Hollanders*, with promise to secure her at home, with their fleet abroad, from any hurt *Spain* should intend against her that present year, she, out of a gracious respect to them, was willing to surcease speech of that treaty for a time.

And now in answer to a book they published at their return from the *Canaries*, which they entitled thus, *The conquest of the Grand Canaries made this last summer by seventy three sail of ships, sent out by the command and direction of the States General of the United Provinces to the coast of Spain, and the Canary islands ; with the taking of a town in the island of Gomera, and the success of part of this fleet in their return homeward, which set sail from Holland the 25th of March, and returned home the 10th of September, 1599.* When you read the two first words, *The Conquest*, you will not think there followeth less than a kingdom ; for commonly it is not a phrase used to any state, but to a kingdom.

The *Grand Canaria*, which they think to blind the ignorant people with, to be a place of so great fame and renown, because of the length of the word in pronunciation, is an island of twelve leagues in length and breadth ; many villages in it, and one town bigger than the rest, called a city, where the bishop's seat is, for all the other islands.

There are in *Number seven* islands ; *Grand Canaria*, *Teneriff*, which is the biggest, wealthiest and strongest, *Palmo*, *Gomera*, *Fuerteventuta*, *Larezarose*, and *Ferro*.

Upon the first discovery of these islands, they were called the *Fortunate*, and now the *Canary Islands* ; and by setting down the *Canaries*, he would have the world think, that they had conquered all the islands ; whereas, if he would have spoken truth, and according to sense, he should have intitled his book, *The surprize, and taking of the city of Palmes in the island of Grand Canaria* : the title of this book is as ridiculous, as if we should write the story of the *Sack of Cadiz*, and intitle it, *The Conquest of Spain*, because *Cadiz* is a city in *Spain*. Thus you see they are people that will set a great gloss upon a small shew.

Their promise made to her majesty at their setting from home, was, to view and search all the harbours upon the coast of *Spain*, and to destroy the king's ships, whereby she should be secured at home.

The first port they fell in withal was the *Groyne*, being guided with a favourable and large wind ; for from *Holland* thither, they were sailing but eleven days ; but when they came

came before the harbour, they behaved themselves so unadvisedly, that the town took the alarm, and was provided to withstand them.

Here lay divers of the king's ships, which they would not attempt, but dishonourably departed; though I must confess they performed half their promise made to the queen, in viewing the harbours; but not the other half in destroying their ships.

If her majesty had rested upon their assurance of safety, and not otherwise provided to stand upon her own guard, I am of opinion the *Spaniards* had sooner visited us, than they them; and yet they stick not to boast, That they cast anchor in twelve or thirteen fathom water, and that the town shot two hundred cannon shot, but killed never a man: they also say they towed out their ships with boats, in despite of their shot; whereas it appears, they lay so far off, that they were in no danger of their shot, or that they were in fee with the gunners not to hurt them, as any man may conjecture.

But it seems they were so much discouraged with looking into this harbour, that they never offered the like to any other upon that coast; but forgetting their promise to the queen, the general made known his purpose to his captains, that he meant to attempt the islands of *Canaria*.

If this project was designed him from home, or that it was left to the discretion of the general to undertake what he thought fit; in the one, the states shewed themselves ignorant in marshal-sea affairs, or the general had no disposition to enterprize the service that might bring danger; for the *Canaries* are known to be of such small importance, that we never held it worth our labour to possess them, though it were many times in our power.

Says the author, "The place of landing was discommodious and difficult, but that most of the enemies were slain, to the number of thirty or thirty six. The lord general leaping first on land, was thrust into the leg with a pike, and had in his body four wounds more, being in great danger to lose his life, but that one of the soldiers slew the *Spaniard* that did it; but his wounds were of small moment."

Gentle reader, first you are to observe, that by their own confession, they had very great difficulty to land; and that before they landed, they slew most of the enemies, which were to the number of thirty or thirty six; then let us think whether it was greater valour in the thirty six, to withstand the twenty four companies, as they report of themselves after, or for the twen-

ty four companies to overcome the thirty six men: after this proportion it was three *Spaniards* to two companies of *Hollanders*.

Then follows a report of their lord general's valour: a lord we will allow him, because the author gives him the title, though, if it were examined, he was no more lord, than they have authority to make a lord: he was the first man, the author says, that leap'd ashore, and received a wound in his leg with a pike, and four in his body, which put him in great danger of his life; but that a soldier slew the *Spaniard* that did it; and that his wounds were of small moment.

Mark the improbability of the one, and the variety of the report of the other: for how is it likely that one soldier should come to the push of pike, upon the general's leaping ashore, and give him so many wounds, having his troops so prepared, that they would not suffer the head of a man to appear? This man's valour far exceeded the thirty six; for he undertook their whole force, being twenty four companies.

The author says the general was in great danger to lose his life; and in the line following, his wounds were of small moment: these two are contraries, and for my part I know not which to believe; but considering the probability of the manner of his hurts, and the contrariety of the state of his wounds, I do verily think the thirty six men could not make the resistance they speak of. Secondly, the general came not to the push of pike at his first landing. And, thirdly, he received not so many wounds, as for his glory they report of him.

After they had thus landed, they followed the victory with great loss to themselves, and little to the enemy, by their own report; for they say, They neither found wealth nor prisoner in the town, their goods being all carried into the mountains, and the people having quitted it, and escaped.

The memorablest thing they did in the town, was the delivery of thirty six prisoners, who reported that two others, one an *Englishman*, the other an *Hollander*, were carried into the mountains, being censured by the inquisition, whom they had not the means to redeem for want of two *Spaniards*.

The author reports, That after the taking of the town, their people committed such disorders in the country, the passages being known to the *Spaniards*, and not to them, that at one time twenty of them were killed; another time they returned with the loss of seventy men, and in the poor island of *Gomera*,

*Gomera* eighty, and made the rest retire; besides, at divers other places they received loss.

This proceeded rather out of disorder amongst themselves, than any unlawful act of the *Spaniards*; for those thus slain, were no less than free-booters that went a robbing, without leave of their officers; tho' the *Hollanders* rail and exclaim against their cruelty, alluding to their names, that the *Canaries* were so call'd, because of *Canes*, the abundance of dogs then found in the island: they say that the people would run as swift as dogs, and were as tyrannical and blood-thirsty as ravening wolves, which they sufficiently manifested; for as soon as they could lay hold on any of their people, like to mad curs, agreeing with their names, they would presently worry them: and they, I confess, had no other remedy but patience; for they took never a *Spaniard* to exercise accustom'd cruelty.

But though they did not sufficiently revenge themselves upon the people, as you have heard, yet they neglected not to rife their cloisters, monasteries, and churches; and not being content with the spoil of them, they destroy'd and burnt them down to the ground. This example they never learnt of us, in the actions they have been with us; for we ever had a respect to the churches, though we differed in religion, and held it was a house of our God as well as theirs, though we serv'd him not both in one kind.

The *Hollanders* are people that will omit nothing for their glory; and amongst many famous acts they have achiev'd in this expedition, they set down the taking of seven fishermen by one of their pinnaces, fishing under *Fuerteventura*, and the general's committing them to prison.

These seven *Spaniards* stood them in great stead for their reputation; for had it not been for the taking of these seven men, they had return'd without manifesting their landing in any part of the king of *Spain's* dominions; not having taken a man before, to have testify'd to the world they had met with an enemy.

After the sack and spoil of the city of *Palmes*, the general embark'd his army, and was willing to perform some other service that was not of danger; and call'd a council of his captains and pilots, enquiring of them which was the weakest island, for there he meant to land: you see he was not desirous to know the wealthiest, but the weakest island; making account where there was wealth, there was strength that would resist them: but he wisely considering that the taking an island, though it was of no importance, yet it would carry a great shew and gloss to the world, (for men would not enter into the value and worth,

but into the name of an island,) did here-upon courageously resolve upon the attempt of *Gomera*, a place of so small account, that they might have been asham'd to undertake it, but especially to publish it in print.

If all our deeds, according to that computation, were publish'd to the world, we have had many ships, not above three in company, that have perform'd greater service; and yet the *Hollanders* stick not to boast that they left the island of *Gomera* burning, which was never done before by any nation.

Some men that know not the state of this poor silly island, would think it were to be compar'd with *Vienna*, which the *Turks* have often assaulted with huge armies, and never had power to prevail against it. And in the same case men may imagine, seeing they did that which was never done by any nation, that it was a place of that invincible strength, as though many armies had attempted it, yet they had never power to prevail against it: whereas, in very truth, this island is poor in wealth, and weak in power, readier to yield to a weak enemy, than to withstand a mean army.

This island was subdued upon the first discovery without fight; all the rest withstood the conquerors; which it is like the general well knew by his demands, which was the weakest island, which embolden'd him upon the enterprize.

Here he found no resistance; for all the people abandoned the town and fled to the mountains, and committed many murders upon the *Hollanders* by their undiscreef straggling.

Once again the general embark'd, and dispatch'd thirty-four of his ships back for *Holland*; and himself with the rest meant to proceed to the *West Indies*: those ships that return'd took two prizes of small value, that had but thirty men in both, which takes up a long discourse in this book I have answer'd. If all our prizes were estimated, and the number set down, since the beginning of our wars with *Spain*, there have been at least six hundred greater and richer vessels brought to *England*, which we think not worthy to boast of: but indeed they are to be excused; for the taking of these two barks, and the thirty men, are the only deeds they did in their project to the *Canaries*.

You have heard, upon the division of the fleet, the general resolved for the *West Indies*; which resolution was suddenly altered, and he directed his course to *St. Thome*, an island under the equinoctial line: what becomes of them, I am not very inquisitive to know, till I see it published in print, as this was;

neither, in my opinion, can they expect any thing but death, the country and climate exceeding all parts of the world for sickness: and I verily believe this latter project to *St. Thome*, was designed by some traitors amongst themselves; for the *Portuguese* that live in that island confess, that no man born in *Europe*, ever liv'd there so long, as to have a white beard, or attain to fifty years of age.

And to conclude, seeing how indiscreetly the *Hollanders* have carry'd themselves in this last action, wherein they have deceiv'd the expectation of all their well-willers, that are not too much transported with partiality, I would not have my country-

men hereafter to magnify them above their worth; but that in reason, without affectation, they will compare the managing their actions with ours, which in discretion they are bound to do; and they shall undoubtedly find great difference betwixt us.

What I have here writ, I protest is neither in malice to the *Hollanders*, nor in partiality to our selves, but out of a sincere love of truth; for I am so far from any detracting humour, that if I can see amendment in them and their actions, I will be as ready to do them honour therein, as I am now willing to defend my countrymen from the scandal of spiteful tongues.

*A Project how to ruin Spain, with the Assistance of Holland, if his Majesty enter into a new War with that Crown.*

IF the king of *Great Britain* declare himself enemy to *Spain*, no man need doubt but that he shall have assistance of *Holland* to join with him in any action against that crown; and then it may be supposed what hurt in time may redound to *Spain* in the *Indies*, if both the nations do really join together, and their designs be well grounded, by example of what hurt the *Hollanders* alone have done the *Spaniards* in *Brazil* and the *Indies*, without the help of any other nation.

And to descend to particulars, there is lately an occasion, and an unavoidable opportunity offered, never thought on by *England* or *Holland*, when they both had wars, and studied how to vex the kingdom of *Spain* by their hostile actions: now, I say, there is a new discovery, wherein the *Indies* may be hazarded, the *Spanish* nation subverted, and all the rule, government, and riches, settled upon us and *Holland*, if we join mutually together, as we have done in sundry other actions heretofore.

The ground of this design stands upon the peopling and planting of an uninhabited island, eighty odd leagues from *Carthagena*, in *Terra Firma*, and not above ten or twelve miles in length, and, as I formerly said, six in breadth, five hundred leagues west from the other islands the *English* now possess, and where there are already seated six thousand able and sufficient soldiers, with their arms, and other habiliments for war, and are like daily to increase, by the forwardness of people that willingly put themselves into such actions.

Such islands as the *English* are seated in are in the hithermost part of *America*, and by which all ships that go to the other islands aforesaid, or to *Terra Firma*, are to pass by, with a certain and settled wind which never fails; and the men that there inhabit,

their bodies are made able and fit to live in such unnatural climates to their former breeding; their hard and evil diet, with drinking water, is made familiar to them, and they are become excellent soldiers.

These people thus planted, will much forward any enterprize that shall be made upon the *Indies*, by the conveniency and little charge to transport them consider'd; as likewise the ability of them, which we may account trebble to as many as we shall carry out of *England*.

But now I will proceed to the design, and to the way how to put it in execution, which may prove the most dangerous plot that was ever intended against *Spain*, since the first discovery of the *Indies*; though at the first apprehension it may seem ridiculous, and rather to be contemn'd than fear'd by the *Spaniards*: but if they will call to mind the precedent of other times, they shall find that their king *Don Rodrigo* and his country was conquer'd in two years by a few barbarous *Moors* not worth naming, and could not be recover'd in seven hundred and seventy odd years of wars after. The like may be said of *England*, when it was subdued and subverted by less than four hundred *Saxons* at the beginning; things not to be believed, but that times and stories make it manifest; and in reason this island may prove as dangerous to the *Indies*, as the others have been to *Spain* and *England*; for it is like a spark of fire, out of which greater fires may be kindled and made unquenchable.

This island, which I have spoken of in my fourth book, is near *Carthagena*, and not far from *Porto Bello*, and *Nombre de Dios*, whither the treasure of the *Indies* is brought first from *Peru* by Sea to *Panama*, and after to the places aforesaid by land, before it be embark'd for *Spain*.

This



This island has of late chang'd her name, from *Carthagena* to *Providentia*, out of a foreseeing providence and care that some well-minded *Englishmen* do owe to their country that have so named it, thinking to work the effect, for which they possess and so call it, as may be gather'd out of a discourse, it being of that importance, by reason of that impregnableness, and the commodity of an harbour, to receive some shipping of a reasonable bigness, and being naturally encompass'd about with rocks and shoals, that it is impossible for any bark or boat to make an enterprize upon it, but only in the harbour, which is so fortified, that no force is able to assail it; inso-much that it may be said of this island, That God has placed it with his finger, to impede and forbid the trade of the *Indies* upon that coast, as aforesaid.

And though this island affords nothing but water for the sustenance of the people that shall inhabit it, yet in a short space it may be supply'd from the *Tortugas*, which we enjoy near *Hispaniola* with hogs and beefs, sufficient to relieve as many men as the circuit of the ground can contain.

But now to the use that can be made of the island: It is to be consider'd, as aforesaid, how dangerous a thing it will be to the *Spaniards* navigations thereabouts. Secondly, that whereas in all our voyages and expeditions in the queen's time to the *Indies*, we have still quailed, because our fleets made their abode out of *England* above six or seven months, going, coming, and staying there, for want of provisions to abide there any longer, but were still forced to return when their greatest service was to be executed.

The use we must put this island to, is to make it a magazine to relieve our greatest enterprizes upon the main land, without either sending or turning back into *England*; for every thing that *England* can supply us with, this island may receive from thence without charge; and the ships thus freighted may return laden with salt that shall cost them nothing, to countervail the expence of their transportation.

Here shall we be fully furnish'd, and all difficulties taken away, to further our enterprize upon the main land; which upon our first landing we must divide our armies into two parts, the one to go to *Panama*, and possess the port of the *South Sea*, whilst the other enjoys *Carthagena* and the *North Coast*; that betwixt them they shall give the greatest blow to all the *Indies* as ever was projected by man, as well *Peru* as *New Spain*.

These places being taken, as it will prove no great difficulty, by example of fewer forces that have done far greater exploits

in the same place, seas, and towns, this is the way for *England* and *Holland* to become masters of that land and sea: for the strength of the *Indies* consists in the people and inhabitants of *Peru* and *New Spain*; the one north, the other south, thousands of miles from thence; which distance will debar them of succours, and all that coast will be left to their own defence; whose weakness the *English* have found in sundry actions heretofore: Or if it be alledged, that their ports and towns are better fortified than they have been; it may be answer'd, that if it were so, yet our army and strength will be twenty times double to that in former times: and that moreover, a country invaded (that relies upon the force of towns and fortifications) by an enemy that commands both land and sea, though it be never so impregnable, in the end must yield.

Leaving some attempts formerly made by our *English* before they were warranted by the war with *Spain*, who then joined with the *Shemeerones*, which are negroes revolted from their masters betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, a place where they seized upon the king's treasure ashore in those times, I will recite some particular exploits done upon the towns of the *Indies*, during the war of queen *Elizabeth*.

*Drake*, with fewer than a thousand men, took *St. Jago* in *Cape Verde*, *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, *Carthagena* in *Terra Firma*, and *St. Antonio* and *St. Hellena* in *Florida*. 1585.

*Drake* and *Hawkins*, with seven hundred and fifty men, took *El Rio de Hacha*, *Rancheria*, *Tapia*, *Santa Maria*, *Nombre de Dios*, and *Porto Bello*; and were forced, for want of supplies, to return for *England*; as if the island of *Providence* had been theirs, the advantage of it foreseen, and they supply'd from it, as is now intended, they had taken *Panama*, and by consequence had an entrance into the *South Sea*; which would have proved the most dangerous design against *Spain* that was ever projected. 1595.

If we call to mind private mens undertakings, captain *Preston*, with one hundred and fifty men, took *Puerto Sancto*, *Clacbo*, the town and fort of *Chapa*, the city of *St. Jago de Leon*, and the town of *Camena*. 1594.

Captain *Parker*, with two small ships and one hundred and eighty men, took *St. Vincent* in *Cape Verde*, *Porto Bello*, and a fort call'd *St. Jago*, with the king's treasure in *Terra Firma*. The same captain *Parker*, in a voyage before, and with fewer men, took one town of importance, call'd *Campeche*. I could repeat many more; but these shall suffice. 1596.

The earl of *Cumberland*, with fewer than one thousand men, took *Puerto Rico*,

a place of great strength and defence, with the loss of twenty eight men. These precedents shew what these places are, or may be made in strength.

And if so few ships, and men could surprize and take so many cities and towns without the countenance or help of the queen, or the assistance of other princes or countries, and in time of war that gave continual alarms to them to provide for enemies, what may *England* and *Holland* now do, joining their forces together, that have the command of more bodies of men, more number of ships, and to be furnished with greater celerity to second their actions, than all the world besides? but especially, having this island that will serve for a key to open the lock of the *Indies*?

But to end with the design of the north sea, which is so distinguished by the *Spaniards*, I will now sail into the *South Sea*, and *Peru*, the fountain out of which the treasures of the *Indies* flow; and will set down the last resolution taken by the projectors, counsellors, and adventurers of this action, which in my opinion seems to be a thing of great reason. They conclude, as upon a matter of great consequence, to take away all occasion of help or succour from *Spain*, is to forbid the ordinary trades of their neighbour countries into *Spain*; which being done, the *Indies* is hopeless of help: and the way to put it in practice, as they conceive, is, to put out a general proclamation throughout *Europe*, for all nations, towns, and cities, to take notice of, that if such countries, towns, and princes, will from thence forward desist from their traffick with *Spain*, with ammunition, victuals, or other abilliments for the war, that then from that day they shall enjoy the immunities and privileges of trade into the *Indies*, as freely as now they do, or have at any time done, in their commerce, of *England* or *Holland*: as to the contrary, if they relieve *Spain* with the commodities aforesaid, they are to stand upon their perils, and not to expect favour. This will debar *Spain* of foreign helps, and be a means to unfurnish them of all materials to fit out fleets; so that the *Indies* will be left to themselves, and the dwellers there to defend them.

The conference and resolution of the treaty aforesaid, provided for all things to be presently put in execution, and to forecast all doubts that might be impediments to them; and they considered how easy a thing it was to go through the work they had projected: so on the other side, they weighed, that the substance of the wealth of the *Indies*, was thousands of miles from *Panama*, whither it was brought by sea, not having means or passage to transport it by

land; and therefore conclude, that the ruin of *Spain* in the *Indies*, was to have an entrance and command of the *South Sea*.

They know the condition of that sea, and all the harbours and towns inhabited and possessed by the *Spaniards*, from *Chile* and *Peru*, till they arrive at the ports of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in *New Spain*, which are the harbours whither *Mexico*, and all that coast send their commodities, as well into the ports of *America*, as into the *Philippine* island; and that by the taking those ports, the whole country of *New Spain* must necessarily submit and yield.

They are not ignorant, that though that sea affords ships for trade from port to port, yet they and their ships are shut up from any other traffick out of that sea, by reason of the *Streights* of *Magellan*; and that the ships there built, are made only for merchandize, not for defence and strength, not one of them carrying one piece of ordnance.

They likewise know, that the *Spaniards* thereabouts are rich, and unaccustomed to war; that if they may have good conditions for life and goods, they may be easily drawn to live under our subjection and government.

They moreover know the evil disposition the people of those countries bear to the *Spaniards*, and how willingly they will be drawn to join with us against them; and to join the one and the other more heartily to the invaders party, they resolve to make a publick act and decree, *That all Indians, as well the one as the other, shall be freed from their labours; their slaveries, and forced tyrannies.* And because the *Spaniards* shall have no dependency or necessity of the help of *Spain*, it shall be lawful for all men to plant wine, oil, and other commodities they desire. It shall be also as lawful for them to enjoy their religion, as in former times. These will be motives and reasons sufficient, as well to draw the one as the other to the government of *England* and *Holland*, when all the possibility of relief shall be taken from them.

For the effecting of this they determine to send forty or fifty warlike ships into the *South Sea* by the *Streights* of *Magellan*, which shall carry a sufficient number of men to perform their design, with all manner of ordnance, with ammunition to strengthen the shores and ships; no part but shall be possessed, strengthened, and inhabited by us, till we come to *Panama*, where they shall find it planted and enjoy'd by their countrymen in as good a manner, as though they should arrive in *England* or *Holland*; and from thence they may easily pass to the ports aforesaid of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in  
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*New Spain*, and conclude an absolute conquest of the *Indies*; they may say as *Julius Cæsar* said, *I came, I saw, and I overcame*.

And because this counsel and resolution shall not seem vain, by example of the north seas aforesaid, where I have made a repetition of such towns and ports as have been taken by the *English*, so I will do the like in the *South Sea*, by one ship alone that departed *England* in 1586. and upon all occasions and services could land but eighty men.

The first exploit he did, was by taking away certain ordnance from a port, built by *Peter Sermiento* in the *Streights* of *Ma-*

*gellan*; where he found all the people dead, except three only. Sailing from thence to *Chile*, he took *Santa Maria*; he took and spoiled *Marmaroma*, *Arica*, *Pijca*, *Paraca*, *Cheripa*, *Paito*, the islands of *Puna*, a place of great importance for the building and trimming of ships; and arriving at *New Spain*, he took and spoiled *Acapulco*, the port of *Navidad*, the port of *St. Jago*, the bay of *Compostella*, the island of *St. Ambrose*, and the bay of *Massaclam*. And therefore let no man doubt that any part of that coast or seas can resist forty or fifty sail of ships sent from hence.

### *Projects for the Spaniards to annoy the Hollanders in several Trades.*

#### *The first Project.*

THE *Hollanders* have compassed a great and beneficial trade into several places of *Guinea*, which antiently belonged to the *Portuguese*, as the first discoverers of them: the *Hollanders* now resort thither daily, and are well accepted of by the negroes of that country, who bring them gold, and divers other rich commodities, in truck for their slight merchandize.

The project to hinder the trade of the *Hollanders*, and quite to banish them from that coast, is, to furnish as men of war, six or seven of those ships they ordinarily send to *Brazil* well mann'd; and these in their way to range along the coast of *Guinea*, where they shall undoubtedly meet and take the *Holland* ships that trade there in several parts and ports, as is apparent, having neither port, nor other strength to resist them. Or if it shall happen that they have made any defence on shore by the assistance of the negroes, they may easily supplant them with the soldiers they carry with them; whereas by giving them a longer time to inhabit that coast, it would become a more difficult enterprize to subdue them, by the example of the *Hollanders* possessing divers places in the *East Indies*, which at the first might have been prevented.

If the *Hollanders* be but once thus served, it will be a means to make them quit that coast, and clearly thrust them out of *Guinea*: for *Guinea* is not like the *East Indies*, where the *Hollanders* maintain an hundred ships by their several trades in sundry parts, as well those places they enjoy, as the others that accept of their commerce; whereas in *Guinea*, the traffick is but in particular places, whither the merchandize is brought them by negroes from afar off within the land, which cannot be of any great bulk, for want of carriage of ships or boats; neither are they design'd any particular harbour, as the *Portuguese* are at *Castle de la Mina*.

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The *Hollanders* have as litte hope of robbing and spoiling the *Portuguese*, because their trade is but small, and their ships few, whereby they are not able to maintain footing in that country, without greater expence than the profit will countervail: six or seven ships of *Portugal* will be a sufficient strength to drive them out of *Guinea*, those ships to range along the coast, and cut them off where they shall find them trading in their several places.

My project is, after they are thus destroy'd, that the six or seven ships of *Portugal* stand over to *Brazil*, and there take their freights of sugar, and other rich commodities, which, considering the safety and waftage by those ships of war, will be a means to ease the expence in furnishing the ships of war.

#### *The second Project to Russia.*

The north part of *Russia* was but a thing imagined, till *Sebastian Cabott*, by his persuasions in the reign of queen *Mary*, drew *England* to the discovery of it, Anno 1553. which enjoy'd the absolute trade thereof for many years, till the *Hollanders* encroached upon us, as they have done in all other trades, as I have said in my sixth book. In continuance of time the *Hollanders*, have increased from two ships to one hundred, as is apparent by so many as they yearly send; and have made a greater use of the country than to merchandize alone; for they have set up a trade of making cables, ropes, and other cordage in such abundance, that they outdo all other places in the *Baltick Sea*; and from hence they directly serve *Spain* with those commodities: and because the passage being through our channel, in time of war they feared to be intercepted by us, they directed their course to the north part of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, purposely to avoid us.

The advantage *Spain* is to take of them in this project, is to carry their designs dis-

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creetly and secretly; to be provided of pilots without suspicion or noise, which must be done out of *England*; for no other christian country trades into *Russia* but we and the *Hollanders*; and though their harbours are dangerous at their going in, by reason of their bar, yet it is familiar with the pilots that use it. The force the *Hollanders* have to guard their hundred sail of ships, is commonly three or four men of war, who suspect no annoyance from *Spain* at any time; and by these three or four ships you may judge of the strength you are to employ against them: though I advise you carry no less than thirty sail of ships, well manned, to man the *Hollanders* after you have taken them.

Besides the command you shall have over the ships aforesaid, you shall possess their storehouses, cellars, yards, and what else belongs to them, and spoil them, that they be never able to erect more, without an infinite charge.

The third consideration, is the season of the year; for they must cast to be at *St. Nicholas* by the 10th or 12th of *July*; for no longer than the 17th of *August* they can well abide there, by reason of the winter so suddenly coming upon them: or if they shall arrive earlier than the 12th or 14th of that month, perhaps they may come with the soonest, and find their goods not shipped; but though they should, it will not be very material, for they may row up with their boats to *Palmogro*, eighty miles distance, where the greatest part of their commodities are made, and shall either meet them in their transportation to the ships, or possess them on shore, where they shall undoubtedly find them.

Or if upon any other accident the *Spanish* ships shall not arrive at the port of *St. Nicholas*, before the others put out to sea, then they may stand to the north cape of *Norway*, and there lie off and on the headland, which the *Hollanders* must of necessity see and double, before they can direct their course for *Holland*:

If *Russia* were a country in league with *Spain*, or otherwise had correspondence or friendship with them in commerce and traffick, then I confess it were against the laws of nations and honour, to offer violence to an enemy within the port of another prince, when they are under his protection. But I could never understand, that ever leagues were treated of, or trade maintained betwixt *Russia* and *Spain*, or ambassadors employ'd, or other obligations of friendship, since king *Philip* was king of *England*; and therefore the king of *Spain* can be no more taxed or blamed, if he used this opportunity upon his enemy, that is offered him by this proposition, especially when none of his sub-

jects can receive prejudice or fear of hurt, or embargo to be made upon their persons or goods.

Let the *Spanish* commander, at his arrival in the road of *St. Nicholas*, have a care to summon such *English* ships as he shall there find in harbour, and to admonish them to forbear offering violence, or making other resistance in defence of the *Hollanders* ships; and let them understand in a friendly way, how they are to carry themselves by the articles of peace, which they may carry and shew them; and withal to tell them roundly, if they exceed their commission therein, that justice will be required at their hands by their ambassador residing in *England*, who will be sure to prosecute it with all rigour and severity: and in the *Spanish* fleets behalf, let the general give assurance, no way to impeach the *English*, or by any direct or indirect means to trouble or molest their peaceable traffick.

This project prevailing, the *Spaniards* will be enriched with one hundred sail of *Holland* ships, and their lading; great part whereof is cordage, and other things of considerable value, which *Spain* has most need to be furnished with, and need not hereafter be beholding to friends for them.

#### *A Rutter of Russia.*

He that will direct his course from *Spain* to the north cape of *Norway*, must steer a northerly course, till he arrive to *Iceland*, where upon occasion he may refresh himself with butter, flesh, and fish, and from thence steer away E. N. E. for the north cape.

From the north cape to the north *Kave*, E. and by S. thirteen leagues.

Thence to *Marcroft*, E. S. E. twelve leagues.

Thence to *Wardhouse*, S. E. fifteen leagues.

Here you may have your self from *Wardhouse*, to the point of *Kegro*, E. S. E. eleven leagues; no good road for great ships.

From *Kegro* to *Zouse*, S. E. nine leagues.

From the seven islands to *Swetnos*, twenty one leagues: there are islands where you may anchor.

From *Swetnos* to *Lombasco*, S. S. E. thirteen leagues.

From thence to *Orgolouse*, S. S. E. seven leagues.

From *Orgolouse* to cape *Caudenos*, N. E. forty seven leagues; but you must sail from the three islands to *Cross Island*, S. S. W. thirteen leagues.

From thence to *Calmouse Archangel*, and by W. seventeen leagues on this side of *Archangel* is *St. Nicholas*.

*The Third Project.*

That the *Spaniards* may practice against the *Hollanders*, and to be as easily effected as the rest, and of greater consequence than all the others, is a design against their fishing; which all men know is a means to uphold their state, to increase their ships, and to multiply their wealth; in which, if at any time they be prevented, or intercepted, they become more miserable than all other people, in that they shall be made a prey to their enemies.

This fishing I formerly treated of, with the condition of the *Hollanders* that only enjoy it by our permission: now will I proceed to the design upon them, for the *Spaniards* to execute, so it be with the approbation and sufferance of the king of *England*.

I have already declared the place of rendezvous, where the *Hollanders* meet; as also the time of the year, the month, and day, when they begun to fish, with the profit they make of it: the place of rendezvous is *Blazownde* in *Shutland*, an island in his majesty's jurisdiction of *Scotland*; thither commonly resort one thousand or more fishing vessels, called *busses*, which, by a law made amongst themselves in *Holland*, cannot put forth line or net to fish, till the 24th of *June*.

And therefore the *Spaniard* must so cast, as to be at *Blazownde* before that time, or at least two days, to take an opportunity before the others going out of harbour; which, if they have a care effectually to accomplish, they shall bring both the persons of the *Hollanders* and their ships to their mercy. And after this is effected, I need not teach

the *Spaniards* how to carry their business, or what conditions to make with the *Hollanders*; for they shall have time sufficient to compass their ends, after they have them in their power.

*The Fourth Project,*

Is for the king of *Spain* to keep a constant squadron of ten or twelve ships, choice failors, upon his own coast: they will be able to keep the *French*, the *Hollanders*, and the *Turks* pirates, from the incursions they usually make upon that coast, and put them to look their prey in a vast and open sea, which is as uncertain of meeting ships, as the finding a needle in a bottle of hay; for I have often shewed, if capes and headlands be well defended, the others will not be worth the cost and charges they shall be put to.

Besides the service done against ships of war in this manner aforesaid, they will secure their own trades, and impeach all such *Hollanders*, that shall go in or come out of the *Streights*, if they keep a squadron twelve or fourteen leagues south from cape *St. Vincent*, and spread themselves north and south a league and more in distance from one another; one ship of *Holland* that shall be taken in their course out of the *Streights*, will countervail the charge of a whole squadron for many months; and the example of it, seeing their good success will encourage the *Spaniards* to keep ships continually thus employ'd.

Here I end my projects, till I have occasion to speak of them again; and now shall follow my stratagems.

*Stratagems to be used at Sea.*

1. **A** Fleet that is bound to a port, and fears to meet an enemy, may avoid him by this stratagem following: Besides such pinnaces as must be sent to look out the ships expected, to give them warning of an enemy, they ought to have other pinnaces, choice failors, that should attend the enemies fleet; and finding they lie in a height, the others have order to sail in, to draw near them, and to entice them to chase them; and in pursuit of them, they will be drawn to leeward, and give passage for their fleet's entrance.

2. But if this prevail not, they may cause one of their pinnaces to be purposely taken to deceive them with false instructions; as for example, If their fleet have order to come home in thirty seven degrees; the enemy finding those directions, will not

suspect a deceit, but will stand into thirty seven degrees, when the others will come home in thirty six, the height former assigned them, and so avoid them.

3. Or if a fleet be sent out for guard of those ships expected, and not so good of sail as their enemy, to force them to quit their coast, it were better such a fleet should lie in a contrary height to that their ships have directions to sail in, than otherwise; for the enemy finding in what height they lie in, will verily believe they have orders to come home in the same height, and will strive to meet them in that height, before they shall join together, when the others have directions not to come within forty or fifty leagues of them.

4. If

4. If fleets shall meet in the night, or after an encounter they forbear fighting when it is dark, and one of them have a desire to quit the other, they may cause so many lights as usually their admiral, or other ships, carry in the night, to be carry'd by pinnaces in such a height as may equal the poop of their ships; and the enemy accompanying those lights, will not suspect the flight of the fleet, who in the mean time may convey themselves away, and leave only the pinnaces behind them.

5. If a fleet will deceive an enemy of a less force, that is so far to windward, that they cannot fetch them, they may do it with counterfeit flags, and working like merchants ships; and for a bait, may appoint part of a fleet to chace another stern, and the chaser to wear the enemies colours.

The ships must shoot, but miss one another; which they to windward spying, will come home in hope to have a part of the booty, and so be brought into the wake of the fleet, and entrapped.

6. This stratagem will serve as well for a road, to cause in the like manner one ship to chace another, as though she that is chased, laboured to recover the road: and a flag seeming to be a friend, may embolden them to go forth to the rescue of her, and so fall into the laps of the enemy.

7. People are not so easily deceived with counterfeit flags, as they have been; for the often practice of such stratagems, makes men more cautious: we were wont to make it a common custom, after we had taken a *Spanish* carvel, to cloth our men with the others garments, and to send them into the harbours of *Spain* to be informed of the state of their shipping.

8. In 1587. and the first time I went to sea as captain, I had two pinnaces, and one *Spanish* frigate with me: the frigate took a *Portuguese*, and after was robbed herself by a *French* ship of war: out of necessity this frigate was forced into the harbour of *Setuval* in *Portugal*, and the people seeing her *Portuguese* built, and the men attir'd in the habits of the *Portuguese* they had formerly taken, and having a *Portuguese* aboard with them, that came out of *England*, and whom they trusted, they were supply'd with what they wanted from the shore, and departed without suspicion.

9. One night I came into the road of *Cezimbra*, pretending to be a *Flemming* bound to *Setuval* to lade salt, and desired a pilot; under which colour I deceived the pilot, and divers other boats and barks that came aboard me, by whom I understood the state of the fleet at *Lisbon*, ready to set to sea in pursuit of me. I could recite many stratagems of this kind.

10. If a fleet intend an attempt upon an harbour, where a strong fort may impeach their entrance, by example of *Lisbon*, and the castle of *St. Julian's*, the stratagem is to set two or three old vessels on fire, fitted with all manner of necessaries to make a smoke, and to run them ashore under the castle, that the gunners may not see a ship, much less have an aim at them, and so they may pass without danger.

11. What stratagems may be used against such ships as are entred a harbour, and how to prevent it, I have expressed in the second book, where I treated of the last expedition at *Cadiz*, in 1625.

And because I have named *Lisbon*, I will set down a stratagem I had in mind after my imprisonment there.

12. Both many years before and after I was prisoner in *Lisbon*, the *Hollanders* had a free trade into all parts of *Spain*, which I took advantage of in this stratagem following: I devised that twenty *Holland* ships freighted with merchandize, under the colour of merchants, should repair to *Lisbon*, and that every ship should have a number of men secretly hid in them; and when they came to anchor at *Belem*, which they generally do, and are viewed by the king's officers, these men should not appear; and after their discharge from *Belem*, I had order'd that every ship should ride as near the king's palace at *Lisbon*, as conveniently they could; and that in the night when there was no suspicion of them, and the galleons had no more men on board than the ship-keepers, the *Hollanders* should sheer aboard, possess, and burn them; for they were sure to find no resistance: after this was done, there was no danger of their coming out; for it is an ordinary thing for ships to pass *Belem* in despite of the castle.

13. If a ship fall into company of a fleet at night, it is necessary to have a sudden and a ready answer; as also two or three of the nation to speak as they shall be directed; as for example, and as you shall read in my last voyage in the queen's time, how in the night I lighted amongst twenty four galleons of *Spain*, and being so nigh the admiral, I could not avoid her, had I been known to be an enemy, I commanded a *Spaniard* that served me to call the admiral, and tell him there was a strange ship entred amongst our fleet, which of all others he could not suspect mine, because of the warning I gave him; and in mean time I tacked from him, and so escaped in a secret manner, making no noise.

14. In the island expedition I met the *Indies* fleet, and it blowing little wind, I went off in my boat to descry them: when I perceived what they were, I made my self

self and ship known to them, urging them to pursue me; which if they had done, I had brought them into the wake of my lord of *Essex* and his fleet, from whom I departed but three hours before, where they had been taken, and the state of *Spain* utterly destroy'd.

15. It is a common use when ships are scattered, and chance to meet in the night, not knowing one another, to hail one another in a strange language, which I disapprove, as a thing dangerous; for the other being satisfied by his tongue, not to be his consort, or of his country, prepares to fight; and thus had it like to fall out with me: the *Mary-Rose* and I meeting one night, after we had lost company, one of my company hailed her in *Spanish* without my privity, whereat I was angry, and caused her to be called to in *English*, even as she was giving fire to her broad-side. It is folly in this case to counterfeit; for no good can come of it, seeing the one cannot part from the other, without knowing what they are.

16. The signs that direct a fleet in the day-time, are striking, or hoisting the top-sails, shewing their flag, or shooting their ordnance; by shewing lights in the night, many times I have known when a ship hath lighted in company of an enemy, that by chance she has made the very same sign given by the general, by which means she has escaped; and in the like manner ships have been taken by the same fortune: therefore there cannot be a better stratagem than when a ship shall make a sign, to be answered by the same; and the contrary ship begin a new sign, before the other make any; for it is not to be doubted, but the other ship will answer every sign that shall be made by her that makes the first.

17. I once knew an unlikely stratagem take good effect, in this manner; After three days chase of a rich ship, my lord of *Cumberland* was out of hopes of fetching her up, she was so far to windward, only a pinnace kept her company, and in the night carry'd a light for us to follow. I advised my lord to fire a culverin at her, though we could not fetch her at twice, saying, that perhaps she would yield to the countenance of the ship, that would not for shame do it to a pinnace. This seemed ridiculous; and I had much a-do to persuade my lord; yet upon my importunity he yielded to it, and the ship, as I foretold, submitted her self.

18. A ship that is chased and desires to shew fear, thinking to draw her that chases into her clutches, must counterfeit and work as though she were distressed, and lie like a wreck into the sea; she must cast dregs, hogheads, and other things overboard, to

hinder her way; she must shew no more men than an ordinary gang, and haul in her ordnance, and shut her ports, that her forces be not discerned, till the other ship come within command of her.

19. As ships ought to observe their admiral's working in the night, by his light, so ought they to be more careful when they are nigh a shore, lest they mistake a light on land, instead of their admiral, by example of 1597. when the *Adelantado* drew down his fleet from *Lisbon* to the *Groynes*, and coming nigh the north cape, the greatest part of the fleet steered with a light on the shore, mistaking their admiral, and cast away thirty six ships and five thousand men.

20. As lights direct one another at sea, so are they directors of ships from the shore, as I can instance in many cases, some of which I have already declared; to which I refer you.

21. Lights kept in the night off of a headland, as the *Lizard*, or such capes, are a safeguard to ships in their passage, that are in view of them. Lights likewise give warning of an enemy that is upon a coast, and for that use beacons were invented.

22. Ships that are appointed for more readiness of a service to ride in the sound of *Plimouth*, in the range of *Dartmouth*, or other roads upon our coast, and in the night are suddenly taken with a storm at south, which is a deadly wind in those roads, if lights be placed on either of the sides of the point of *Catwater* or *Dartmouth*, will be guided into the harbour, be it never so dark.

23. In a barred harbour, such as *Dunkirk*, that is continually beleaguered by an enemy, by keeping lights from half-tide to half-tide, he that enters, is directed how the tide increases or decreases, and thereby how to avoid the enemy.

24. Ships riding at the *Downs*, and fearing a surprize from an enemy in the night, with a southerly wind, by placing two boats with lights on either side of the brake, will direct one how to pass the channel, and avoid the sands; which being done, and the lights taken away, the ships that pursue them will run upon their death if they follow.

25. The cutting down mills, trees, taking away buoys, or other marks that direct the pilot, is a great safety to any port, or place, such as the *Thames*, where many sands must be passed.

26. The placing of ships for the advantage of wind, is a matter of great consequence; as for example, if an invasion against *England* be intended from the southward, that wind that brings an enemy for *England*, will keep in our ships in harbour, that they cannot stir out; only one place is advantageous to us, which is

*Limehouse* near *Plimouth*; for that wind that brings an enemy from the westward or southward, will serve our ships that lie in *Limehouse* to follow them, if they pass into any part of our channel to the eastward.

27. Prospective glasses, if they were not so common, were an excellent stratagem to be used in many cases at sea, and yet it is no hard thing to deceive those that use them; for a merchant-ship that carries not above ten or twelve men, may have the shapes of men made, and seem to be one hundred afar off; they likewise may have counterfeit guns made of wood, which the glass cannot discover from iron, to the terror of the assailant. It may as well serve for a man of war to stow his men in hold till a ship come near him.

28. The best and the greatest ship in the world may be sunk by a bark of twenty tons by this stratagem, *viz.* to place a cannon in the hold of a bark with her mouth to the side of the ship the bark shall board, and then to give fire to the cannon which is stowed under water, and they shall both instantly sink; the man that shall execute this stratagem may escape in a small boat hauled on the other side of the bark.

29. Two galleons may be manned, and furnished in the manner following, and will be as great a guard and safety to a fleet of galleys as the wings of an eagle to little birds, or a castle to a ship.

The two galleons shall carry each of them one thousand men, with all kind of arms for offence and defence: there shall be placed aloft such kind of fowlers as I will invent.

Their hatches shall be made with trapdoors, and pikes placed under them, that as fast as men enter they shall fall upon the pikes so placed; all the deck shall be strew'd with round pease tallow'd, that treading upon them, no man shall be able to stand upon his feet; the ships on the outside to be stuck with tenter-hooks, that they shall take no hold to enter with their hands; and their cloaths will stick upon the tenter-hooks, that they shall not be able to enter: there shall be barricadoes, and close fights made with all advantage, and all parts of the ship be made musket-proof for the safeguard of men.

Allow by the water and without board they shall be fortify'd with packs of wooll, that no shot shall pierce them, or galleys be able to board them; every ship shall have upon his yard-arm a barrel or two of gunpowder mixed with bullets, that as the galleys shall approach the distance of the yard, the barrel of powder shall be let fall with a pulley, and matches about the bar-

rel that shall give fire upon the fall, and breaking of the barrel: in this manner will the galley be burnt, and the men slain all at one instant.

30. If galleys attend a fleet of ships, thinking to cut off some stragglers, as they did to Sir *Francis Drake*, and after to us at *Cadiz*, where they took some few vessels; in such a case, the great ships must be a guard of the outside of the fleet to the lesser ships; and if the fleet chance to anchor, to place the least and weakest vessels outermost of the fleet in the day-time, which will imbolden the galleys in the night to assail them; but when the darkness of the night shall approach, then to remove them, and in their place to cause the best and the greatest ships of the fleet to anchor where the others did, that if the galleys attempt them they shall be entertain'd to their loss.

31. If a ship will board an enemy under a castle, let him that boards bring the ship boarded betwixt him and the castle; for then dares not the castle fire for hazarding their own ship boarded.

32. Sinking of ships full of stones is an old invention, and used as well to defend one's self in a barr'd harbour, as by an enemy to keep in ships from going out: but it is to little purpose to him that possesses a harbour; for when the water is decreased, such ships sunk may be waded to, the stones taken out, and the ships burnt without hurt to themselves or harbour.

33. Booming harbours for the safeguard of ships is usual; but at each end of the boom sconces must be built to defend it. For this I refer you to my first book, which will give you more particular light.

34. One of the known dangers in a ship of great burthen, and in a great storm, that carries weighty ordnance, is the breaking loose of one of her pieces in the lower tire; for before she can be muffled, or overcome by force of men, what with the rowling of the ship from one side to the other, the piece will carry the ship side, and founder her in the sea.

35. For avoiding these perils, there is but one remedy, if it take effect, which is suddenly to heave up the hatches of the deck, that in her recoil she may find the deck open, and fall into the hold, where she shall be easily overmaster'd.

I am of opinion, if any had escap'd aboard the king of *Spain's* ships that were wreck'd, which was impossible, they would confess the breaking loose of their ordnance was the occasion of their destruction; and no marvel, for they use to carry their great ordnance upon field-carriages, which makes them the more dangerous and unserviceable, when they come to traverse them.



36. If there could be made a ball of wildfire, as I have heard some take upon them to do it, which ball should burn without quenching, then were it an easy thing to convey one of those balls secretly into a ship, and privately to hide it till the party be gone out of the ship, which then being set on fire, will not only burn the said ship, but all others near her.

37. In passing a fort in the night, it is good to make both the ship and sails black, with a care that no light be seen in her: but the way for an enemy to prevent an entrance is this, to make a fire opposite to the fort, and to lay the ordnance point blank with the fire, that when they shall see the shadow of the fire taken from them by the ship and sails, then to discharge their ordnance, and be sure to sink the ship.

38. A ship that will keep another from boarding her, she being to windward, and may board her, the remedy is, to put forth two masts at two ports, that the ship coveting to board, she shall light upon the masts, and keep her from coming near the ship.

39. It is a good stratagem to board a ship though she presently fall off again; and during the time she is on board to appoint the carpenters with their axes to cut the port-ropes of the ships boarded, that at her coming off again, when she shall begin a new fight, her pieces may serve for no purpose, because her ports will be clogged, and not able to put forth a piece of ordnance, but lie to be annoyed by the enemy.

40. A number of ships lying in an harbour dry, from half-tide to half-tide, may be thus destroy'd: As I will make a comparison betwixt *England, Flanders, and France*, where two of them have wars with one another, and the third peace with both; I will suppose that a ship of *France*, and a man in her that I will trust, freighted for *Dunkirk*, where *English* barks are forbid to go; the bark is to be laden with deals, and other dry substance apt to burn, and under her boards there must be stow'd pitch, tar, rosin, and other ingredients not to be quenched: the *Frenchman* that shall execute this stratagem, must forecast at his entrance into the harbour to seek to lie aboard the best ships, and where he may do the most hurt and spoil to the rest when his ship is on fire.

All things being thus provided, and the train sufficiently made, the *Frenchman* must watch his opportunity that his match come to the train by that time it is low water, which he may compute by hours and the length of his match; and in that time he may have his horse in readiness to carry him over the river of *Gravelin*, but nine

miles from thence, where he will be in *France*, and free from danger.

The fire thus taking, and all things order'd by these directions, as well this ship as all others in the harbour will be destroy'd; for the water going from the ships, and they lying dry, they are not able to remove or stir, or have water to quench the fire till the flood rise; so that in the mean time they will be utterly destroy'd.

41. If ships desire to surprize a fort or sconce that would give them landing if it were taken, it is thus to be done: To imbarck the men secretly in their boats in the night, and without noise of their oars, and then to row as near the fort as they can, without being discover'd; and in the mean time to cause a small boat, not near the place where the others are, to shew a light or two with a match, as though it were accidentally done and not willingly, and to leave the boat adrift; which the fort perceiving, will presently let fly her ordnance against her; which the other boats seeing, they may suddenly land and enter the sconce by their scaling-ladders, before their ordnance can be laden again.

42. If an enemy should land in boats upon a shore, that the surge of the sea should be very inconvenient for the landing of themselves and arms, there is a kind of bridge to be made with boards, that may be laid over from the side of the boat to the land, and avoid the surge; and instead of wading, their men may go in ranks ashore without wetting.

43. If an army shall land where the shore is all beachy, and full of little stones, like *Deal* and the castles thereabouts, where they may bring ordnance to impeach the enemy's landing, I would advise, that the artillery shoot not so much at their boats, but suffer them to come on shore, and then to let fly at the stones or hills piled up on purpose in heaps, that will scatter and disperse, as not a man will be left alive.

44. A ship that desires to be boarded, and to be enter'd by his enemy, may use this stratagem; To haul in all his ordnance, to shut his ports, to hide his men, to strike his sails, and make all the signs of yielding; which the enemy perceiving, will be embolden'd to board him; and whilst they are suffer'd to enter and pillage, the defendants may suddenly rise, subdue and master them.

45. If an enemy sink ships to keep in others from going out, such ships sunk may be suddenly weigh'd, if the assailant quit the harbour, without any great detriment to the ship sunk; therefore they are to make choice of the shallowest place to sink their

their ships, and neareſt to deep water, where their own ſhips may ride and float, that with their ordnance you may keep the ſhip ſunk, that no boat, or other help, can weigh them; themſelves ſhall be kept from any danger of firing; for no enemy can approach them, ſo long as the ſhips ſunk lie there.

46. There is a ſtratagem as old as the invention of ſhips, though the common people attribute it to the wit of Sir *Francis Drake*, at *Cadiz*, in 1588. againſt the *Spaniards*, to fill old ſhips and veſſels with pitch, tar, train-oil, brimſtone, reeds, dry wood, and to join three or four of theſe ſhips together in the night, and then turn them a-drift with the tide, where the enemy's fleet rides, and either burn or diſperſe them, after they are thus put from their anchorage.

47. At my being at ſea in my youth, 1585. two ſmall ſhips of us accompanied together, we met a ſtrong and obſtinate ſhip of *Holland*, who refuſed to ſtrike his flag, or to ſhew his cocket: this ſhip had in her an *Engliſh* pilot, by whom we expoſtulated with the *Hollander*, without any ſemblance of boarding her; but being very nigh her our maſter cry'd to the man at helm, with great anger, to port the helm, leſt we ſhould come foul of her; but privately he gave charge to the helmsmen, to put his helm a-ſtar-board, when he ſhould have put it port, and cry'd with great vehemency to the *Engliſh* pilot to bear up; for our ſhip came againſt her helm, and willed them to get fenders, and have ſpikes to fend off, leſt we ſhould come foul of her: the *Hollanders* thought all we ſaid was true, and every one of them put their helping hand to keep off our ſhip with fenders and oars, not apprehending our intention; and when we ſaw their people thus employ'd, and not to have time to take arms, we ſuddenly boarded, entered, and took her by this ſtratagem.

48. As the greateſt advantage of a fleet of ſhips of war is to have intelligence of their enemy when they come upon their coaſt, ſo the way to obtain it, arriving upon the coaſt of *Spain*, is to let a ſhip's boat lie under the iſland of *Burlings*, where they ſhall not fail, by break of day in the morning, to take fiſhermen that will be able to inform them of the ſtate of things aſhore: it may as well ſerve for any other place, if they ſee fair weather in hand.

My lord of *Cumberland*, arriving upon the coaſt of *Spain*, was fore diſtreſſed for intelligence; and a ſudden calm ariſing, two or three leagues from us we ſpied two carvels; whereupon I put myſelf into the ſhip's boat, and rowed to them; one of them I took, the other might have eſcaped, but by this ſtratagem I prevented her: I took

out two or three of her men, and manned her with my own company, and immediately without delay ſent her to meet with her confort, who made ſigns that they might think her diſcharged, and rowed my boat on board the ſhip that there ſhould be no ſuſpicion; ſo that the carvel was thus taken by deceit, which otherwiſe might have eſcaped; but when I had ſo much as I deſired for intelligence at their hands, I diſmiſſed them, and after found, I being taken myſelf, that they reported well of my good uſage of them.

50. I had a ſtratagem upon prince cardinal *Albert*, when he was viceroy of *Portugal*, but was prevented by his ſudden going into the low countries; and thus it was: When I was priſoner in the galleys, about the 10th of *September*, the cardinal paſſed down to a pleaſant houſe called *Cintra*, with a ſmall train, where he ſpent his time in devotion. Uſually he repaired thither at the ſame time of the year, and to the ſame purpoſe; which I well obſerved, and meant, if ever God gave me liberty, to have ſurprized him in this manner: To have confortd with two or three ſhips of war, which would no way have hindered the hope of their voyage, to have anchored before *Cintra*, that is ſeated upon a hill, and not above two miles from the ſea. I meant in the middle of the night, when there was no noiſe or ſuſpicion, to have landed an hundred men with firelocks, who might, without difficulty, have ſurprized him and his houſe, and have brought him to the place, where the boats were commanded to attend.

51. When I was removed from the galleys to the caſtle of *Lisbon*, I had another ſtratagem on foot; but was prevented by a traiterous *Engliſhman*, whom I was forced to uſe as an interpreter, before I had the language.

There was in priſon with me a *Portugueſe* gentleman, called *Emanuel Fernandes*, who had been in *England* ſervant to Don *Antonio*, their pretended king: this man was much devoted to the ſervice of the queen; and I obſerved that a pilot of the king's uſually employ'd to meet the *Indies* fleet with letters of advice, to direct them the courſe they were to come home in, reſorted to him. I ſo dealt with ſeignior *Emanuel*, that upon conſiderations agreed on betwixt us, if my deſigns ſhould prove ſucceſſful, he did really undertake to prevail with the ſaid pilot, inſtead of carrying the letters of advice to their own fleet, to carry them to the queen, that ſo the treaſure might by this intelligence be intercepted; for I had ſo contrived it, had I not been prevented by the ſaid treacherous *Engliſhman*, that the queen ſhould have notice of it, by letters I wrote to the lord *Burleigh*, lord high treaſurer, and to the lord admiral

admiral, and convey'd the said letters in the soles of my boy's shoes; but by the false dealing of the *Englishman* aforesaid, my plot was discovered, and my boy carried into *Bellem* castle, three leagues from thence; so that when I thought my servant had been embarked for *England*, two months after I had intelligence by an *Englishman*, gunner of the said castle, that he was still there prisoner, and had famished, if he had not taken pity of him.

The first thing the *Spaniards* did, after the imprisoning my boy, was, to rip and search his shoes, according to the intelligence given them; but though it was unfortunate to me, yet in another kind it fell out luckily; for a great rain falling that morning he was carry'd away, it so moisten'd his shoes and letters, that they were mouldered, and could not be read, as the boy after confess'd at my arrival in *England*; so that they could have no witnesses, but the *Englishman* who was my accuser.

Since I am upon this project, though it may seem tedious to the reader, yet will I set down the danger that beset the gentleman and me, upon the occasion aforesaid: This seignior *Fernandez* had been prisoner in the castle of *Lisbon* almost seven years; and his offence for coming out of *England* with letters and messages to *Don Antonio's* friends in *Portugal*; yet such was the power of money, that by means thereof he was to receive liberty, had it not been for this treason discovered by this vile *Englishman*.

A day was appointed for his sentence of death, which with weeping eyes he acquainted me with, like a friend in a desperate case. I advis'd him, if all other hopes failed, to seek some stratagem to escape prison, with promise of my endeavour to help him, and to be short, for delay could do no good. He provided himself of a rope and a cudgel to put betwixt the battlements of the castle wall, thinking when we went to our necessary business, which was once a day, with a guard of two soldiers, to have taken an opportunity to have slipped down the wall, and to have run into a church, thereby seated, to take sanctuary.

But after four days trial made at our coming to the wall, as I have said, we found it impossible to put this stratagem in execution in the day time; and I considered withal, the danger that might have befallen me, if he had escaped; therefore we thought upon another course, though it was more improbable, and which was as followeth: over the little room he lay in, was a chamber where soldiers had been lodged, that a week before were embarked in a fleet to sea; the chamber was not so high, but that by the help of a high stool, which he had in his

room, the top of it could be reached to: here we put our helping hands, one of us still working, till we cut with our knives a trap door out of the boards above-head, that a man might creep through it; and finding by the almanack when the nights would grow dark, we contrived all things against that time, to perform our devised plot; and by means of his son, who had access to him, he provided of a sword-scabbard, and a stick to serve instead of a rapier, that he might seem to be a soldier as he passed the centinels, he carried his rope and cudgel, aforesaid, and a bag with a little bread and wine for his sustenance, under his cloak; and thus he went armed out of the chamber above, as a soldier, with a wooden sword by his side.

He passed the *Corps de Guard* and five centinels before he came to the wall, pretending he went for his necessary occasions, which they never mistrusted, seeing he carried the sign of a soldier, which was a stick in his scabbard. At his arrival at the wall, without fear, or any sense of age, he slipped down by the rope, and happily escaped.

Not long after, the round passing about the castle, espy'd his rope, cloak, cudgel, and wooden sword, which assured them of the escape of some prisoner; whereupon the drum beat, the alarm was taken, and the soldiers furiously came running into my chamber, as they did to others where prisoners lay, with their swords drawn, and threatening death. I confess I looked here to have ended my life; but that pass'd, and two soldiers were left to guard me till morning.

They finding it was my neighbour seignior *Emanuel Fernandez* that was escaped, the hue-and-cry went through the city and country, and command for his apprehension; but such was his fortune, that he escaped the fury of the tumult, and I was left at stake to be baited for the offence. In the morning early, I appeared before the judge, as the only delinquent, the rest of the prisoners casting it upon me; all agreeing, I was the likeliest to know of his escape, because of our continual conversation, but little knowing the true cause of our often meeting.

But neither threats, ill usage, or promise of liberty, could make me confess any thing to the prejudice of either of us. I was so urged and threatened, that I was forced to use for my defence this argument, (*viz.*) That I was no subject to the king of *Spain*, but to a prince his enemy; that I was taken in war; and therefore required the benefit of that law for my redemption: I came not willingly to their country to learn their laws, or to bring in others to breed inno-

vation: I was subject at that time to the universal law of honour and arms, by which I challenged the privilege of a gentleman for my freedom; and for the accident now in question, I deny'd that I had any knowledge thereof, or that I was any way privy to it; and that the unlikeliness of it should plead for me, and be a sufficient testimony of my innocency: I told them, they knew I was so unskilful in their language, that I could not devise a practice or plot with a man I understood not; and that my imprisonment had kept me from acquaintance, either in city or country, to contrive any evil against their state; and if it argued guilt to be accused, no man could prove innocent; and therefore I desired them that they would rather pity my misery, than accuse me unjustly: I intreated them to consider that I was a prisoner among my enemies, destitute of all relief, and in a place where no friend could resort to me; for I bemoan'd my wants, there being a restraint of intercourse and trade betwixt the two nations.

But what I could say did little prevail; for they aggravated my supposed offence with cruelty of threats; insomuch that I was forc'd to plead in another stile, and let them know, that by the law of arms they could prove nothing against me that deserved punishment; the privilege of which law I challenged, as being taken in war, and continued prisoner for my redemption; during which time, it was lawful for me to seek my own liberty, and to neglect no occasion, wherein I might do service to my prince and country; and therefore what they accused me of, could not be deemed an offence.

I told them moreover, though I used this but as an argument, yet their barbarous usage of me deserved a greater revenge than I had ability to perform; whereas, if they had treated me with courtesy, I had been more bound to them, than if they had reposed trust in me. I ended with this defiance, That they should be wary what violence they offer'd me; for I had friends in *England*, and was of a nation that both could and would sufficiently revenge what cruelty soever they should use towards me.

These reasons begot a more calm respect from them; and another while they used persuasive arguments, with promise of liberty and reward, making me believe the gentleman was taken, and confessed so much as they accused me of: but I well knew their words were but wind; for that they would never have warned me, if they could have justify'd their allegations by a personal testimony: yet I confess the thoughts of one thing much terrify'd me; which was a letter I gave to seignior *Fernandez* at his de-

parture, which might have been produced against me; the letter was in his behalf, to all *English* captains at sea, for his friendly entertainment, his design being to put himself into a fisherboat, to look out at sea for a man of war to transport him for *England*.

After a tedious examination of four hours, when they saw their subtleties could work nothing out of me, presumption being but an unequal judge, they returned me to prison, with charge to be more strictly looked to: and after neglected no cunning means to entrap me, as I have more largely express'd in another discourse, at the request of some of my friends.

I will again return to the gentleman seignior *Fernandez*, who no doubt was as much perplexed out of prison, as I who could not fly from the danger of my enemies, in whose custody I remained. All hue-and-cries; searches, promises of reward, and other devised policies, not prevailing for the apprehending of the poor gentleman, he liv'd in a disguised obscure manner, till time furnished him an opportunity to embark in a fisherboat, to make use of my letters aforesaid, where he spent fourteen days at sea, and failing of meeting any ship at sea, and wearied with sea-sickness, he was forced to return to shore, where he lived some time among poor shepherds and herdsmen, till he thought his disguise and disfiguring himself, had so altered him that he could not be known.

Now thinking his new-formed shape would secure him from being discovered; and hoping that the long time since his escape might make his fact to be worn out of memory, he was embolden'd, in a beggar's habit, to try the charity of good people; and chancing to repair to a gentleman's house for alms, it happen'd that the said gentleman and he, had been fellow-prisoners in the castle of *Lisbon*, who by his tongue, and other semblances and marks, discover'd who he was; and immediately called a servant, which gave a suspicion to seignior *Fernandez*, that it was to give warning to the officers to apprehend him; but to prevent what his heart misgave him, he suddenly ran into the church there by, and took sanctuary for his defence.

This accident being so strange, and falling upon a man the whole kingdom had an eye upon, because of his former escape, the prince cardinal was immediately with speed advertised of it at *Lisbon*, being above one hundred and twenty miles from thence. It was my fortune before this happen'd, to be released out of my imprisonment, which I account a happiness, that thereby I was brought into no danger.

The cardinal being advertised, as you have heard, of seignior *Fernandez's* taking sanc-

sanctuary, with all speed caused him to be taken out of the church, and brought to his old accustomed lodging in the castle of *Lisbon*, where not long after the law proceeded against him, and he received the doom of death due to such an offence; but not without grief and sorrow to many of the beholders, as well *Spaniards* as *Portuguese*; for indeed he was a man of much goodness and great charity, and to his ability obliged many a soldier in the garrison.

The day appointed for his execution being come, and having received all the rights and ceremonies of a *Christian*, he was brought out of prison, with a winding-sheet lapped bandelier-fashion about him; and many soldiers and others to behold him, to give him their last adieu; and for a farewell for himself, he took occasion to speak to the soldiers there present, in this manner; he told them, How much he had loved them; and that to some of them he had given testimony of it, in his better fortunes, which he knew they would thankfully acknowledge; and in lieu of all his former courtesies, and kindnesses, he desired them to requite him with one now at parting, as the last request he should ever make; which was, For one of them with speed to repair to the house of the *Misericordia*, an office of great reputation and trust concerning religion and charity, and his desire was, That they might be informed of the injury done to God, themselves, and the holy church, by taking per force a penitent sinner out of sanctuary: a thing so unjust and unsufferable, that it behoved them to take notice of it.

This little hope gave great content to the soldiers, and happy was he that could make greatest haste to the house of the *Misericordia*, to make relation of the strange accident that had happened. The gentlemen of the *Misericordia* weighing the dishonour and injustice done their house, delay'd no time, but posted on horseback to the place of execution, where they found poor seignior *Fernandez* ready to recommend his spirit to God, and the hangman as ready to perform his office; but such was his fortune, by the speed and courage of the gentlemen, that they redeemed him from present death, and returned him to the place from whence he came; for as they were loth to lose their privileges, so they were as unwilling to offend their king.

The strangeness of this accident may put a man in mind of an old *English* proverb, that *Marriage and hanging goes by destiny*.

52. In the forty eighth stratagem, I have shewed how necessary it is to get intelligence of an enemy, and how to obtain it, as you shall there find, for that part of *Spain* and *Portugal* I spoke of; so likewise you

shall read in my first book, how to compass intelligence of the south part of *Spain*, as namely *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, by example of a precedent of my own: as also in the same book, I refer you to the way how to procure intelligence at the *Tercera* islands; to which book I refer you for brevity sake.

53. When the queen lived, she was inclined to hearken to a project of mine, for the taking and inhabiting the castle *De la Mina* in *Guinea*, many years possessed by the *Portuguese*; and for defence whereof they rely'd most upon the number of negroes, in whose country *Mina* is seated; and to indear the negroes the more to them, and to exasperate them against the enemies, they make them believe, That what war soever they have with others, is in their defence against those who seek to slay them, and to possess their country. But to meet with this project, I devised to carry a number of negroes out of *England*, that could speak their language, and were able to report the difference betwixt the *Portuguese* usage of them and ours; for in *Portugal* they sell their negroes in open market for slaves, as we do horses, which they know we do not; by which means we shall be able to disappoint their designs.

54. The marquis of *Santa Cruz*, when he took the *Tercera* islands, made offer of landing at the city of *Angra*, and finding the island had drawn all their forces together to withstand him in that place, he instantly winded his galleys about, and rowed five leagues to the eastward of it, and landed where he found no resistance. The same did my lord of *Effex* at the island of *St. Michael*, who pointed to land at *Porto de Gallo*, but left that resolution, and went with his boats to *Villa Franca*, which he took easily, all their forces being drawn to *Porto de Gallo*.

55. Naming *Villa Franca*, I will say something that happened to me eighteen years before this I have spoken of, rather to make you laugh, than for seriousness sake, and yet I place it amongst the stratagems; and thus it was: You must know that notwithstanding the wars with *England* and *Spain*, some of those islands connived at the trade betwixt them and the *English* ships, which went under the name and colour of *Scots*: it chanced that one evening I came into the road of *Villa Franca*, but without the command of the castle, attending the darkness of the night to go aboard an *English* ship there riding, to avoid suspicion of being seen from the shore: upon my boarding of the same ship, I was carried by the master to banquet in his cabin; his company that were on board espied a boat rowing from the shore, and brought us news of it, being in the cabin, which

which put the master to a deadly fear; for my being discover'd would have proved his undoing. I comforted him, and willed him to follow my directions, and he should escape any such danger. I desired him to go out of the cabin, and leave me there, and to say what I should bid him. The boat came to the ship-side, and told the master, That the strange ship that rid not far from him was an *English* rover, and willed him to be careful; for that night 'twas thought he would surprize her: I willed the master to tell them, That he suspected as much, and stood upon his guard, but feared that the ship had descry'd their boat coming off from the shore, and it was likely they would intercept their boat in their return to land, and adviced them, as they loved their liberty, to hasten away. This put the *Portuguese* in such a fear, that suddenly, without speaking one word more, they put off their boat without entering into the ship; which made us laugh heartily, and was a good addition to our supper.

56. In the year 1600. there was a complaint made by the inhabitants of the cinque ports, that the *French* incroached upon their fishing at sea, a rocky ground five leagues south from *Rye*; which place serves all *London* with choice fish: whereupon I was sent down to redress this disorder, and made use of the stratagem following; because, if I had discovered my self with my ship, the *French* would have fled: therefore I mann'd the *English* fisherboats with my own company, and gave them order, as I should pass by with my own ship, and shoot a piece of ordnance, to board the *French* and possess them; which they did, and by means thereof the cinque-ports enjoy'd their ancient privilege.

57. The stratagem of taking the pirates in *Ireland*, Anno 1614, is amply set down in my second book, to which I refer you, wishing you to peruse it; for it will give you pleasure and content in reading it, and a light withal how to use the same stratagem, if there be occasion.

58. A ship, and by consequence he that is employ'd in her, may be deceived by touching the needle in the manner following: a ship going her course to the port she is bound, may be deceived in touching the north point south with a loadstone, which is contrary to the place she is going to, and may, perhaps, carry her upon some shoals and rocks, that in a right course there is no cause to fear.

59. In the voyage with my lord of *Lindsey*, in 1635, we sent over a fisherboat to *Brest*, *Baltour* bay, and other places upon that coast, to spy and view the state of the *French* and *Holland* fleets, which we knew

was thither retired, but with such instructions as the *French* could not suspect it; and that they might see we had great confidence in them, and to receive advertisement from them, we pretended the cause of our employing the boat was to look out certain *Turkish* pirates, who we supposed hover'd upon their coast. The boat returned with a true relation, as we after found which; gave us good satisfaction.

60. Not long after my being taken by the galleys in *Spain*, if I had not been by accident prevented, I had escaped the imprisonment I endured for many months in the said galleys at *Cascais* and *Lisbon*, which was most grievous to me, by this stratagem following. Whilst we rid in the harbour of *Lisbon*, there came aboard the galley where I was, a master of a ship of *Holland*, who spake good *English*: this man came from *Brazil*; for at that time the *Portuguese* freighted *Holland* ships in most of their long voyages, though they pretended to be in war one with another. This *Hollander* pitying my case, wished me privately aboard his ship, promising to conceal and hide me that I should not be found; besides his word, I took his protestation and vow to perform his promise, if I could devise to escape out of the galley. I verily believe the man meant truly and honestly; for he confirmed it by many protestations at other times and days. Whereupon I was not idle to devise an escape, and writ a letter with my own hand, directed to the rest of my company, then prisoners with me, declaring that my captivity was so hard, that I could no longer endure it, but chose rather to end my life by drowning my self, and wished them to signify so much to my friends in *England*: and one night, when all things were whist and silent in the galley, I intended secretly to escape, by stealing secretly into the ladder of the galley at the tide of ebb, and to convey my self into the water without noise, or moving either hand or foot, till I was brought clear off the galley's view, and then to swim on board the *Holland* ship, who lay just in the wake of the galley, and in view of me: this I might easily have done without suspicion, or notice taken of me; but unluckily it fell out, that the day before I meant to put this stratagem in execution, the galleys were commanded upon some service to sea; so that before our return to *Lisbon* the *Holland* ship was gone a new voyage, and I frustrated of my hopes.

As commonly one discourse begets another, so this accident puts me in mind of some others that befel me, or that I was witness to, in the time of my imprisonment, which

which I have been desired by my friends to put in writing, that there may remain a remembrance of them after my death : and what I insert is neither as project or stratagem, but only a plain narration of what I have heard and seen.

Riding in the port of *Lisbon*, (for there is no other place for the galleys to reside upon all that coast,) there was discover'd to the general a practice by an *Italian* to draw the *forçado's*, or galley-slaves, to take arms and rise against the soldiers, and possess themselves of the galley and men where he was, in order to recover their liberties, and dispose of the galley as they pleas'd. This treason being examined, the *Italian* confess'd it ; and for his reward his two arms were made fast to the stern of two galleys, and his two legs to two others, and he quarter'd by the rowing of the galleys. If this *Italian* had had the wit of an *Italian*, he would not thus have play'd the fool ; for he might well know where so many men were to be trusted, as are in a galley, it could not choose but be reveal'd. The slaves consisting of so many nations, and the trespasses being so different, some condemn'd for life, others for years more or less, and any one revealing it, was able to purchase his own liberty and reward. Or suppose they had prevail'd in their design, the rest of the galleys had been able to have master'd them ; or if not, they had been destitute of victuals to sustain them, not having so much as water ; for every second day they used to fetch their water from the shore : or though all those I have spoken of had been no impediment to them, yet there had been no place to have fled to but some port of *France*, no nearer than seven or eight hundred miles.

The next accident I take notice of, was in the same port of *Lisbon*, and in the same galleys that happen'd to the captain of the vice-admiral, a churlish and ill-natured man, as my self had some occasion to say ; for after my being taken prisoner, I found him discourteous and uncivil towards me ; for without leave, knowledge, or warning to my page that serv'd me, nor permission to see me, he sent him to the farthest part of all *Spain*, intending he should never return more into his country ; though after he failed of his purpose, by means of an *Englishman* that lived thereabouts, whither he was sent, and understanding this accident of his coming thither, and that he had been my servant, whose name and friends he well knew, though he was unacquainted with me ; yet at my request by letter, when I heard of the condition of the man, most courteously he procur'd means, and obtain'd liberty and licence for my servant to return to me, and of his own accord furnished him

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with money sufficient for his journey, who arrived safely, and continued to do me service during the time of my imprisonment ; whom after I prefer'd to be a captain in the service against the *Spaniards*.

This ill-condition'd *Spanish* captain after tasted a just reward for his ill disposition ; for as it is the use of captains of galleys to make choice of some *Moor* or *Turk* to attend them in their cabins, as people more neat and officious than christians, and more obsequious and desirous to please than their own natural countrymen : out of those supposed reasons the captain made choice of one of them, a *Turk* in religion, and most consonant to his humour, as he conceived. It happen'd, that as this *Moor* exceeded in diligence, so it increased his credit and trust with his captain ; who sending him one day ashore to wash his linnen, (for some of the *Moors* exceed women in that employ,) he carried with him one hundred crowns of his captain's, which he had in charge among other moneys and plate ; this *Moor* was incited by company to play, where he made a short end of his hundred crowns.

After some time his theft was discover'd to his captain ; who was so enraged, having no means to recover his loss, that he returned him to his oar and painful bank in the galley, where he remained in his former slavery. But this was not revenge sufficient to please the captain, but he ordered him a cruel punishment usually inflicted upon offenders, laying them flat over the *Cruzea*, where he was unmercifully beaten with a bull's pizzle till he was made unable either to stand or sit, or to do the king's work ; nor was the captain willing he should do him service till time had overcome his passion ; but then finding a great want of his attendance, he once more delivered him out of his chains, and accepted of his service as he was wont, and so he pass'd some time as he was formerly wont to do.

But the *Moor* carried a cakker'd revengeful heart against his captain, which he craftily dissembled, not giving any kind of suspicion till he had found a way and opportunity to compass it ; which was in this manner :

At his usual hour in the morning he repaired to get up his captain, but provided all things for his purpose ; as first, a cross-bar to keep down the scuttle ; and being below, he provided himself with powder, fire, match, and other necessaries, which he placed in the outward room, and suddenly rush'd into his captain's cabin with a naked dagger in his hand, to whom he gave eight stabs, making account he had slain him ; but hearing a noise without, he left the captain, and betook himself to a gentleman who cry'd out for help ; which

6 A

being

being done, he put the match to the train he had prepared, and set the galley on fire, which he leaped into and burnt himself to ashes; but by the help of the other galleys that rid near her, they suddenly boarded her, saved all her slaves, and the captain, who was not quite dead; but what else was in her was all consumed. A rare example of revenge in a heathen to a christian! and though the captain and he differed in religion, yet not much in condition and perverse natures.

This captain was after question'd as the author of the destruction of the king's galley, by the ill usage of this slave; and had it not been for the general's sake, Don *Francisco de Coloma*, brother to Don *Carlo Coloma*, who was after ambassador into *England* in king *James* and king *Charles's* time, he had deeply smarted for it.

Misfortunes thus left not the captain, but still attended him, as a thing fatal to his ill nature; for after the recovery of his hurts, and restitution of his command, he was once more rifled and robbed by another *Moor* he entertained in the place of his other servant: This *Moor* was enticed by two *Spanish* soldiers to commit the theft; and after it was done, he and the soldiers pass'd over the river without interruption, and kept company together till they arrived upon a spacious great hill, where the soldiers, finding a good opportunity for their purpose, slew the *Moor*, possessed the money, and escaped themselves; so that they were never heard more of whilst I was in *Spain*.

I will leave speaking of the galleys whilst I was in them: And now I was removed to the castle of *Lisbon*, where I remained prisoner a good space; but I will end with the hap of two of the said galleys, which my eyes beheld, and my self was made an actor of revenge upon them.

In my first book, and in the year 1591. you will find how I became prisoner to the *Spaniards*, and what passed in the fight betwixt six galleys and the ship I was taken in: It happened that about eleven years after, and as you shall likewise find in the same book, that Sir *Richard Leweson* and my self had the surprizing a carrack and two galleys, which we burnt in the road of *Zeimbra*; which two galleys were of the number aforesaid that took me, and one of them the very same wherein I was kept prisoner. This act of revenge to some men would have been very pleasing.

In *September*, which is commonly the month for the galleys to make their retreat into harbour for winter, I and eight of my company were strongly guarded to the castle of *Lisbon*, there to lie imprisoned till a course was taken for our redemption out of

*England*, with an allowance of 7 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$  per diem for each man for his maintenance, a proportion that did not equal 3 d. per diem according to the rate of things in *England*. All the time of our imprisonment we were close confined, only in the morning we resorted to the castle walls, with a guard of soldiers, to perform our necessary occasions.

It happened on *St. Andrew's* day following, being upon the walls, at our usual hour, we beheld a great galleon of the king's turning up the river in her fighting sails, being sumptuously deck'd with ancients, streamers and pendants, with all other ornaments, to shew her bravery. She let fly all her ordnance in a triumphant manner for the taking Sir *Richard Greenville* in the *Revenge* at the island of *Flores*, she being one of that fleet, and the first voyage she ever made.

I confess it was one of the greatest and sorrowfullest fights that ever my eyes beheld, to see the cause the *Spaniards* had to boast, and no remedy in me to revenge it but in my tongue, but hoped for future comfort, and took such *Englishmen* as were in my company to witness what I should say to them: I offered to give them one for ten, if I did live, to be at the taking and possessing of that triumphant galleon, that carry'd the name of that day, viz. *St. Andrew*. This passed but as an idle desire I had to see my word come to effect.

In the year 1596, which was five years after, ensued our *Cadiz* expedition, under the command of the earl of *Essex* and the lord admiral, where, amongst fifty-eight ships there destroyed and burnt, the said *St. Andrew* was, and she and another only, saved from the fire: but this was nothing to my prognosticating wager, for I could assume no more to my self than any other man of that fleet; but it happened, as I was captain of the *Repulse* under my lord of *Essex*, I was appointed in the *Repulse's* boat and some others to save the galleons that were run ashore, whose names were these, *St. Matthew*, *St. Andrew*, *St. Philip*, and *St. Thomas*: the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew* we preserved, though it was with some peril to us: the *St. Philip* and *St. Thomas* set themselves on fire, even as I was ready to enter the *St. Philip*: and I may boldly say, what I spake in the castle of *Lisbon* was now punctually performed; and for the truth hereof, it is not long since one of the *Englishmen* lived, and till his death vouched my words to be true.

These four strange accidents I have inserted in this fifth book, at the entreaty of friends that have heard me often relate them; but



but what shall follow was upon the impertunity of some of my children, who considered how young I was when I put my self into the wars at sea, how long I have since lived, and been acquainted with the affairs of the world, which amounts to fifty-six years, and the often dangers and perils I have gone through by the sword, by famine, by danger of the sea, and other casualties, as all men are subject to that run such desperate adventures. These reasons prevail'd with me, that I yielded to their request: and though in my first book I have had occasion to speak of most of them, when I treated of the voyages that then happened, and wherein there was occasion to mention them, yet, for brevity sake, I have added them to the latter part of this fifth book, that they may suddenly be turned to, and found referring to the year and book where you shall find them; and I will make my beginning in the year 1585. when the wars with *Spain* began, and wherein I was an actor at the taking of the first *Spanish* prize.

In that voyage of 1585. and in the month of *September*, I was a youth of sixteen years of age, and so inclined to see the world abroad, that without the knowledge of father or mother I put my self into an action by sea, where there was in company of us two small ships, fitted for men of war, that authorized us by commission to seize upon the subjects of the king of *Spain*. We departed from the *Isle of Wight*, to which place we returned with our dear-bought prize: she was a *Biscainer* of three hundred tons, well mann'd, sufficiently furnished, and bravely defended; she came from *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland*, which at our first arrival upon the coast of *Spain* we met with, and refusing to yield to us, we suddenly boarded, and by consent of all our men entered her; but the waves of the sea growing high, we were forced to ungrapple, and to leave our men fighting on board her from eight of the clock in the evening till eight in the morning. The manner how, and all other circumstances, you will find in my second book.

My next escape was in the year 1587. and the first voyage I went captain to sea; where, abiding longer than I expected, I was put to great extremity of victuals, and coming from the *Canary* island towards *England*, I fell in with *Ireland*, and put into *Dingle* bay, where the same morning I was taken with a most dangerous and tempestuous storm, being upon a lee-shore, and the weather as dark and foggy as though it were night. The master found himself so nigh the land, that within an hour we could not escape shipwreck upon the devouring cliffs, if God did not send us the sight of a

little rock called the *Crow*, half a mile from the entrance of the port of *Dingle*: every man was as careful to look for this rock as for life, for our safety consisted in the sight of it; and by great fortune it was spy'd by a *Brazilian Indian* that serv'd me; which rock was a perfect director to our master, and in half an hour he harbour'd us in the port of *Dingle*. This put me in remembrance of what I had formerly read, that there was nothing more pleasant to a man than to see himself at the point of death by shipwreck at sea, and suddenly to escape the danger by arriving in a safe harbour.

Here I received two lives from God, the one was the escape of shipwreck, as you have heard; the other of famine; for when we were safely arrived, we took view of our bread, for other victuals we had none, and we had divided to every man his proportion of bread a fortnight before, and found but six bisket cakes amongst our whole fifty men and more.

Reckoning according to years, which course I mean to follow, my next shall be in 1589, when I served as vice-admiral to the earl of *Cumberland* to the islands *Azores*, and coming to *Flores*, the most westernmost island of the seven, my lord had notice of certain *Spanish* ships riding in the road of *Fayal*, ready to take the first wind for *Spain*, to the southward of which island my lord had passed eight days before. Upon this news my lord hastened thither, both to be resolved of the truth thereof, as also to make an attempt upon those ships, if he should see a possibility to prevail: but arriving two days after towards the evening, a calm took him, and he was not able to reach within two leagues of the road where the ships lay; whereupon there was a council called, as in all cases of difficulty there is, wherein my self and captain *Lister* very earnestly proposed, and by entreaty prevailed, that we might have leave in that calm to row to the road to take a view of the ships, that against morning we might see where to take advantage by surprizing them.

As we drew near the *Spaniards* the dashing of our oars was heard, which gave the alarm to the admiral, who only wore the flag, and instantly let fly her ordnance, without any certain aim, more than the dashing of the oars directed. Captain *Lister* and I seeing our selves missed by the shot, were so much encouraged, that, rather like mad than discreet men, we ran aboard the admiral with an intent suddenly to surprize her; but finding so great an inequality in our forces, (for the ship carry'd sixteen pieces of ordnance, was well mann'd and provided,) we were glad to put off our boat and retire, repenting of our bargain.

As we were rowing towards our fleet again, which all this while beheld the fight, and heard the report of the ships ordnance, we met another boat of greater burthen sent to succour us; and after joyful salutation, we resolved and concluded with both our boats to return again, and give a second assault upon the admiral, telling them the state and condition of the ship, which did so encourage both the one and the other, that by consent it was agreed they should board her in the quarter, and we in the hause, and we to cut her cable, and let her drive off to sea. All this was successfully acted, and the ship miraculously enjoy'd, notwithstanding the continual shot from the castle, to which the ship was moored; and which castle a month after we took, and afforded us forty five pieces of ordnance, mounted and dismounted. I must not forget, that as we entered the admiral on the one side, the *Spaniards* leap'd over-board on the other, except the captain, *John de Palma*, and one more.

Now having got an unexpected victory, rather by valour than reason, we towed out the ship with our two boats, the castle not sparing to fire at us, till we brought her without reach of the shot, and then we agreed to take out all our men, except one at helm to govern her, and struck down her sails; and we ourselves returned in our boats once more into the road, where we possessed ourselves of the other seven ships left behind, three of which were of reasonable good value. For the other particulars of this voyage I refer to my first book, where you shall find this relation following;

Coming into the island of *St. Mary's*, we found an unwelcome entertainment, though indeed we meant the people no farther hurt than to be supplied with water from the island; but it seems they were better prepared to forbid us than we expected; for at our offering to land with two hundred and odd men, two parts of them were suddenly hurt and slain; in which encounter my sword, which I placed naked, and the point upward, was shot asunder, and the bullet pass'd through the belly of my doublet, which, if it had not been for my sword, had done the like through my belly.

My lord being thus frustrated of all hope of water and other refreshment, was to seek the help of another island to give him relief; for now drink began to be scarce, and it was likely it would put us, to desperate want; and standing from hence to the island of *St. George*, by labour and pains, and by the help of my swimming, my ship drawing little water to come near the shore, I procured so much water as kept us after from perishing.

Passing by the other side of the island of

*St. George*, we might see a goodly spout, issuing out of the great cliff, which gave my lord a great comfort to be supply'd with drink by that spout. Now began our people to be in despair of any help of drink, either by sea or island, and by one consent, in a tumultuous manner, cry'd out to return to *England*, which much troubled my lord, who hoped for a better fortunate voyage before his return; and finding no man so heartily true to him as myself, he bewail'd himself and his case to me, how much it importuned him to try what water that spout would yield him, conjuring me, by the love I bore him, that I would put myself into a small boat that rowed with three oars, one man to steer, and myself to sit, and to venture ashore, to shew the possibility that spout would yield him for water, promising that he and his ship should stand within a mile of the land, to take me up at my return. I performed it as honestly as he reposed trust in me, though by an accident it had almost cost me my life.

In my way, rowing towards the shore, a great whale was spy'd from my lord's ship, lying with her back upon the water asleep, as is the nature of whales before storms. This whale was supposed to be a rock, and dangerous for the ship to bear further into land; and thereupon tacked about to sea leaving me to the mercy of the waves. I had no sooner set my foot ashore, but it began to be dark with night and fog, to blow, rain, thunder, and lighten, in the cruellest manner that I have seen. There was no way for me to escape death, but to put myself to the mercy of the sea; neither could I have any great hope of help or life; for the ship was out of sight, and only appeared a light upon the shrouds to direct me. This sudden alteration of weather, gave me lost in the opinion of my lord and all his company.

All this while the ship lay upon the lee; and seeing it was in vain to expect my return, the master called with the whistle to fill the sails; but the master-gunner being a countryman of mine, and one that loved me well, (an approved man of skill and art, by the place he held as master-gunner in the pope's admiral galley in the victorious battle of *Lepanto*, in which battle he was sore wounded,) he humbly besought my lord to forbear filling the sails one hour longer, which my lord willingly granted; and in that interim of time, one of the company in the ship spy'd a flash of fire, and heard the report of a musket; for all our powder was spent to that very last shot, by means whereof we were preserved, rather by miracle than any human art. And to make it the more strange, we were no sooner risen from our seats, and ropes in our

our hands to enter the ship, but the boat immediately sunk. And though I have passed many dangers, as will appear by this treatise, yet I account this the greatest of all, and none of the rest to be parallel'd with it.

What miseries we endured in the latter end of the voyage, you shall find in the first book, where I have occasion to speak of our return, and the extremity we endured, which was more terrible than besel any ship in the eighteen years war; for laying aside the continual expectation of death by shipwreck, and the daily mortality of our men, I will speak of our famine, that exceeded all men and ships I have known in the course of my life: for sixteen days together we never tasted drop of drink, either beer, wine, or water; and though we had plenty of beef and pork of a year's salting, yet did we forbear eating it, for making us the drier. Many drunk salt water, and those that did died suddenly, and the last word they usually spake was *drink, drink, drink*: and I dare boldly say, that of five hundred men that were in that ship seven years before, at this day there is not a man alive but myself, and one more.

The first port we arrived at was the *Vintury* in *Ireland*, five miles by land from *Dingle* church, that gave me succour in my former voyage, as I have said: here we made shift to furnish my lord with a horse, and myself and some other gentlemen followed a-foot. At our coming to the town, we found my lord in the house of the sovereign, which is the title of mayor, telling his strange adventures, and his dangerous escape of famishing with want of drink. The sovereign told his lordship, That about two years before, a gentleman came into their port, in as great a want of meat, as his lordship was of drink; and even as he was repeating my name I entered the door, who my lord took by the hand in their presence, and said, *Lupus est in fabula*. They beheld me with admiration, and told my lord, that it was my fortune that brought him thither; and held themselves happy that it was in their power to give him relief, as they had done the like to me before.

In the year 1590. my former sickness, you have heard, I took in *Ireland*, kept me from employment, or thought of the sea; but now finding my body as willing as my mind to follow my begun courses, this year of 1591. I attended my lord of *Cumberland* once more, and had the command of the *Garland* under him, wherein he went admiral. I can say little of any consequence of this voyage that concerned myself, but my imprisonment by six *Spanish* galleys,

near the island of *Burlings*, which I have had cause to remember, by some accidents you shall read in my succeeding voyage.

My constancy has been such, though to my cost, where I have made profession of love, that no small unkindness could suddenly divert me, when my affection has been grounded upon true friendship, as may appear by my faithfulness to the lord I now speak of, for whom I have often ventured my life, with little fruit of his favour. And I must confess it was some blemish to my judgment; for notwithstanding many admonitions, I was incredulous, still relying upon him, and followed him in this voyage of 1593. in the place I had formerly held, captain of the *Golden Lyon*, a ship of the queen's, wherein he served as admiral. What I shall say here relates to some principal accidents that concern myself in this voyage; and for the rest, I refer you to my first book, where I have shewed, that my lord being severed from his fleet about the *Burlings*, met with twelve hulks of the east country, that after some fight, yielded, and delivered him a large quantity of powder, which they carried for the king of *Spain's* service; my lord took the one half of those ships, and stood off to sea; the other half he left with me to examine and rummage. Towards night my lord cast off those of his company, whom I spy'd making towards me and their consorts, which seemed strange to me, that was left guarded but by a small ship, and his long boat with fifty men. I feared, as after I found true, that those ships had a resolution to board and take me; but to prevent their design, I leaped into my lord's boat on one side of the ship, as they boarded her on the other; in which leap I received a hurt in my leg, which to this day, in 1641. I have found a great decay to my whole body.

In the said book you will find, that from hence my lord stood to the island of *Cuervo*, where he was taken with a most melancholly sickness, and in despair of health or life, unless he might be relieved with the milk of a cow; and I seeing in what condition he was, and valuing his life as much as my own, I ventured my person to get him a cow from the hands of the enemy, either by fair or foul mean; and put myself into the hands of the *Portuguese* of the island of *Cuervo*; first shewing a flag of truce, I told them the cause of my coming to them, was out of love; and that we had a great fleet at sea thereabouts: and lest any of them should do them injury, I brought them a protection from our general, the earl of *Cumberland*, to defend them, if any violence should be offered them; and so insinuated to them, as they afforded

courteous entertainment; and because night drew on, they desired me to stay all night: I willingly imbraced their offer, and by my liberal carriage, obtained what I required; and the day following carry'd a cow and other refreshments aboard, which gave plenty of milk till my lord's arrival in *England*. This cow, in all likelihood, was the saving of my lord's life for the present; which he acknowledged.

In the ensuing year 1595. I was married; but before my marriage, I engaged myself by promise to attend my lord of *Cumberland*, as his vice-admiral, to sea. Himself went in the *Malice Scourge*, a brave ship, built by himself; his vice-admiral *Allsider*, a goodly ship of the merchants.

Now I began to have a proof of what before I had just cause to suspect, viz. the inconstant friendship of my lord of *Cumberland*; for though I was drawn by his sweet words and promises to this voyage, and that we had proceeded upon it so far as *Plimouth*, and from thence eight or nine leagues to sea, towards the coast of *Spain*, without imparting, or making shew of any thing to me, he suddenly quitted the voyage, and appointed another captain for his own ship, which did so much discontent me for the present, that I abandoned the company of his ship at sea, and betook myself to my own adventure: This bred an after-quarrel betwixt my lord and me; and it was a long time before we were reconciled.

My voyage produced no danger of famine or sword, as other voyages had done. The worst enemy I found were storms, which were such as forced me to cut my main-mast by the board, and compelled me to bear for *England*. After I had weathered the coast of *Spain*, the storm held on so outrageous, and of such long continuance, that I was driven to *Spain* before the sea, betwixt the *Groyne* in *Gallicia*, and *Blavet* in *Britany*, which port the *Spaniards* at that time possessed. The sea was so grown, and the waves so mighty, that they raked me fore and aft, for want of a main-mast to keep up the ship; so that I expected for many days together nothing but foundering in the sea; but at last it pleased God to send me to *Plimouth*, where I found the people much distracted, upon the news brought them of the arrival of four *Spanish* galleys, from *Blavet* to *Penzance* in *Cornwall*, which village they took and sacked. These four galleys could not chuse but pass me that night in a calm unseen. Sir *Francis Drake* was now at *Plimouth*, ready bound with his fleet to the *West Indies*, in which voyage he died. Upon the news of these galleys, he instantly put to

sea, and myself with him; and arriving at *Penzance*, we found the *Spaniards* were gone, and the poor spoil not worth their labour they found in the town.

The next offensive voyage by us, was to *Cadiz*, in 1596. under the command of the earl of *Effex*, and my lord admiral, whereof I had formerly occasion to say something, when I made mention of burning of fifty eight sail of ships, and the taking the *St. Andrew*. The principal and dangerouest thing that happened to me in that voyage, was the accident following:

My lord of *Effex* having made way through the town, at length came to the spacious market-place, where he found the greatest and sharpest resistance from the houses thereabouts, that forely flanked him, which way soever he passed or looked, and one house more than the rest seemed most dangerous; whereupon I desired my lord to spare me fifty old soldiers of the *Low Countries*, to give an assault upon that house, which his lordship granted, and I performed, and took it. In that conflict I was shot with a musket-bullet through my scarf, and breeches; and the handle and pummel of my sword shot from my side, without any further hurt. As I stooped for my handle, and pummel of my sword, Sir *John Winkfield* was next to me a horseback, who had received a hurt in his thigh a little before; and as he was asking me how I did, (for it seems he feared I was forely wounded by my stooping,) he was shot with a bullet in the head, and suddenly fell down dead; and these were the last words that ever he spoke. What more concerns this voyage in general, you will find in the first book: but by the way, this I note, that as the sword is the death of many a man, so it hath been twice the preserver of my life, the one at the island of *St. Mary's*, in 1589. the other now at *Cadiz*, in 1596.

The island expedition succeeded this to *Cadiz*, in 1597. equal with it both in greatness, goodness, and the person of the man that commanded it. In this expedition I was captain of the *Rainbow* of the queen's, which ship had a special cause to be remembered, by meeting the *Indies* fleet in the manner following.

My lord of *Effex* had intelligence from the island of *Graciosa*, where he had some men ashore, of certain ships descry'd off to sea. The night drawing on, his lordship divided his fleet into three squadrons, and myself being the next ship to him, he commanded me to stand away south that night; and if I spy'd any ships, to make signs, with shooting my ordnance, and making false fires, promising to send  
twelve

twelve ships after me. I instantly departed as I was directed, not doubting but the twelve ships would follow me. It blew little wind, and within less than four hours, about twelve a-clock in the night, I fell in company of a fleet consisting of twenty five sail; whereupon I put my self into my boat, the calm continuing, resolving, though it were with my apparent peril, to discover what ships they were, before I would presume to make signs, as I was directed: approaching near the fleet, I hailed them in *Spanish*, who answered me in the same language; and by their course, I knew them to be the *Indies* fleet; and having as much as I desired for the present, I returned on board the *Rainbow*, and afterwards performed so much as I was commanded, in shooting of my ordnance, and making false fires: I accompanied the fleet that night, and the next day, till I brought them into the road of *Angra*, in the island of *Tercera*; and what after befel me and them, I refer to my first book: all the hurt that happened to me in this desperate attempt of mine, besides the hazard of shot from the castles and fleet, my ship being shot through fifteen times, was foul words and railing language, with some shot from the *Spaniards* when I first hailed them in my boat.

In our return this voyage, I was in more peril, hazard, and danger, than any other ship of our fleet; for the *Rainbow* is known to be the most rowling and laboursome ship in *England*, especially in the condition I was in, having spent my foremast in a mighty storm, and mountainous seas, where we hourly expected death.

My next voyage, of all others, was most fortunate to me, wherein the carrack was taken, and the best service performed by so few ships, that happened in all the queen's time; and yet it gives the least occasion to speak of, of many others wherein I was an actor, save only that I must assume to my self to be the chief persuader of the attempt upon her. The resolution taken by consent of council, how to assail her, was in this manner, That Sir *Richard Lewson* and I should anchor in the road of *Zezimbra*, near the carrack and their other forces, the rest of our ships to ply up and down, and not to anchor: Sir *Richard*, according to his directions, made his first entrance into the road; but by the negligence of his master, much to his dislike, he failed in anchoring, and the current taking him on the bow, carried him out of the road; so that it was the next day before he could recover in again: my self having the rear, followed my admiral according to former order, till I had brought one broad-side against the galleys, and my other against the carrack and castle, which done I let fall my anchor; and for

what followed upon it, I refer you to my first book.

This voyage ending, the next was the last undertaken by the queen; for not long after she died: and this was the last voyage against *Spain*; for by her death the war ceased, and as I was a soldier and a youth at the beginning thereof, so I was general of this last fleet; and for the particulars of this voyage, more than these few following; I will refer you to the first book aforesaid.

I departed *England* the last of *August*, 1601. and arrived at the rock the 26th of *September*, where a light was espy'd by my ship in the night, which after we found to be a fleet of twenty four galleons, which I had intelligence of the day before by the carvel I sent into the shore to discover. I drew so nigh those ships, that I could not escape them if they had taken me to be an enemy; and finding my self thus intangled, I commanded a *Spaniard*, who served me, and held a dagger at his heart, upon his life to speak as I directed him, which was as follows; To call to them with a loud voice, that there was a strange ship fallen amongst their fleet, and that he knew not what she was; I conceived, that having warning from me of it, of all others she could not suspect I was she; and in the mean time, in a secret manner, I tacked about, and quitted my self of them, without further suspicion; but the *Adventure* (for only she and the *Whelp* was left with me) could not carry her self so dissemblingly, but she was in danger of being taken, and escaped with the loss of some men.

The next morning they chased the *Adventure* and *Whelp*, for I was gotten a little way to head of them; three of the best sailing ships of the *Spaniards* drew near the *Whelp*; and perceiving, that unless I acted some desperate thing she would be taken, I struck my top-sail, though it was much against the will of my master and company, crying out, that I would lose my self and ship; I stood with the *Whelp* and *Adventure*, and caused them to stand their course to sea, whilst I staid for the three *Spanish* ships, with whom I would make trial of their force, and hoped to make them have little list to pursue them. The *Spanish* admiral was astern with his whole fleet, who perceiving my working, and the little respect I had to his three ships aforesaid, tacked in with the shore, and shot off a warning-piece for his fleet, and the three ships to follow him.

Being thus luckily acquitted from the *Spanish* fleet, wherein Don *Diego de Borachero* was general, I returned to the south cape, with the *Whelp* only; for I had lost company of the *Adventure* two nights before: and arriving there the one and twentieth of

*October*,

October, I gave chase to a galleon of the fleet of *Ciriago*, who recovered under the castle of cape *Sagre*, before I could fetch her up; but though I knew the force of the castle, by sundry shot I had formerly received from it, and was acquainted with the excellency of the gunner, who was an *Englishman* of my acquaintance, in the fight of their general *Ciriago* and his squadron, I attempted, and had taken her, had it not been for the cowardliness of the helmsman, that sheard off as I was ready to board her; the fight was not long but dangerous, with the loss of twelve men on my side, and in no less danger of sinking; who was so beaten from the castle, that it was a spectacle to behold my ship, for she might be crept through from side to side. For all other circumstances I refer to my first book. And so I take my leave of the queen's reign.

This voyage ended, and I returned for *England*: at *Christmas* after, there was a consultation by the lords of her majesty's council, to prepare two fleets, the one for the spring, the other to second the first in *June* following; Sir *Richard Lewson* to command the former, and my self the latter, in some action against *Spain*; but though this was a pretence to satisfy the world, yet the lords had another intent in it; for at that time they knew the queen being sick, there was much danger of her death, because of her years, which made them the more willing to hasten this fleet to sea, to have it in a readiness to defend the kingdom, if the queen's death should happen.

And though Sir *Richard Lewson*, nominated general of this fleet, was not beloved by the lords, fearing his ambition; yet they continued him in his place and command: and whereas I was appointed to second him in a latter fleet, yet the lords by importunity persuaded me to accompany him as vice-admiral in this voyage, they having a greater trust and confidence in me than in him; and therefore I was ordered to command the *Merebonour*, a better ship than that Sir *Richard* served in.

All this was done out of policy; and few of the lords, but such as were intimate friends to the king knew of it; for their intention was, if the queen died, and king *James* had found any opposition, that my lord *Thomas Howard*, afterwards earl of *Suffolk*, should take charge of this fleet, and come aboard me, and I to go into Sir *Richard's* ship, and Sir *Richard's* authority to cease. But, God be thanked, there was no

cause for this wife forecast of the lords; for his majesty repaired peaceably to *London*, and we returned safely to *Chatbam*, after we had seen the king's entertainment by his well-affected subjects.

Two years after, and in the year 1604. I was nominated admiral of the *Narrow Seas*, without suit or seeking of mine: and the first service I was appointed to, was the transportation of the constable of *Castille*, who was to repair hither, to conclude a peace betwixt the two crowns, that had been eighteen years at variance. What happened in that employment, as also in the twelve years after, that I served as admiral, I refer you to my second book throughout: only I must say, that as in former employments, I went not without danger of life by enemies, by the peril of sea, and famine, as I have formerly repeated; in this employment I was to fear neither foe nor famine, the king having a general peace with all princes and nations, and my employment being not so far from home, but that in few days I might be supplied with victuals; though I account another danger greater than the rest, which consisted in accidents of the sea, and extremity of storms and foul weather, in the south and straitest part of *England*, where commonly I was to lie at anchor; and upon any occasion being put from my anchors, the narrowness of the seas betwixt land and land, would put me into imminent danger of shipwreck and life: the shoals and sands were no less dangerous, considering, that very often we were to be attended with fogs and mists; besides, that we were sometimes put to double a lee-shore, which, if we failed of, we presently perished.

But God so provided for me, that I escaped all these hazards; and at last found malice had a greater power and force against me, than by sea I found, or otherwise I deserved: for when I thought to have left my painful labours at sea, and to have enjoy'd tranquility of peace on land, envy, unluckily and unlooked for, seized upon my innocency: for being thought a bosom friend to a nobleman I much honoured, who at that time began to be aimed at, and was afterwards born down by a court-faction, though I was one of the meanest in number, and unworthy to have knowledge taken of me, as a man of no eminency; yet considering how my estate then stood by my engagements, and otherwise, I found fortune more averfed to me than most of the others had felt by malicious practices.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*

T O T H E  
K I N G ' s M o s t E x c e l l e n t M A J E S T Y .

**T**H E dedication of books is antient, usual, and useful ; though in these later times they are turned into apologies, expressing the unworthiness of the author, and the insufficiency of the matter, modesty carrying with it so shame-faced a countenance against the law of history ; for *Cicero* saith, *That eloquence is not so much to be respected in writing, as not to publish falsehoods, and disseminate truths.*

For me to follow the rules of apology, will betoken a great weakness and imbecillity, and look as if I had obtained victory over an art I am ignorant in ; for eloquence belongs to scholars, who by their witty pleading, will drive every circumstance to a consequence.

Silence were better in my case than speech, were it not I am to speak of things I know, of things needful and necessary, both for your sacred majesty, and your whole commonwealth.

I need not reiterate what the ensuing narration reports ; I only and humbly crave leave of your majesty, that my defects may not blemish the worthiness of the work now in hand, no more than a homely painter that takes upon him to draw a fair face : the benefit of my labour will be to your majesty an immortal honour and glory ; to your kingdoms an everlasting praise and profit ; and to your faithful subjects an essential proof of happiness.

All in one must applaud your sacred majesty for achieving this work, which never any of your famous progenitors had in agitation ; so that we may truly judge, That from the beginning (by God's providence) it was reserved for king *CHARLES* to make your name, your fame, your fortune, and all other blessings, equal with your progenitors *Charles's*, and especially *Charlemain*, from whom your majesty is lineally descended : and as that *Charles* worthily deserved the title of *Great*, so I doubt not but the same God will pour the same greatness and happiness upon your majesty, that our hemisphere may enjoy as great a renown by you, as other lands have done by those from whom you are descended.

If your majesty would have been sway'd by pretended policy of state, by solicitation, by affection, or other enticements, and left the common utility of your subjects, this work had lain still like a child in his swaddling-clouts, without care of nursing it ; but your majesty's virtue appears herein, and we, your loyal subjects, cannot honour you enough for it. And if we should speak all the truth of your sacred majesty, it were to say far more than we do of your most excellent virtue and goodness : but for want of parts otherwise to express me, my office shall be, to pray for your majesty's long life, for your victorious achievements, the confusion of your enemies, and that all men's hearts may be as sensible of your majesty's good, as the meanest of your subjects,

W. M.

T O

## ALL GENTLEMEN, and others, that have read my former Discourse concerning the SEA.

I Have annexed this relation of *fishing* to my former treatises of the SEA, which you have done me the honour to peruse: I confess it had been more proper to have inserted it at the beginning of these books, than at the latter end, for these reasons: the dedication would have required it, as being humbly presented to his majesty's protection; the subject would have challenged it, as a ground and foundation of the increase of ships, navigation, and traffick; *England* would have stood upon it in right, as a work of greatest consequence, goodness, and renown, due only to her.

But being thus in a consultation and dilemma with myself what to do, I considered and concluded, That the first view of a book either gave delight, or disgust, to the judicious reader; and if I should have presented you with this rude and laborious fishing, as the first dish of my banquet, it would have disheartened your farther proceedings; and therefore I chose rather to please your palate and taste with strange occurrences and accidents at sea, as most delicate meats to keep you from surfeiting.

There are two parts to be plaid in the scope of my discourse; the one by you, which is the speculative part, out of curiosity to inform yourselves of the secrets and practice of the sea, not intending to make profession or profit by it; but like to a student in *Alchymy*, who covets to know the depth of the art, but not to spend a penny in the practice, or design to compass it.

The second part is only proper to those that mean to make themselves apprentices to the sea and the art of navigation, to enlighten their future knowledge and understanding: but this is not attained to by ease or sloth, but by practice and pains; not by imagining and reading, but by peril, travel, and toil; not by youth and carelessness, but by years and stayedness: for though *Alexander the Great* was but twenty years of age when he began his conquest, yet none of his captains were under sixty; and though *Demosthenes* was the most famous of all philosophers for eloquence, yet at first he was but a scholar, and taught by *Plato*.

There are many things contained in the former several books, which cannot be accounted within your element; I commend therefore such things to your idle hours, as give delight and recreation to your wasteful and consuming time, when leisure admits no moment of matter to think on, like the sport of young whelps, that are to be used for pleasure, when one has nothing else to do, or for want of other company.

The reading of these discourses is not worthy the name of study; for they handle no serious thing, either of history or learning, but are to be esteemed for curiosity sake, as *Romulus* did carvers of stone, or *Caius Cesar* goldsmiths, or *Vespasian* painters.

Your wisdom knows better how to apply yourselves to the reading, and making choice and use of what is comprehended in the former discourses, than I can either advise, or instruct: And (for a farewell) I wish you as much happiness as one friend can do to another, that is, content to your mind, honour to your deserts, wealth to your will, and blessing from GOD. All happiness is comprehended in these few words, and they are made the subjects for the eloquence of tongues to amplify upon; for it is matter that makes a good orator, though I confess form adds somewhat to it.

# BOOK



## B O O K VI.

Which treats of a Fishery to be set up on the Coast of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all his Majesty's Three Kingdoms: With many other Things concerning Fish, Fishing, and Matters of that Nature.

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*A Discovery of the Hollanders Trades, and their circumventing us therein; and the Means how to reduce the Fishing into our Hands, (as of Right due to us:) With the Honour and Security that will redound to his Majesty, and all his Subjects.*

**N**O man is so void of reason as not to know, that he is born for the service of God, his prince and country; God requires it for our own good; a prince, out of duty derived from the commandment of God; and our country, by the law of nature, next to our parents: God directs us by his written word how to serve him; a prince, by his human laws how to serve and obey him; and our country, by instinct of nature how to serve and reverence her. The city of *Paris* had a saying of old, *One God, one king, one faith, and one law.* These four words are effectual, and as much as can be comprehended in our service to God, prince, and country. *Cicero* saith, *That take away the piety towards God, and you take away all conjunction of human society.*

As most men differ in feature of face, in diet, condition, and education; yet all good men agree in an unity of the service of God, prince, and country, in these several degrees and qualities; the divine with prayer, the soldier with arms, wise men with counsel, and rich men with treasure.

These being done willingly, makes a sweet harmony betwixt king and commonwealth; for that prince is happy that has young men to take pains, and old men to counsel; the one supports the other in convenient time, like fruit that all comes not together, nor ends together; some teaching, and others obeying.

The next consideration is, how to make the people subsist in the service of God, prince, and country; for there must be a

rational means to work by, seeing monarchy cannot be upheld and supported without people employ'd, and set to work in their several labours: and therefore, considering God has created man for the service of him, his prince, and country, every one is bound to apply himself to the service of them, and to prefer them before all private respects. Let me follow that maxim, as the meanest of many thousands of other subjects, and offer my mite, as the first fruit of my harvest; not like the divine, the soldier, the wife or the rich man, I speak of, but with my poor talent God has endued me with, which is my experience, that could not have been compassed, if God had not given me a longer life than many others; if with that life he had not marvellously defended me from dangers of enemy, the sword, water, and many other casualties incident to mankind.

If with those days and years he had not given me a desire and means to observe, confer, and be inquisitive, I had not been able to have presented this my desire to serve my king and country, but should have gone as naked out of the world, as I came into it.

My meaning is, not to leave our fruitful soil untill'd, or seas unfrequented, our islands unpeopled, or seek remote and strange countries disinhabited, and uncivil *Indians* untamed, where nothing appears to us but earth, wood, and water, at our first arrival; for all other hopes must depend on our labours and costly expences, on the adventure of the sea, on the honesty of undertakers;

takers; and all these at last produce nothing but tobacco, a new-invented needles weed, as too much use and custom makes it apparent.

In what I propound, I will not direct you to the eloquence of books to persuade, to the inventing wits to entice, to the affecting traveller to encourage, nor to any man that with fair words may abuse you; you shall know as much as I can say, in casting a line and hook into the sea. His majesty doth instantly challenge his own; and by example of one line and net, you may conjecture by multiplication the profit that will arise by the work. You shall be made to know, that though you be born in an island feated in the ocean, frequented with invisible fish, swimming from one shore to the other, yet your experience has not taught you the benefits and blessings arising from that fish.

I doubt not but to give you that light therein, that you shall confess your selves blinded, and be willing to blow from you the foul mist that has been an impediment to your sight; you shall be awakened from your drowsy sleep, and rouse your selves to further this best business that was ever presented to *England*, or king thereof, nay, I will be bold to say, to any state in the world.

I will not except the discovery of the *West Indies* by *Columbus*; an act of greatest renown, of greatest profit, and that has been of greatest consequence to the *Spanish* nation.

You will wonder, being born a subject of *England*, and casting your eyes upon the gainful soil of the land, that you never conceived what the sea afforded: I confess it were impossible for you to live in that ignorance, if it did not appear by the ensuing discourse, how you, your country, and especially the princes of these realms, have been abused, and the profit thereof concealed.

*The Comparison betwixt the West-India Trade and our Fishing.*

To make my comparison good betwixt the trade of the *West Indies* and our fishing, which of them yields most honour to their king, and most profit to their country, most danger and most labour to the subjects, I refer to my collected reasons.

If men consider the divine work of God, and the end of his working, it is marvellous to behold, that *America*, being a continent, and equal to all the rest of the world in bigness, should be concealed from the creation till one thousand four hundred and odd years after the birth of Christ, and not so much as

thought of, though some philosophers seem'd to rove at it.

And when it pleas'd his divine majesty to cast that blessing upon *Europe*, if we consider the time he did it, and the occasion why he did it, it will put us into admiration and acknowledgment of the power of Christ, against the opinion of *Jews* and *Turks*; for could he shew himself a more just and loving God, than in pouring upon *Christendom* such a blessing of wealth, at the time it was likely to be swallowed up by barbarous *Turks* and *Moors*, who were only withstood by the wealth of the *Indies*?

We may hope the same God has the same happiness in store for this kingdom, to add immortal glory to his majesty's goodness; or else it was impossible, in human reason, that our loving neighbours, the industrious *Hollanders*, should for so many years enjoy this fishing, who, to their everlasting honour and praise, have increased thereby more vessels for the sea than all *Europe* besides can muster.

The first discovery of the *Indies* gave no great hope of profit, till after a long, chargeable, and painful navigation, it was brought to perfection.

The fishing upon his majesty's coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, needs no discovery; the experience of our neighbours having found it out and practis'd it, since the year 1307. to their unmeasurable wealth, and our shame: and for the honour of him that first found out the secret of pickling of herrings, which was one *William Backalerw* by name, there was a famous tomb in the island of *Beverlute* erected, yet to be seen, where he was buried.

The *Indies* send forth more gold, silver, and other merchandize, than all the *European* trades besides.

The fishing produces more riches by its trade than the others do, as I will make appear when I come to compute the one with the other.

The wealth of the *Indies* is not brought from thence without great expence and hazard, considering the casualties of the sea, and the fear of enemies to intercept it.

The fishing is still in view of us and our shores, our vessels daily expected into our harbours, and others ready to ease them of their burthen, and to transport it into other countries not far remote, where they are in no danger of hurricanes, enemies, or other perils.

The insurance in going and coming from the *Indies* may be valued at a great rate, which we shall have in our fishing, there being no fear or hazard in it.

The wealth of the *Indies* being surpriz'd by an enemy, is more prejudicial to the king of *Spain* than four times that wealth would profit him, his enemy being made strong and rich, and he weakened and impoverished by it.

No such accident can prejudice us; for in the miscarrying of our fishermen, we shall only lose so many barks, salt, and nets, and no enemy enriched or fortified by it.

Inhabiting in the *Indies* causes a scarcity of natural *Spaniards*, whereby many times the king's affairs fall and perish. The fishing employs all our loose people, which abound in this kingdom, and makes them capable to serve their prince and country.

The *Indies* set to work four times more ships than all the rest of the dominions of *Spain*, and add more strength to them by sea.

The fishing will maintain twenty vessels to one of theirs, and *England* furnish them with most of the materials belonging to them; whereas in *Spain* they are brought, in time of war, with great peril and danger of the enemy.

The *Indies* are far remote from *Spain* to be supply'd, if there happen changes in any part thereof; which other nations may take notice and advantage of.

The fishing is one body, governed by a company, that no enemy can annoy; and if questions arise betwixt parties and parties, they are speedily to be determined without charge or detriment to either; whereas the others have their appeals to their courts of justice in *Spain* from the *Indies*.

The chief commodity of the *Indies* is bullion, hides, cocheneal, &c. Our only fish countervails the value of them all; and though for the present it affords no bullion in specie, yet it draws the money coined out of that bullion.

The ships that trade to the *Indies* are great in burden, and make but one return or voyage in a year; and when they are careen'd, the water in *Spain* not rising enough to ground them, it is done with far greater labour and charge than ours, that are brought on ground one tide, and hauled off another, ready for a new voyage, and never wanting freight.

But what I have observed is not to be effected with words, but works; not with talking, but doing and acting: for betwixt words and deeds there is great difference; words without effect are like water that drowns people, and does itself no good.

The property of a merchant is to have money in his purse, and credit upon the *Exchange* to advance his trade.

All men in this work must become merchants, not only for themselves, but for their prince and country; all are to reap profit by it, none pain or sorrow, but the slothful, idle, and base people, who are like drones amongst bees; for the purchase of sloth is dispraise.

There are three things necessary in every work; the man that works, the instrument to work with, and the matter. There is nothing required of the men in our work but labour and pains; the instruments to work with are ships of several kinds to be made and erected; and the matter to set on the work is money: All these concurring in one, will make it a work of fame, renown, strength, riches, and all the good that God can bestow on a nation and people. But if sluggishness and carelessness, or other mistrust of return of gain prevail, it being out of the element and breeding of gentlemen, and others that apply themselves to the profit of the land, and not the sea; and that they neglect the offer and proposition following, we are worthy to be chastened with penury and want, and unworthy to enjoy the blessing of God, which he has poured on this land above all others he has been pleased to create.

What better light can we have for this work, than from our nearest and intimatest friends the *Hollanders*? who, by their long travels, their excessive pains, their ingenious inventions, their incomparable industry, and provident care, have exceeded all other nations in their adventures and commerce, and made all the world familiar with them in traffick; whereby we may justly attribute to them, what the *Chinese* assumed to themselves, That only they have two eyes, the *Europeans* but one, and all the rest of the world none. How can this better appear than out of their labours and our fish only?

They have increased the number of vessels; they have supplied the world with food, which otherwise would have found a scarcity; they have advanced trade so abundantly, that the wealth of subjects and the customs of princes have found the benefit of it; and lastly, they have thus provided for themselves, and all people of all sorts, though they be impotent and lame, that want employment, or that are forced to seek work for their maintenance.

And because their quantity of fish is not to be vended in their own provinces, but to be dispersed in all parts of *Europe*, I will give you an account of it, as it has been carefully observed and taken out of the custom-books beyond the seas.

*The Quantity of Fish vended in other Countries.*

In four towns within the *Sound*, viz. *Koningsberg*, *Melvin*, *Stetin*, and *Dantzick*, there is vended in a year betwixt thirty and forty thousand last of herrings; which will amount to more than six hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and we none.

*Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Liefland*, *Rie*, *Regel*, the *Narpe*, and other towns within the *Sound*, take off above ten thousand last, worth one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

The *Hollanders* send into *Russia* above fifteen hundred last of herrings, sold at twenty seven thousand pounds; and we not above thirty or forty last.

*Stode*, *Hamburg*, *Bremen*, *Emden*, and upon the river *Elbe*, in fish and herrings, above six thousand last, sold at one hundred thousand pounds; and we none.

*Cleveland*, *Juliers*, up the river *Rhine*, *Frankfort*, *Cologne*, and over all *Germany*, in fish and herrings near twenty two thousand last, amounting to four hundred and forty thousand pounds; and we none.

*Gelderland*, *Artois*, *Hainbault*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the archduke's countries, eight or nine thousand last, sold at eighteen pounds the last, amounts to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and we none.

At *Roan* in *Normandy*, five hundred last of herrings, sold at ten thousand pounds; and we not one hundred last; there commonly sold for twenty, and sometimes thirty pounds a last.

Besides what they spend in *Holland*, and sell there to other nations, the value of many hundred thousand pounds.

Now having perfected the valuation of the *Hollanders* fish, caught on our seas, and vended into foreign countries, our shame will manifestly appear, that of so many thousand last of fish, and so many hundred thousand pounds in money made by them, we cannot give account of one hundred and fifty last taken and vended by us.

The *Hollanders* are no less to be commended, in the benefit they make of the return of their fish; for what commodity soever any country yields in lieu thereof, they transport in their own vessels into *Holland*, where they have a continual staple of all commodities brought out of the south, from thence sent into the north and the east countries: the like they do from out of the south into the north, their ships continually going and bringing inestimable profit, like a weaver's shuttle, he casts from one hand to another, ever in action, till his gain appear in the cloth he makes. And if we compare *Holland's* forecast with ours, the imputation of sloth and negligence will lie heaviest upon

us, like him that beats the bush for others to catch the birds: for *Russia*, with our adventure, charge, and shipwreck, was first known to us, that for many years together, afforded great profit, by the usual trade of eight or ten ships yearly.

About twenty years past, the *Hollanders* incroached upon us with two ships; and in continuance of time they brought us from ten to two or three, and themselves to sixty vessels, or more, and lately to one hundred; the chiefest gain arising out of our fish, and other *English* commodities they fetch from us.

*Newfoundland* being an ancient patrimony of *England*, and we the first discoverers thereof, immediately after the finding out of the *West Indies* by *Columbus*, has been since a great enriching to the western parts, with the fish there yearly taken; and now the *Hollanders* of late have found the way thither, and sent in the year 1629. and ever since, twelve or fourteen great ships, to buy the fish taken by his majesty's subjects; whereby his majesty does not only lose his custom in going out, if it be brought for *England*, but in the return of that commodity, which might amount to fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds, if his Highness's subjects had the carriage of it.

To say no more of the *Hollanders* greatest trade with *England*, there are three fishes of little note, and not regarded by us, which they make gain of themselves: the first is lobsters; the greatest part whereof that serves *London*, at the time of year, they bring from the furthest northern part of *England*; which is never practised by the *English*. The second is, the great quantity of oysters yearly transported by them into *Holland*, which causeth the decrease and dearth of oysters among us. The third, is lampreys, out of the river of *Thames*, which they use for bait for cod in the north seas; and this is the cause of the scarcity and dearth of this fish in *London*.

*The Hollanders Navigation into the Streights.*

But the greatest navigation of theirs, and of most importance to their state, for maintenance of ships of burthen and strength, is into the *Streights*, from the port of *Marseilles*, along the coast as far as *Venice*. In this trade I will compute but sixty ships of two hundred tons burthen each, having above as many more trading into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the south part of *France*, and all with our *English* fish, taken by his majesty's subjects; as, namely, pilchards caught in *England* and *Ireland*, baccaloes of poorjohn in *Newfoundland*, and red herrings taken and made at *Yarmouth*.

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The *Hollanders* are almost absolutely masters of these trades; what by combination made with the merchants that deal in that kind of fish, and what through the cheapness of the freight in their vessels; which makes them sell the cheaper.

During these eighteen years last past they have so increased their navigation, whereas before they had not above two ships to five of ours within the *Streights*, within the said eighteen years they are able to shew ten of theirs to one of ours, and merely by the trade of fish; for true it is, there is no commodity in the world of so great bulk and small value, or that can set so many ships of burthen to work.

As for example: A mean man may freight his ship of two hundred and fifty tons with fish, that will not cost above one thousand six hundred pounds, that forty merchants cannot do, of better and richer commodities: I speak not upon surmise, but what is approved by divers merchants; but especially one of good account, whose name I must conceal, unless authorized by him to publish it, who computed sixty ships of this sort of fish aforesaid; of the which there is not returned one penny profit into *England*, where they gather the sweet dew of their food.

The principal work I aim at, is how to undertake the *Hollanders* with our own weapons, and how to equal them with pinks, busses, and other vessels, till we be made partners with them in their fishing; not by hostility, or uncivil usage, nor to deprive them by his majesty's prerogative, which the law of nations allows us; or out of envy to their labours; or to revenge discourtesies, only we will seek to do what nature dictates, (*viz.*) to enjoy and make use of our own, by the countenance of our blessed king, that in justice gives all people their right and due.

*Holland* is enriched by the sixty ships aforesaid, which I have computed, by the carriage of red herrings, as I will after demonstrate, six hundred twenty one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, in their return out of the *Streights*.

*The Hollanders fishing in their Pinks, and Busses, that the English may not only equal, but out-do them in it; and the great Benefit it will be to the Nation demonstrated.*

There needs no repetition of any former relation; for truth has spoke it, which is so glorious of herself, that it needs no shade to give it better gloss: in what follows I will demonstrate by the particular proceedings of the *Hollanders*, in their pinks and busses, what certain gain they yearly raise

out of them; and when experience, the mother of knowledge, shall make it apparent to you, I hope you will remember what you are, and how easily you may make your selves and country by it.

I confess this fishing is a business I have taken into consideration. My lord of *Northampton*, if he were now living, was able to witness how much it was solicited and desired by me, and no less wished and desired by his lordship. I caused one *Tobias Gentleman*, a mariner by profession, but indeed a man of better parts than ordinary seamen, and much practised in their northern fishing, to dedicate a book to his lordship, which gave particular notice of the *Hollanders* proceedings in their pinks and busses, and what we shall do in the imitation of them.

But by the death of my lord, it rested unthought on by me, till the late duke of *Richmond* revived it, and importuned me once more to it. His death in the like manner made it die, till his majesty, of late, out of his princely care for the good of his loving subjects, for the renown of his kingdoms, and desire of the unity and equal benefit of his two realms of *England* and *Scotland*, took more than an ordinary care how to effect it, well becoming so blessed and benign a prince: and now I will descend to the particulars of the *Hollanders* busses, as well in their taking herrings, as cod, and ling, and the seasons of the year for both.

From the *Texel* in *Holland* to *Brafound* in *Sbetland*, an island belonging to his majesty's dominions of *Scotland*, is two hundred thirty and odd leagues, whither there resort the 22d or 23d of *June* well-nigh two thousand fishing vessels. The twenty fourth they put to sea, being prohibited till that day, and a penalty upon the breaker thereof, holding the herrings till then unseasonable to salt for their fatness.

Every one of these vessels that day directs its course to find out the shoal of herrings, like a hound that pursues the head of a deer in hunting. When they have laden their busses, which is sooner or later, as they find the shoal of herrings, they presently return home for *Holland*, and leave their herrings ashore to be there repacked, and from thence immediately to be sent into the *Sound*, where they receive them for a great dainty.

The busses having thus disburthened themselves in *Holland*, once more furnished with victuals, cask, and salt, they repair to sea to look out the shoal they had formerly left; and then finding them, and filling them once again, they do as they did before, return to *Holland*.

Nor thus ceasing, the third time they repair to the shoal, as aforesaid; and in their three fishings, computing with the least, they take to the number of one hundred lasts of herrings, which being valued at ten pound the last, which is no more than eighteen shillings a barrel, will amount to one thousand pound sterling each ship.

Many times this fishing fleet is attended with certain vessels called yawgers, which carry salt, cask, and victuals, to truck with the buffes for their herrings, and carry them directly into the *Sound*, without returning into *Holland*; for it is a matter of great consequence and gain, to bring the first herrings into the *Sound*; for there they are esteemed as partridges with us, at their first coming: but now of late years the *Hollanders* are prohibited by the state carrying or trucking away their herrings, till they first land them in *Holland*; which will prove the more commodious to us.

I will set down the rate of a buss new from the stocks, with the price of her nets, tackling, salt, victuals, cask, mens wages, and all other charges whatsoever belonging to her; and will rate the profit gained by her four months fishing, which is likely to continue twenty years, being the ordinary life of a buss.

*Imprimis.* A buss, with her furniture and tackling, will cost 500 *l.*

*Item.* One hundred lasts of cask, at 18 *s.* the last, 90 *l.*

*Item.* For salt, thirty weigh, at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* the weigh, 105 *l.*

*Item.* For beer for the men four months, a gallon a day. 16 *l.*

*Item.* For bread, after the same proportion, 12 *l.*

*Item.* For butter, cheese, billets, 20 *l.*

*Item.* For mens wages for four months 88 *l.*

*It is to be considered, that mens wages are not to be paid till the voyage be ended; so that the present disbursement is but 723 l.*

Rating the hundred last of herrings but at 1000 *l.* there is gotten clear in four months, 500 *l.* in a buss, and 165 *l.* in money; so the the total sum as appears gotten is 665 *l.*

Here plainly appears, that there is gotten six hundred and sixty five pounds in one summer; whereof, if you deduct one hundred pound for the wear of the buss, and the reparation of her nets against the next summer, yet still there remains five hundred and forty five pound, for clear gain by one buss in four months; a profit exceeding all other trades.

It is to be noted, that I have proportioned in this computation a buss of thirty five last, that is to say, seventy ton; but I consider with myself, that we will make a greater gain with a buss of twenty last, which is but forty ton, than the *Hollanders* do with their seventy ton, in respect of the nearness of our harbours to put in upon all occasions; and after the proportion of our buffes, we must lessen so much out of the seven hundred and forty five pounds, which is the first disbursement, as aforesaid.

Now having shewn you the charge of the buffes, I will shew you the charge of a pink of twenty last, that is forty ton.

A pink being built new, and all things new to her, will not cost two hundred and sixty pound, with her lines, hooks, and other fishing appurtenances.

|                                                  |            |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
|                                                  | l.         |
| <i>Imprimis.</i> A pink                          | 260        |
| <i>Item.</i> Twenty last of barrels              | 18         |
| <i>Item.</i> Five weigh of salt                  | 18         |
| <i>Item.</i> Beer, cask, bread, and petty-talley | 12         |
| <i>Item.</i> For mens wages for two months       | 20         |
|                                                  | Sum is 328 |

Twenty lasts of barrel cod, at fifteen pound the last, amounts to three hundred pounds; and deducting sixty eight pounds ten shillings, for the fitting her to sea, there remains two hundred and thirty two pounds ten shillings clear gain, by one pink in two months, rating the cod and ling, but as they are sold in *England*; but being transported, commonly they will double their price.

I present you not with toys to please children, or with shadows of untruths; for I know truth to be so noble of itself, that it makes him honourable that pronounces it; and that an honest man will rather bear witness against friendship than truth. I have made it appear with what facility the *Hollanders* go through with the golden mine of theirs, which they so term in their proclamation extant: I make proof their buffes and pinks are built to take fish; that they fill themselves thrice a summer with fish; that this fish is vended and esteemed as a precious food in all the parts of *Europe*; and that the return thereof gives them means to live and breath; without which they could not.

It is manifest that fish has brought them to a great strength both by land and sea, and fame withal, in maintaining their intestine war against so great and potent an enemy as the king of *Spain*.

And

And if all these benefits appear in them, and nothing but shame and scorn in us, let us enter into the cause thereof, and seek to amend it; let us labour to follow their example, which is better than a schoolmaster to teach us. Nothing is our bane but idleness, which ingenders ignorance, and ignorance error; all which we may be taxed with: for to a slothful man nothing is so easy, but it will prove difficult, if it be not done willingly.

There are but two things required in this work; that is to say, a will to undertake it, and money to go through with it: which being found, we will place charity to begin at home with ourselves, before we yield it to our neighbours; and then this business will appear to be effected with more benefit, more strength, more renown, more happiness, and less expence, than *Hollanders* have or can go through withal. Time is the most precious experience; and you shall find that time will cure our carelessness past, that reason could not hitherto do.

The instruments by which the *Hollanders* work, are their vessels of several kinds, as I have declared, not produced out of their own country; for it yields nothing to further it, but their own pains and labour.

Their wood, timber, and planks to build ships, they fetch out of divers other places; and yet are these no more available to undertake their fishing and navigation, than weapons are without hands to fight. Their iron, hemp, cordage, barrel-boards, bread, and malt, they are beholding for to several countries; and if at any time out of displeasure they be prohibited the transportation, they are to seek a new occupation, for the state fails.

Comparing their casualties and inconveniencies with ours, you shall discern the advantage and benefit God has given us, in respect of them; for all the materials formerly repeated, that go to their shipping, *England* yields most of them, or in little time the earth will be made to produce them in abundance; so that we shall not need to stand upon the courtesy of our neighbours, or to venture the hazard of the sea in fetching them.

Whereas all manner of people, of what degree soever in *Holland*, have commonly a share, according to their abilities, in this fishing; and that the only exception amongst ourselves, is the want of money to undertake it, you shall understand how God and nature have provided for us; for I will apparently answer the objection of money, and cast it upon the sluggishness and ill disposition of our people, who if they will take away the cause of this imputation they shall

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take away the offence due to it, and by which we are scandaliz'd.

In the objection of lack of money to set on foot this work, it would seem ridiculous to strangers that behold the wealth and glory of this kingdom, with the sumptuous buildings, the costly inside of houses, the mass of plate to deck them, the daily hospitality and number of servants to honour their masters, and their charitable alms distributed out of their superfluities. And to descend to people in particular, if they behold the bravery of apparel vainly spent, the rich and curious jewels to adorn their bodies, and the needless expences yearly wasted, they would conclude, that it were not want, but will that must be our impediment.

But leaving these observations, let me tell you, there is never a lord, knight, gentleman, or yeoman, of any account in *England*, but for want of money is able to furnish either timber, iron, wheat, malt, beef, pork, bacon, pease, butter, cheese, or home-spun cloth out of the wooll.

All which shall be taken from them at an ordinary rate, and the value allow'd them in adventure.

No man that has or hires land, but may as well plant for hemp, to make lines, nets, and cordage, seeing the laws of the kingdom command it, as any other grain; which hemp may be spun by their neighbours and tenants, and so all people set on work.

Then what need have we of money, but for the building of vessels? for you see with what ease every thing else is compassed.

Before these buffes shall direct their course to *Shetland*, to be there welcomed by the *Hollanders* in their own houses, (a thing not usual for strangers to entertain their true inhabitants,) I will first view all harbours and creeks, capable for buffes in his majesty's kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and there lay such provisions for the benefit of our fishing, that it shall appear, if the *Hollanders* have usually made a thousand pounds in four months by their three fishings, we shall be able to exceed them in the course following;

I will suppose our buffes to be at *Brafound* in *Shetland*, ready the 24th of *June* to put to sea, in pursuit and chase of the herring-shoals. I will suppose likewise, that the one and the other have fished their vessels full, the *Hollanders* ready in their way to *Holland*, there to unlade and return again, as I have said before. If you compute the distance and loss of time in the four hundred leagues, running backward and forward, then shall you find great difference of gain betwixt us and them;

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for we shall not need to run many leagues, nor perhaps not ten, till we make our repair into the next harbour, where provision shall be made of victuals, salt, and casks; and our buffes putting the herrings ashore to be repacked again, with all speed they hasten to sea in pursuit of the shoal; and the herrings being repacked, are immediately sent to the *Sound* to take their first market: all which will be effected before the *Hollanders* can be at home with their herrings; and after they are arrived in *Holland*, they are to sail very nigh as far to the *Sound*, as we shall be from *England* or *Scotland*. There needs no argument to prove the truth thereof, seeing a sea-card or plot will demonstrate it.

But I may be answer'd, that the yawgers, formerly spoken of, which truck with the buffes for herrings, will sooner be at the *Sound* than we, and make a great benefit by the first sale of their fish.

But to give you satisfaction herein, I pray you conceive our buffes are in harbour within the space of three hours after they have fished, and not subject to foul weather to hurt them. They shall have a convenience to mend and dry their nets; they are to unlade their herrings, and to lade their salt, cask, and victuals, without interruption, and to sea again speedily: whereas the yawgers must watch their time for fair weather, and a smooth sea, to exchange their salt, victuals, and cask, for herrings.

They must watch a fit time and weather to mend any defects in their nets, buffes, or in drying them: thus you may see, all casualties considered, our arrival at the *Sound* before them is more certain, for the reasons before expressed.

But there was never any business so easy, but it either found objection, or opposition, till made plain and apparent, as well to the doubters as the beholders; for most men are guided by opinion, rather than by judgment: and so fares it with this hopeful and unanswerable work, where some frame supposed reasons and impediments; but time will determine their doubts, and declare their mistakes.

There are three arguments, but rather errors, that possess people's tongues with the difficulty of our fishing; which I do not mean to convince with bare words, but with infallible truths; for I had rather offend in telling truth, than please by feigning falsehoods.

The first objection is, The taking our fish with greater charge than the *Hollanders*, by means whereof they will over-work us.

The second, That they would do no less in the vent and sale thereof, by their long practice in that trade.

The third is, The fear of fraud and deceit amongst ourselves, after the example of the *East Indies*, *Virginia*, and other companies lately erected.

Truth has no need of a ghostly father to absolve her; reason shall make her speak to the first objection in taking our fish, with the comparison of *Holland*.

You must know that the charges belonging to a fishing vessel, is her hull, tackling, nets, salt, casks, victuals, the number of men, and their wages.

Butter and cheese excepted, there is none of the rest of the materials growing in *Holland*, and most of them afforded in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; by reason whereof *England* may yield them better cheap than *Holland*.

The several victuals carried to sea, are flesh, fish, bread, beer, butter, cheese, and pease: for fish we may value at an equal rate, for it costs neither of us more than the taking; and as flesh is more chargeable than the rest, it will cost us nothing; for it is to be considered that a fat beef, in the island of *Hybrides* is sold for less than twenty shillings, the hide and tallow whereof in *England* will give ten shillings, the other ten will be raised in carrying wine, strong waters, and other commodities desired by the people of the country; for every ten shillings so employ'd doubles the adventure; as, namely, *Aqua Vitæ*, ten shillings bestowed in *England*, will yield more gain than will purchase the carcass of a cow.

For bread, beer, butter, cheese, and pease, *England* affords them better cheap than *Holland*: first, in respect they grow in *England* in greater plenty than in *Holland*: secondly, they all pay excise in *Holland*, and not in *England*: and, thirdly, no man but knows the difference of feeding betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *English*; and that a *Hollander* eats half as much again as one of our *English* at sea.

Both the one and the other carries an equal proportion of men, and their wages are upon an even rate; but herein we shall over-work them by the reasons following:

In a buss of fifteen or sixteen men, the meanest amongst the *Hollanders* has twenty shillings a month; and we will ease the charge of wages eight in sixteen in our fishing about the *Lewes*, viz. we will carry but eight men to the place of fishing, where we will hire eight more for less than half the wages we give the rest; and herein shall we save forty eight pound a year in every buss, by means whereof we shall go cheaper than the *Hollanders* nine thousand six hundred pound in our two hundred buffes. And moreover, in the wages and victuals of the men, we shall save so much as will come to sixteen hundred pound.

Whereas



Whereas it is conceived that the *Hollanders* will transport their fish at a less charge than we, it will appear otherwise; for the yawgers that attend some of their buffes, to carry their herrings to their first market, as I have said, those herrings of theirs are not repacked, but allowed more than two barrels to each last, to make up their tale; by means whereof they pay two barrels freight in every last of herrings, more than we that have the shore near us to repack them; which in two hundred buffes will amount to five thousand pounds more gain to us than to the *Hollanders*.

Whereas every fishing vessel in *Holland* contributes to twenty or thirty ships of war to defend them from the *Dunkirkers*, our peace eases us of that expence: And this shall suffice in answer to the comparison betwixt the *Hollanders* and us, in taking their fish.

And to the second point, to prove that we shall vend our fish at as easy a rate as the *Hollanders*, (thus I say,) That your experience must teach you, that in the *Sound*, where the greatest quantity of herrings is uttered, as I have before shewed, necessity will compel them to take them off; for it is not their affection to the *Hollanders* above us that will make them refuse ours to accept of theirs; and then consequently ours will be better sold, in that we shall serve the market before them, by the means and reasons aforesaid.

And if we go further from home, as to *Spain* or the *Streights*; you must understand that the *Hollanders* ships go with fewer men than ours, occasioned by the slight building and tackling of their ships, in comparison of us: and as there is twenty or forty men difference in the sailing of them, the like difference there is in the strength of them: wherefore the merchant had better, for the safety of his goods, give fifty shillings freight to us, than thirty shillings to the *Hollanders*; his goods shall be better defended against pirates by our forty men, than the others twenty.

The *English* ships will double a lee-shore, when the others will be forced in foul weather upon the rocks; the cables and anchors of the *English* will hold, when the others will be forced to come home and break; the *English* will be able to put out at sea, when the others will take in fail; the *English*, upon some accidents, may come on ground, and by their strength come off again without hurt, when the others will perish; the *English* go deep in water, which makes them wholesome in the sea, and carry the merchants goods with little loss; the *Hollanders* are labourfome and dangerous in a storm, which causes great leakage in oil, wine, and such commodities,

to the great annoyance of the merchant; yea, oftentimes more than the difference of the freight.

As the *English* go in greater security than the *Hollanders*, so shall the merchants save by not insuring the value of difference in freight; which I could compute and prove, but that it is too tedious.

And moreover, if the *English* have the absolute carriage of the fish taken by them, and the laws of the realm warrant it, our ships shall never want imployment, nor have cause to look out for freights; by reason whereof a ship of two hundred tons may go cheaper by two hundred pounds than usually they have done. And thus much for our foreign trades.

Now let us return to the vending our fish in the kingdoms of *England* and *Wales*.

If the late proclamation for the observing of fish days be duly kept, it will be a means to vend our fish, and incourage others to venture in the fishing; so as there be a prohibition, as there is in *Holland*, that no fish be brought into any of his majesty's kingdoms but by his own subjects.

Neither will it seem a thing unreasonable to enjoin every yeoman and farmer within the kingdom to take a barrel of fish for their own spending, considering they save the value thereof in other victuals; and that it is no more than the fishermen will do to them, to take off their wheat, malt, butter and cheese, for their food at sea. The farmer by this means shall never be unprovided of fish; to observe the days commanded by his majesty, without sending to the market, as otherwise they would be compelled to do.

The farmer will find by experience that it is as cheap a food as any other they can feed upon, and gives a better delight to the taste, considering the several ways in dressing it.

The labouring man who works with the farmer takes of him his butter and cheese; for every poor man's case is not to keep a cow; and such labourers will be as willing to take fish from the farmer as any other victuals, if he be willing to spare it.

There are few farmers but will spend the value of a barrel of fish yearly; and he that does so shall save twenty in the hundred by buying the quantity of a barrel together, rather than by retail.

And because the country shall be better served with fish and other commodities than they have been, we will make several staples of salt, coals, and other merchandize desired by the country, where boats may have passage up the rivers not used heretofore;

as namely, *Middlesex*, part of *Hertfordshire*, *Surrey*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Oxfordshire*, may be served by the river of *Thames*.

*Essex* may serve itself, part of *Hertfordshire*, and part of *Suffolk*.

*Norfolk* will serve *Cambridgeshire*, part of *Suffolk*, *Bedfordshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and a staple there made will serve *Warwickshire*; for from thence go their empty carts to fetch coals, which may furnish the shire with little charge.

*Lincolnshire* will furnish itself, *Nottinghamshire*, part of *Rutlandshire*, and *Derbyshire* by the *Trent*; *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, will furnish themselves by the east and west sea.

We will leap over the land to the westward, as *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, which will furnish themselves, part of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, and the north part of *Wales*.

That side of the sea will furnish *Wales* till you come to *Severn*.

The north side thereof will furnish *Pembrokeshire*, *Carmarthenshire*, *Glamorganshire*, and *Monmouthshire*, and the south part thereof will serve the north side of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and *Somerset*; and up the river of *Severn* will serve *Gloucestershire*, *Herefordshire*, part of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Wiltshire*.

The south sea of *England* will furnish *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Hampshire*, and part of *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, and part of *Surrey*.

Thus is *England* and *Wales* compassed, and a consideration to be had for the meetest place to erect our staples, to utter the commodities brought them, and to receive from them.

If at any time corn fails the countries, we will hereafter supply them at a reasonable rate with our trade to *Dantzick* with herrings: if plenty make it warrantable to transport by the statute, we will take it off from them, so as they shall have no just cause to complain either of dearth or abundance.

We will provide that no rogues or vagabonds shall be to them annoyance, or the poor of the parish charge them; for all such people shall be set to work by us: then will the contributions to the house of correction cease, which will be a more ease to the parishioners, than the value of many a barrel of herrings which they shall take off from us.

When our staples shall be erected in the country as aforesaid, out of them we will furnish every parish within the kingdom with hemp by weight, to set the people to work, and to receive it again by weight, allowing every one such a rate for their

work, that they may live well thereby. No girl nor boy of nine years of age, no man nor woman, how lame of their legs, for ever, but shall be able to get their livings; no person so blind, but may live without alms.

For besides the making of nets, and such work as belongs to it, we will set up a trade of making of cables, and all manner of ropes, as well to vend abroad, as furnish the kingdom at home; as also pole-davies for sails, and not be beholding to *France* for them.

All these reasons considered, it is apparent, that the farmers and people of the inward country, who hitherto have not tasted of these happinesses, and whose passages by water have not been frequented or known, shall reap as great a commodity and profit by this fishing, as our selves; and have no more reason therefore to refuse the taking of our herrings in the manner aforesaid, than we have to take off the commodities by which they live. And this shall suffice for the second point of vending our fish.

These six several trades following we will erect in all parts of *England*, not hitherto practised but in some places near the sea side:

|            |                             |
|------------|-----------------------------|
| Hempsters, | Rope-makers,                |
| Spinsters, | Weavers of Pole-Davies, and |
| Carders,   | Net-makers.                 |

Besides the increase of coopers, smiths, shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, sailors, fishermen, basket-makers, sail-makers, labourers, and many other trades in great abundance.

In answer to the third allegation of countenance and deceits amongst ourselves, by example of the *East Indies*, *Virginia*, and other trades, I cannot say whether they deserve the imputation of the fraud that is cast upon them, or no; for report is like an echo, heard, but no man knows where: but to give satisfaction as well in the managing our trade, as that truth speaks it, no deceit can creep in at it, as that which follows shall declare: It is not intended (as I conceive) that a select company shall have the disposing of this fishing, as the other has, or to receive, disburse, or employ the moneys raised by the adventurers, or to direct and order things at their pleasure; but contrarywise, for example, whosoever shall be a member in it, shall have his choice what to adventure, with whom to adventure, and the manner how to adventure, without controulment of any other: as this, If he undertake for a buss or a ship, it shall be in his choice to accept of a partner, two, three, four, or more.

And

And after the value of their adventure, to erect so many ships as it shall please themselves to nominate, and appoint such persons for the ordering of it as they shall make choice of; so that if deceit appear, it will be among themselves, for no body else shall meddle in their adventure.

But because in all commonwealths there must be a head to govern and execute justice, to which the rest of the body must submit, it is convenient that the supreme commission and authority be given to some of the lords of his majesty's honourable privy council, and other persons of quality to be chosen, as well in the kingdom of Scotland and Ireland, as in England, to settle a form of government, with a judge to rule, and to provide for all mischiefs and inconveniencies that may happen betwixt man and man, and prevent the abuses and questions that may arise betwixt merchants, mariners, owners of ships, salters, coopers, and others whom it may concern: but these commissioners are in no wise to handle or meddle with the parties in their adventures, or with their stocks of money, or with the employment of it.

Farthermore, to stop the mouths of such suspicious conceits of fraud, you shall find it is not in the wit of man to overreach them, for the reasons following: The quantity of fish that a buss takes cannot be concealed; for of necessity she must repair to the ports of England or Scotland, where the customers enter every barrel of fish in their books, and none can be transported without a cocket: besides the number of cask they pay for, they must look to have them filled, and likewise the quantity of salt bought, to have it employ'd.

The price, as well of those that are vend- ed at home as transported abroad, is easily known; the usual freight of ships and the factorage is soon guessed at, and therefore no means left for deceit to enter in at.

Now to return once more to the fishing, where we left the busses for that summer, and provide them against the middle of November, to repair to the island of Lewes, where, till the beginning of February, they shall take the principal herrings of all others in loughs and harbours, as I have formerly declared.

Which being done, about the first of March they depart from thence to the island of Rona, betwixt fifteen and sixteen leagues from Lewes, from whence there runs a bank of one hundred miles in length, and as far as Tillhead in Ireland; which bank affords the best quantity of cod and ling of any part of the seas, and one hundred and odd years not used.

From the 1st of March, as I have said, to the 20th of June, is the time I have af-

signed to repair to *Brafound* in *Sbetland*; in which space I make account they will fill their vessels twice or thrice with cod and ling, and leave them in the island of *Lewes*, there to be fetched by other ships that shall bring salt, and all other kind of necessaries which shall be fitting.

The 20th of June approaching, the busses are to repair to *Brafound*, as I have said before; from whence they must prosecute their fishing of herrings, as in the former year, till their arrival at *Yarmouth*. If then they please to take an account of their year spent, it will appear that one buss employ'd by us, as I have projected it, will be of much more value than to the *Hollanders*, and be the way to teach us how his majesty's dominions shall flourish, not for a while, but for ever.

At *Yarmouth* we may account the goodness of the herrings spent; for betwixt *Winterton* and *Orfordness* they use to spawn, and are called by the *Hollanders* the ropefick herrings, which they forbear to take.

The nature of the young herring, after it is spawn'd, is to seek the comfort of the fresh water, and put themselves into the mouth of the *Thames*, or amongst the sands, where the water is not altogether so brackish; but like poor silly creatures they are here entrapped by the stale nets that use to take the sprats; but for one sprat they take they catch one hundred of these young herrings, and bring them to *Billinggate*, where they sell them not for above two-pence or three-pence a peck; which if let alone, would by *Midsummer* following grow to be a perfect and big herring, worth twenty-five or thirty shillings a barrel. This mischief must be prevented, and the fishermen enjoyn'd not to go to the westward of *Orfordness* to take sprats.

From *Orfordness* the herrings direct their course to the *North Foreland* in *Kent*, where they furnish both the *English* and *French* shores with so many as are taken by both nations, though they be both shotten, and of the worst kind.

Their abiding hereabouts is according to the winds; if it hang southerly or westerly, they remain the longer; but if easterly, they are taken, as it were, with the wind in the poop, which carries them the length of our channel, till they arrive at the *Landsend* in *Cornwall*, from whence they divide themselves like a fleet of ships that should be directed by a general: some go through *St. George's* channel, betwixt *England* and *Ireland*; others to the westward of *Ireland*, till they arrive at the islands of *Hybrides* or *Lewes*, the place of rendezvous; and we may suppose they are at home, by the strength and goodness they find in that place; for though they run the length of

our channel lean and sick, yet as soon as they repair to those islands, they become the largest, the fairest, and the best herrings in the world; and here they are taken in loughs and harbours, as I have said, and valued at forty shillings the last above others.

Here I will leave them taking their rest, and shew another benefit we shall receive upon the shoals of *Shetland*, *Orkney*, and the *Hybrides*, which the *Hollanders* have not, nor cannot make use of, in respect they are not subjects of his majesty.

And because I have pursued the herrings till I left them at the island of *Lewes*, I will begin with those islands, and truly say, they are placed for the benefit of fishing above all places in the world.

The condition and situation of those islands I refer to the map, that will give you light of their seat, their altitude, and their neighbourhood with *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but the nature and disposition of the people you shall receive from me, who have seen them, and can best speak of them.

Of many hundred islands belonging to this kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, I may say, those of *Lewes* exceed the rest in fertility of soil; it yields, with the labour of people (which they are not guilty of) all manner of grain, cattle, fish, and fowl; and although their fire be not of wood or coals, which we esteem the best fuel, yet it hath plenty of peat and turf, that they have little cause to fear cold.

There is an old saying, which may be well applied to those islands, and the inhabitants of them, That they have a good land, and are ill people; for, to speak the truth, the christian world cannot shew a more barbarous, more bloody, and more untamed generation. But his majesty being lately informed of their breeding, and uncivil living, is graciously pleased to reduce them to the knowledge of God, and the acknowledgment of him, which hitherto they are ignorant in.

This being done, and the islands being furnished as is intended, I will make it appear, that the seas about them, and the loughs and harbours within them, will yield more commodity to the subjects of his majesty's three kingdoms, than any other trades whatsoever, either near home, or far abroad.

Now will I stand over for the islands of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which have no need of other description, but that it is pity so good and civil people should inhabit no better a country: we may say the contrary of them that we said of the island of *Lewes*, that it was a good land, but evil people; these are good people, but possess an evil soil.

The way to relieve them, is humbly to intreat his majesty to please to accept of his revenue in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in fish, to encourage the people of those islands to undertake and practise the use of fishing, which, through poverty and the want of trade, they are not now able to go through with.

Besides the rent to his majesty in fish, whatsoever fish they shall take by their own labours we will take off from them, and supply them with salt, nets, hooks, boats, and what else they shall stand in need of; by means whereof, every man in those islands shall be able to subsist and maintain himself, that now knows not how to get his living, but is brought up in sloth and idleness.

*What is requisite for the Planting of the Island of Lewes, and other Islands adjacent.*

1. It is fit his majesty call in the grant lately made by the earl of *Seaford* to the *Hollanders*, for inhabiting of the said islands, who take them purposely to erect a fishing upon that coast, whereby to defeat his majesty's subjects of that benefit.

2. That his majesty grant liberty and privileges to his subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, there to erect and inhabit towns, villages, storehouses, and all manner of manufactures and trades; that hereafter we shall not need to supply those islands, but find all things established to our hands, as in all other places of *Europe* where trades are upheld and maintained.

3. That his majesty institute a governor there, to be resident for the space of three years, and not exceed that time, lest in longer continuance abuses creep in through the avarice of governors.

4. That in every island there be erected one principal town above the rest, and a citadel in it, to keep the people in obedience; for the inhabitants of those islands are naturally inclined to incivility, treachery, and liberty, which are next neighbours to rebellion.

5. That every child be taught the *English* or *Scotch* language, and that their education be according to their abilities of body and disposition of mind, or as the estates of their parents are able to maintain them, some in learning, some in manuring and husbanding of grounds, but the most part in fishing and sea-affairs, having so convenient a seat for the same.

6. That the natural inhabitants of those islands have no correspondence with the *Hollanders* upon the main continent more than is needful, considering the danger that may ensue by their too great friendship, who are naturally the most dangerous and

worst

worst people of all his majesty's dominions; and that there be special care that they marry one with another in the island, or with *English* or *Scottish*, and in any cases to prohibit all marriages between them and the islanders aforesaid.

I have annexed hercunto what I think fit to be put in present execution, for planting the islands of *Hybrides*; which being done, all the good formerly expressed will follow; besides, there are other things, which I forbear to touch, as matters not fit for me to handle.

I have brought my intention to an end, and laid open the mischief our state has long suffered by resigning, at least conniving at the *Hollanders* fishing, who have made long use of it.

I have made it appear how easy it is for us to enjoy, or to be restored to what we have lost, and the profit all kind of people shall reap by it, if will and money be not wanting. I have made it plain to as many as desire to know the truth, that the increase of ships in *Europe* is occasioned by the taking and transporting our fish; that nine thousand *Holland* vessels are kept by it, and all their people daily set to work; in so much that I dare boldly say, if the food of fish were prohibited by all sorts of christians, and duly observed, it would lessen the number of shipping three parts in five. And therefore, seeing our fish is able to make us happy, and this narration lays down the way how to attain to that happiness, let neither excuses, false pretences, or affection to the *Hollanders*, divert us from it, as it did in the year 1609. when by proclamation the *Hollanders* were to resort to *London* for licence to fish on the coast of *England*; and *Edinburgh*, for the like in *Scotland*; and yet neither of them both was performed, nor the contempt questioned.

Two hundred usurers, with willing minds and forward purses, are able to master this work; but, I fear, the devil, whose friendship is not to advise, but to deceive them, will not allow a gain so well gotten. The excessive practice of usury is the decay of commonwealths, repugnant to all humanity, charity, and natural benevolence, and a slavery to those that desire to live poor to die rich.

But, to speak the truth, it is pity that a work of so great goodness and gain should be tainted by men of so penurious a condition, who are neither good nor evil by the disposition of another, but by their own perverse will and nature; God, I fear, will bless our endeavours the worse for them; they are like trees that carry no blossoms in the

spring, and therefore no hope of any fruit at the fall.

This work is unspotted, and pity it should be defiled with the sin of avarice; his majesty's greatness and glory will appear by it; for nothing can be to a prince more royal, than to make the state of his kingdom better than he found it; or of evil and slothful servants, to make them profitable to a commonwealth.

This shall suffice for so much as concerns our manner of fishing, our commodity arising by fishing, and the use other nations make of our fish, which I have divulged to many of my intimate friends; and now shall follow other matters, still concerning the subject of fishing: And the first shall be touching salt and cask.

*Concerning Salt and Cask.*

The next necessary thing we can endeavour and labour to advance our fishing by, without being beholden to other nations, is salt and cask; for in my former narration I have shew'd, that most of the materials belonging to our fishing may be found in *England*, except salt, pitch, and tar; and to take fish without salt to save it, is like choice of meats and no cook, or others to dress it; for both putrify without present help.

Such salts as are for the use of fishing, are of divers kinds and strength, some too hot and strong, others too weak and faint; and therefore if a mean betwixt both could be invented, and made within his majesty's dominions, we might esteem it a great jewel, and next in value to the philosopher's stone, and the finder out of the secret to deserve as great honour of his country as *William Bacalute*, who was the first deviser of packing of herrings amongst the *Flemmings*, as in my former relation I have declared.

There are many, as I am informed, at this day, who make trial to attain to the art and secret of making salt; I mean with the convenient strength for the salting and pickling of fish; I do not speak of the making of our white salt, long practised in *England* and *Scotland*; for that kind of salt of itself is not for this use, and yet not bad, if according to the quantity it be mixed with the stronger salt; for it makes a fish the whiter and better to the eye for sale.

Those that undertake this work and invention of adding strength to salt, above our ordinary white salt, must have a care of the place they choose to make it in; first, for the conveniency of the taking it off by fishermen when it is made; secondly, such a place where the salt water hath no mixture with

with freshes or sands; and thirdly, where they shall find plenty of fuel for their purpose.

The first practice that was made of it was in the *Isle of Wight*, a place, in my opinion, ill chosen by the projectors; first, for uttering of their salt, if they had brought it to perfection; for the greatest quantity they could vend, is at *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, and the coast towns thereabouts, to the northernmost part of all *Scotland*; which was almost as great a voyage as to bring it from the coast of *Britany*, where it is made.

Neither had the west country any advantage in the transportation; for that all the ports of *Dartmouth*, *Plimouth*, and all parts of *Severn*, which only use the fishing of *Ireland* and *Newfoundland*, shall be easier and more conveniently served out of *Britany* with salt, than from the *Isle of Wight*; *Southampton* and *Portsmouth* alone would receive benefit, by reason of their nearness; and not considerable, in respect of the little fishing they use.

The *Isle of Wight* was a place as ill chosen, in respect of the brackishness of the sea, and scarcity of fuel, in comparison of the northern parts, that can be supply'd with coals at an easier rate; and for proof of the freshness of the sea, in comparison of other seas, these are my reasons: where two lands make a freight so small, as betwixt *England* and *France*, and both the kingdoms send forth many fresh rivers which fall into the sea, the sea cannot have such force of strength or saltness, as the northern coast has, where the ocean comes pouring in upon them.

We see by experience in *Holland*, that the salt they make, is not with the water that comes near those towns where they make it; though a man that knew not the contrary would sensibly think it had sufficient saltness for that purpose; but they find it otherwise, and have ships purposely made to fill themselves with the salt water off at sea, and not near the land.

And if the *Hollanders* make so great a profit as they do, by their salt, imagine what we shall make of it; when we have obtained the use of making it, considering our water by proof is saltier, nearer hand, and our coals at a far cheaper rate, if our works be set up at *Yarmouth*, *Lynn*, *Boston*, *Hull*, *Tinmouth*, the *Holy Island*, and all the parts of *Scotland*; in which harbours our fishermen either dwell, or will resort thither daily for salt.

Therefore I conclude, if the perfection of the work may be brought to pass, either in making salt of sufficient strength, out of invention; or if not, in imitation of the *Hollanders* to make salt upon salt, the towns aforesaid are the meetest to set up that trade

of salt; and the rather because they have now in practice the making of white salt, and the other will be the sooner effected by it.

And for such salt as shall be used in the *Lewes*, there is no place lies more convenient for the making of salt of any kind, than in that island, the sea having an extraordinary saltness, and the country affording so great plenty of fuel.

The *English* and *Scotch* fishermen that shall use that fishing, shall find as great, and as extraordinary profit and gain, by receiving their salt at the island when they shall there arrive, as the freight of their ships will come to: for whereas they use now to bring in their ship the best part of their lading in salt, finding their salt made ready to their hands, instead of salt, they shall lade themselves with cask, and other things wanting for their use.

Salt upon salt is made out of the strength of salt that cometh out of other countries. *France* sends out the greatest part of salt; and according to its strength, the salt it makes is of less virtue and operation, and the more of it is spent in the salting of fish.

The *Portuguese* and *Spanish* salt is the stronger in substance, by reason of the sun's power; for according to the heat and force of the sun, salt increaseth in strength.

To the southward of *Spain*, and as far as cape *Verde*, and the island of *May*; as also westward from thence to cape *de Ray*, and other places in the *West Indies*, the salt is far stronger than in *Spain*, by reason of the force of the sun; and it will make double salt to the other.

But whereas it is alledged by some that know not what belongs to the business, that the going so far, as to the places aforesaid for salt, will not quit the charge: to answer that objection they must know, that if profit arise by this trade, it must be in the built and bigness of ships they employ; for I would not advise a ship of less than three hundred tons, but as much bigger as they please, to be sent upon that voyage; and such ships to be provided out of *Holland*, till we get use in building them; for they will sail with two thirds less men than ours.

And moreover it is to be considered, that the salt they there fetch costs nothing; for it is there naturally made of the sea water and the sun, and nothing is required but their labour and pains in bringing it aboard.

If we hit of our salt-making in *England*, it will prove a great benefit to us; for the king of *France*, and the king of *Spain*, lately finding a necessity for all nations to take of their salt, have laid a gabel and custom upon it, and thereby increased the price so much, that we and all *Europe* besides find it.

For

For such parts of the west country as border upon the *South Sea*, or upon the river of *Severn*, either on the *English* or *Welsh* shore, I will refer to their consideration, whether they will be served out of *France*, *Spain*, and the *Isle of May*, or other places; or whether they will follow the example of the northern parts in making salt upon salt, as I have shewed. If they intend this latter, their country lies very conveniently by the help of coals they shall have from *Swansey* in *Wales*.

After this work is settled and brought to perfection, I advise there may be an equal carriage of it, betwixt the buyer and the seller, that they may both live with an indifferent profit and gain; and so to accommodate it, that the buyer may be certain of the price; if not, this inconveniency will follow, That the salt-master will transport the salt beyond sea, where it goes at the greatest rate: like corn-masters, if they were not prohibited by a law, not respecting the good that would redound to their country; so much is their covetous desire of profit: but being bound to serve the kingdom at a certain price, and that we shall find no want or scarcity of it, let them after have liberty to dispose of it for the best benefit; but according to the old saying, charity should begin at home.

There must be a penalty also upon him that will buy or be furnished with salt, under colour of fishing, and shall notwithstanding transport the same into any parts beyond the seas, or otherwise, for his private gain. As well this abuse, as many others that can be imagined to creep in, must be foreseen and prevented.

According to the strength of our salt, you may rate the quantity that goes to the salting a barrel of herrings, and so estimate it from one barrel to one hundred last, *viz.* a weigh of salt is forty bushels, and every bushel will salt a barrel of herrings; so that twelve bushels will salt a last of herrings, being twelve barrels of thirty two gallons to a barrel. A last of herrings is two tons after the *English* account.

And if you can bring the salt to the proportion of three pounds ten shillings the weigh, it were a price indifferent betwixt the buyer and seller; yea, though you proportion the *Spanish* salt at a greater price, and our, white salt at a lesser, yet, if betwixt both it may be rated equal, as I have said, at three pounds ten shillings the weigh, it were very well.

The same proportion of salt you must use to the cod, *viz.* a bushel of salt to a barrel of cod. And as for ling, it is not to be barrell'd up, but to be salted in bulk, which will take up much the less salt.

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The next consideration about our fishing, is, How to make our provision of cask, as well for herrings as for cod; the greatest quantity which furnishes the *Hollanders*, is brought out of *Norway*, *Sweden*, and other parts of the *Sound*, which they return in their ships, after they have made sale of their fish in those parts.

The same course we may take, if we be so pleased, or that we cannot return a better freight for our ships: but we have an easier and a nearer way to be supplied with cask; for no country of *Europe* affords better provision of timber, or ash to make them, or more conveniency to transport them to what coast soever we shall fish on in his majesty's dominions: this benefit we enjoy above the *Hollanders*, who have not in their country one whole timber-tree for this purpose, but are served from abroad, as I have formerly said.

All kind of wood that belongs to the building of ships, or other works that have relation to timber, we do, and shall find, in a little time, a great want of; for wood is now utterly decay'd in *England*, and begins to be no less in *Ireland*, if there be not a speedy course taken to redress it, and a prohibition against the transporting of it out of *Ireland* into *Holland*, which the *Hollanders* make a continual trade of, not only of timber, but also of all other commodities *Ireland* affords, greatly to the prejudice of the *English*; and for the better proof thereof they have erected a company in *Amsterdam*, by the name of the *Irish Company*.

And therefore I would to God his majesty would take these things into consideration; as also to restrain the felling of timber in *England*, which is too common by the liberty that is given to widows, to fell and sell without impeachment or waste; and to young heirs, after they come to possess their father's lands; for the readiest monies they can think on towards their wasteful expences, is a sale of timber; and whilst this is suffered, and no provision for preserving or planting of trees, as the law provides for in that case, what can be imagined will fall to *England* hereafter in succeeding times? for if money, or wealth, decay in a kingdom, there may be means by trade to recover it again; if seamen die, so long as there are ships and navigation, they will soon increase, and make their deaths forgotten; but if our timber be consumed, and spent, it will require the age of three or four generations before it can grow again for use; which we ought the more to respect, because the *English* timber far exceeds the *Irish* in lightness and goodness.

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Though the carriage of ship-timber be prohibited, and as daily executed, yet there are divers abuses that must be looked to and prevented, as well in this kind of timber, as in vent of our own red herrings; the deceits whereof, betwixt the *English* and the *Hollanders*, combiners, you shall understand by this that follows.

The *Hollanders* have gotten a late practice, by their inwardness and friendship with some men of *Yarmouth*; (for naturally that town is more inclined to *Holland* than *England*, as descended from thence;) these *English* dwellers take upon them the building of ships, according to the direction of the other, who underhand disburse the money; and the ship being built, the *English* in shew make sale of her to the *Hollander*; when his title in the ship is, perhaps, thirty pounds, to colour the deceit. There are many other things to be proved, that upon examination would discover many abuses offered both to the king and subjects.

These combiners stop not here, but craftily avoid his majesty's proclamation; for whereas, as I have formerly delivered, the red herring is only made in *Yarmouth*, and the *Hollanders* have in a manner the absolute carriage of them into the *Streights*; and although the state is many times willing to prevent the carriage of them by strangers, yet craftily they use this policy, speedily to send away the herrings in *English* vessels to *Holland*, as soon as they are made, from whence they immediately ship them for the *Streights*, before our great ships can take them in at *Yarmouth*: other times they meet such ships as come from *Yarmouth* laden with herrings, off the sands of *Yarmouth*, where they ride, take them in, and carry them directly to the *Streights* many days before ours can be ready at *Yarmouth* in our great ships; by which advantage of time, they get their port, and make sale of their herrings, long before our arrival there, and sell them at a double price to us at our coming, to an inestimable loss, both to his majesty's subjects and to his customs, as I have said before; by the precedent of a ship freighted from *Yarmouth* to *Marfeilles*.

And therefore to avoid this cunning and cozenage, it is fitting his majesty prohibit the transportation of fish, except in his subjects bottoms, and a day to be limited for the transportation, that we may be sure to be near our port, before the strangers can follow us out of *England*; so shall we be sure to make our market before the strangers can depart *England*, which will be a great advantage to us.

As this deceit appears in the vent of our red herrings, so there is no less an unconcionable course held betwixt the *Hollanders* and *English* fishermen, that take the pilchards and poor-john, the one in *England*, the other in *Newfoundland*; for such is the necessity of the poor fishermen, that they receive impress of part of their money beforehand, to perform strict conditions they are bound to, much to their prejudice, and the *Hollanders* advantage; whereas, if the *English* had the absolute carriage of fish, they would attain to the secrets of that trade, and deal more reasonably with poor men than the others do.

I have before in this book computed the value of sixty ships, of two hundred and fifty tons each, what the *Hollanders* gain by the trade of our fish into the *Streights*, and not one penny thereof returned into *England*; and for a more authentick proof, I desire that merchants may be examined upon the truth thereof, and then you shall find my computation to fall out right; and for your better satisfaction, I will set down the several ports within the *Streights*, and the number of ships that repair to them; by which it will appear what loss this kingdom has for so many years sustained, and what gain and profit may be made by it, if it be reduced into our hands; besides the strength of ships, the increase of mariners, and fame this nation will reap by it.

*An Estimate of what went before.*

|                                                                                                                                |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
|                                                                                                                                | l.     |
| A ship of two hundred and fifty tons, will carry, in fish, to the value of                                                     | 1600   |
| Freight for the same, at 5 l. the ton                                                                                          | 1250   |
| Affurance, 5 l. per Cent.                                                                                                      | 80     |
| Charges at <i>Venice</i> at the least                                                                                          | 400    |
| All this is lost by the stranger's carrying of it, and calculating sixty ships after this proportion, there is lost the sum of | 621750 |
| Twelve for <i>Venice</i> ; eight with pilchards, four with red herrings.                                                       |        |
| Four to <i>Ancona</i> ; whereof three with pilchards, one with red herrings.                                                   |        |
| Six to <i>Civita Vecchia</i> .                                                                                                 |        |
| Six to <i>Genoa</i> .                                                                                                          |        |
| Eight to <i>Naples</i> .                                                                                                       |        |
| Twenty to <i>Leghorn</i> .                                                                                                     |        |
| Three to <i>Villa Franca</i> .                                                                                                 |        |
| Forty six to <i>Marfeilles</i> , whereof thirty with dry fish.                                                                 |        |

In all one hundred and five ships, besides many more smaller for *Spain* and *France*; as I have shewed.



Here shall follow some indirect dealings of the *Hollanders*, which I forbore to insert in the former discourse of fishing, and shall be inserted at the end of this book, calling it an addition to my sixth book; but I will still prosecute the subject of fish and fishing, and will not cease till I have laid open every coast of the known world, whether fish resorts, and shew the benefit that is or may be made of it, as well by the inhabitants as strangers.

*Concerning Fish and Fishing.*

There are two natural foods for man to feed on; the one is flesh, maintained and increased by the fruitfulness of the land and soil of the earth; the other is fish, swimming in the common, spacious, and open sea, which no man can challenge a right to, as to the land they may; and therefore it may be called common.

This fish requires no head, as beasts and cattle do, to overlook them, or to keep them in their limits or bounds; no man can set his mark upon them, to challenge a property in them: no body that casts a net into the sea can say what belongs to them, till it be drawn again: no difficulty or care can be required to nourish it, seeing there is such abundance increased over all the seas and coasts in the world, as experience teaches us.

The difficulty in making use of this food is in the taking it, which is done by art, engines, and pains; for unless the prerogative of princes in some cases; and upon some coasts, prohibit the sufferance of taking fish, it is as lawful for a beggar as a king to challenge a right to it, after it is taken.

The use of fishing and the benefit that arises by it, needs no other repetition, than in my former declaration.

There now only remains my labour and observation to collect the sorts of fishes every country affords, and which are used for present food, and which are sent abroad by way of trade; and then I will refer it to consideration, what penury *Europe*, which is the most flourishing part of the world, would be brought to, were it not for the endeavours and labours of the poor fishermen.

Besides the general fishes of herring and cod, taken upon the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and vended as in the narration aforesaid, there are many excellent fishes upon every maritime shire in *England*, which are of great sustenance to the inhabitants, and which I forbear to name, but will set down only such fish as is vended abroad, and returns gain and commodity to the kingdom by way of traffick.

As the northern parts of *England* yield both cod and herring, as aforesaid, so do the western coasts pilchards in such abundance, that many times they are not able to save the third part of them, for want of salt, as appears in the last wars with *France*.

*Ireland* affords these three kinds of fishes in as great numbers as *England*; and the herrings and pilchards exceed ours, which makes them valued above the *English* in other countries. They have another fish which frequents not our shores, called the hake, taken in the deeps betwixt *England* and *Ireland*, much prized in *Biscay*: they have plenty of kay, or thornback, and buckorm, which is dried whiting, much desired in *Britany*.

The several parts of *England* have several seasons of fishing, some whereof I have shewed; but will add to it our fishing at the *Sow*, a rocky ground, a league and more in length, and six leagues south off at sea to *Rye*. This is the principal place that yields that primest fresh fish that serves *London*, and the place *France* did lately incroach upon, under colour of five boats licensed by king *James*, at the request of the *French* king. But his subjects increased almost to as many scores as boats, till by order of the state, I reduced it to the allowed proportion, as is to be seen in my second book.

Upon the coast of *Lancashire*, the fishing for cod begins at *Easter*, and continues till *Midsummer*; for hake in the deeps, as I have said, betwixt *Whitsuntide* and *St. James's*; about *Padstow* for cod and ling, from *Christmas* to the middle of *Lent*; on the north part of *Ireland*, from *Christmas* to *March*.

*Englishmen* have not the use of barrelling up of cod; and if it be not barrellled, it is not vendible in *France*; neither can they make haberdine; for if they could, it would be well sold in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Now to the fishing upon the coast of *Holland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other countries, where the sea affords fish, but no great use is made thereof, more than for present food; for neither herrings nor cod are there to be found, which are the staple and vendible fish for profit.

The coast of *Holland* yields the least quantity, and the worst choice of fish of all the rest; and yet fish is there most eaten out of necessity, having so many people that inhabit the country, and so little quantity of land for their sustenance. The greatest store of fish that maintains them is taken upon our seas, and kept in well-boats, and brought into *Holland*, where it is vended and sold.

Coming upon the coast of *France*, the first town you shall find to entertain you, will be *Calais*, which in truth exceeds all other places of that kingdom for the present food of fish; not that they are such fishes as I have named before, either for quality, for quantity taken, or provision to take them; for their boats are only shallops, not above a ton burden, unless it be in *October*, when their bigger vessels resort thither to take the last shoal of herrings that comes from the northward. And it happened in the year 1610. that fifty sail of those vessels were sunk, and eight hundred people in them, as they were there fishing.

If you keep along the shore of *France* till you arrive at *St. John de Luz*, the furthest part thereof, it affords no other fish, but for present spending, except at some time of the year that they salt their spare mackrels, which at the time of the year they take.

*Biscay* is like *France* in the nature of fish, and fishing upon their own coast: but what profit either of them make by their fishing upon the shores of *America*, I will after shew; only I must say, that *Biscay* is often visited with monstrous fishes, as whales and gramposses, which none of the rest I have spoken of are, in abundance, which yields the taker of them more commodity by the oil, than the value of other fish.

The next in order is *Galicja*, and *Portugal*, as far as cape *St. Vincent*, the southermost promontory of all that coast, or of *Europe*. I will join them in one, because they are all one continent, and subject to one king. They both afford fish alike in a reasonable quantity, but especially of pilchards; and here they are so excellent above others, and so necessary to the people of *Portugal*, that the country had better want their *East India* trade, than their fishing for pilchards upon that coast.

Doubling the cape of *St. Vincent*, you tend east, as far as the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*. Besides the fish these seas afford to equal the rest of *Portugal*, it is haunted with a fish called *Tunney*, a victual of great use, in that it is pickled up in barrels, and serves for sea-store, besides a great quantity that is transported into the *Streights*. The custom of this fish is worth in value to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, forty thousand pound sterling a year. The fattest *Tunney* is near *Gibraltar*.

After you enter the *Streights*, that sea cannot be compared to the others, neither in quantity, nor in goodness of fish, though one kind of fish they have, which the others have not, which is anchovies, esteemed for a great dainty amongst us, because of the

rareness of it, and coming so far; and yet I think our sprats and young herrings in *England* might be made to equal them in taste.

In returning out of the *Streights*, we will keep the coast of *Barbary* westward, as high as cape *Canteene*, in which circuit there is very little fish taken, though no doubt but the sea affords as good fish as upon the christian shore, opposite to it, but that the *Moors* are no fishermen, nor have provision or harbours for it.

The christians enjoy all these sports, except *Sally*; so that if the *Moors* had conveniency of fishing, yet the christians would have hindered them, that they should have reaped no benefit by it.

From *Canteene* to the southward there are two roads upon the coast of *Barbary*, *Safin*, and *Santa Cruz*; and in the middle betwixt them there is a small island, called *Mogothore*; but no manner of fish in any of those places, nor vessels for that purpose.

To the southward of *Santa Cruz*, there is plenty of hake taken by the *Spaniards*, who go purposely out of *Spain* thither to fish: somewhat I can say hereof, by proof of a bark of mine that was freighted from *Seville*, and fitted with salt, hooks, and lines, and made a good return of her fish into *Spain* back again.

To the southward of this place, and as far as cape *Blanco*, the hithermost part of *Guinea*, there is an excellent fishing for porgeus, somewhat like to an over-grown sea-bream, but much bigger. There are yearly employed out of *Spain* fifty or sixty vessels, called canters, upon that fishing only; and if they escape taking at their return, they make commonly a good voyage. The only inconveniency is, That upon that coast the winds hang continually betwixt the north and the east; so that many times they are forced to run a westerly course as far as the islands of *Tercera*, which makes the voyage the longer and more dangerous for meeting with the enemies.

From this part of *Guinea*, to the southermost place thereof, which is the cape of *Good Hope*, the coast is inhabited by negroes, except it be in some few places, where the *Portuguese* have their aboad; but the negroes are so ignorant in fishing in boats, that they know not what belongs to it, though there is plenty of fish for food, if fishing were exercised.

It is an old saying, *That there is water enough in the sea*, but of no use, because of the saltness; and *Fish sufficient in the ocean*, but not possible to take it. The greatest store of fish for food is upon coasts, especially islands, where they have space to swim about it; or in shoal water, where  
a line

a line may reach the bottom ; for in the main and large ocean it's impossible to find ground with all the lines you can lengthen. Yet in the hot and southern seas, there are these kinds of fishes for food, which swim high, and sometimes appear above the water, (*viz.*) the dolphin, the bonito, the dorado, and shark ; the last whereof does not spawn, but whelp like bitches : she is ravenous, unwholesome to eat, and so eager upon a bait, or a thing she shall snatch at, as I have known them bite a man's leg and thigh away at a bite, as he has been swimming. These fishes are taken with harping-irons, fishgigs, and hooks made purposely.

Besides these fishes, which are good sustenance to long voyages, there are also flying fishes, but never taken but accidentally, when they are chased by the dolphin, and forced to put themselves to flight ; but as soon as their wings or fins grow dry, they may by chance light into a ship, for longer they cannot fly.

There are no islands to the southward, great or small, beginning with the *Tercera's*, the *Canaries*, cape *Verde*, all the islands of the *West Indies*, the *Bermuda's*, *St. Hellena*, &c. but have great store of fish flocking about them ; but the least number in all the seas, is betwixt the two tropicks, where there is no use made of them, for want of harbours, fear of enemies, and other inconveniencies. Such fish as are taken about the island of *St. Hellena*, or the coast of *Brasil*, the next westerly land to it, have a virtue above all fishes for delicious taste and wholesomeness, in both equal to the best flesh with us.

Having followed and chased the fish as far to the southward as any known land has given light, let me once more return to know what the northern seas and the islands yield in that cold climate and habitation, and we shall find it a great proportion for the food of man. The fish more naturally desire the cold and northern seas, than the hot and southern shores, where the sun has so predominant a power and heat.

And to begin with the northern parts of *Europe*, I will arrive at *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Liesland*, whose coasts abound in fish, as well for their own food, as for sale abroad : I will call it food to them ; for in many places of *Norway* and *Finland* it serves for bread to the inhabitants, after it is dry'd in the frost, and made stock-fish.

Now let us leave these shores, and stand over to the islands placed in those northern seas, a great many whereof belong to the crown of *Denmark* ; as namely *Northfare*, containing thirty in number ; *Frizeland*, *Iceland*, and others. And it is a marvellous

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thing to see with what abundance of fish they are frequented, and what a number of ships resort thither to take them, and after to vend them : for to speak of *England* alone, there go yearly from the northern and eastern coast one hundred and fifty ships, which employ two thousand five hundred seafaring men, that upon all occasions are ready to serve their prince and country.

All these trades aforesaid are not to be told like new stories, to breed wonders ; for time has approved it ever since those lands have been known to us : but as God gave a new light of a new world by the discovery of *America*, now daily known and frequented by us of *Europe*, and whose soil yields benefit to the christian world ; so did that God, that was the maker of the land, shew himself the same God, in pouring forth his blessing upon the sea, by the riches and increase thereof, wherein *England* had some honour thereby in the discovery of *Newfoundland*, that since proved most commodious to the commonwealth, and most especially to the western parts thereof, by their yearly employment of two hundred sail of ships thither.

The *French*, the *Biscainers*, and the *Portuguese*, were so much encouraged at our discovery of *Newfoundland*, as from that time, till this very day, they have upheld the trade thereof, by the fish they call *Baccallao*, and we *Poor-John* ; but by our continual haunting that coast, we have found an inconvenience alike, that the fish grows less, the old store being consumed by our continual fishing.

The *Biscainers* not being contented with this trade, where they found so many neighbours to join with them, went farther to the northward, and possessed themselves of a harbour which they named the *Grand Bay*, where they find, besides their *Baccallao* abundance of whales, where they make more advantage by their oil than of the other.

The *French* being desirous to try experiments, as well as the *Biscainers*, found a fishing-land fifty leagues off to sea from *Newfoundland*, and called it the *Bank*, where commonly they make two voyages yearly, without resorting ashore to dry their fish, and therefore it is called wet-fish : and this I hold one of the best means to maintain their mariners in all *France* ; which, if in time of war we seek to beat them from this fishing, we shall find them but indifferent enemies at sea.

The *French* alone, and no other nation, have continued a footing in these countries, though we have often attempted to do the like, and failed. But in the late years of our wars with *France*, in 1628. we took their port, and possessed it some time.

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The *English* have had more absolute trade to *Newfoundland*, since the year 1585. than ever before; for in that year the war broke out betwixt *Spain* and us: whereupon the queen sent certain ships to take such *Biscainers* and *Portuguese* as fished there; a service of great consequence, to take away the ships and victuals from our enemies subjects; and since that they have almost abandoned their fishing thereabouts. Out from these men thus taken, and brought for *England*, came the great sickness that the judges and justices died of at *Exeter*.

Going southward from *Newfoundland*, the *English* have had a new plantation, by the favour of the sea, that yields them great store of better and a larger sort of fish than the other coast does; only it is too thick to dry; and therefore not to be vended in the *Streights*, or the southernmost part of *Spain*.

As you sail from thence farther to the southward, though it be as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*, you shall find all that coast in the nature of the shores of *Africk*, as low as the cape of *Good Hope*, both in the condition of the fish, and in taking it: but something I will say of strange fish found in the *West Indies*, and the coast of *Brazil*, not known to us in these parts.

There is a fish in the *West Indies* called the *Malatia*, that has a stone in its head the most sovereign remedy for the cholick in the world.

The tortoise, now familiar to us, by our usual navigations into the *Indies*. They lay very large eggs, and a great quantity together, which are hatched in the sand by the heat and operation of the sun: the young ones as soon as hatched creep into the sea.

I will not speak of the *Remora* that stays and stops a ship in her course under sail, because I have spoken sufficiently of it, treating of the *East Indies*.

Upon the coast of *Brazil*, these several fishes are of account and name; the *Varania*, good meat to eat, and as big as any ox.

The ox-fish, a fish royal, esteemed above all fishes, and healthful to eat; of a good taste, either fresh or salt; it eats rather like beef than fish.

The *Benuperia*, like a sturgeon, of a good taste and wholesome; abundance of them are taken in the sea with hooks and lines.

The ox-eye, is like the tunney, an excellent fish, and looks like the eye of an ox.

The canury, a royal fish, and much esteemed; it is fat, wholesome, and of a good taste; it yields good store of butter.

The wild fish, which the *Indians* call

*Peckanube*, and know where it lies by its snoring: it is of a good bigness, taste, and much esteemed: all fishes found upon the coast of *Portugal*, are there also in abundance.

There are many sword-fishes and whales, betwixt whom there are frequent battles, as I have shewed before.

The whales upon these southern coasts are more furious and dangerous than in the northern, though the northern be the bigger, but not so nimble with the tail, which is the peril of the whale; for if a boat come a-head of her, she cannot do much hurt, but in rising from the bottom, as I have shewed before.

There are many venomous fishes upon that coast, as, namely, the toad-fish, of no small bigness; taking it out of the water it snorts, and poison lies in its skin, and whoever eats it with the skin dies.

There are other fishes of the same nature like toad-fishes.

The *Perachie* is like a scate, and whosoever toucheth it has the palsy, or is benumbed; the *Camaruma*, the *Amoratie*, the *Anicurub*, the *Irepourungo*; besides many others that are venomous.

There are many mermaids and strange shell-fishes, as well those that are known to our coast, as others unknown.

I have seen a fish very monstrous in the island of *Flores*, that appears with its fins about the gills, above the water four or five yards, and its jaws gaping above a yard broad, which puts the beholders in fear. This kind of fish I never knew nor heard of but in that place.

*Something concerning Whales, and several sorts of Monstrous Fishes.*

And now another while I will speak of monstrous fishes, that are useful and profitable, but not to be valued or eaten for food, and these they are: the whale, the grampus, the porpoise, the sea-horse, the morse, the seal, &c. All these affords the commodity of oil which is made of them, when dead; and the manner to kill them is so commonly known, that I need not repeat it. The whale yields, besides her oil, bones, which are for divers uses, employ'd in several trades; she yields *Spermæ Ceti*, the virtue whereof is known to us, and is sold by apothecaries. Some are of opinion that the ambergrease comes from the whale, and is cast ashore where it is found.

Some there are likewise that believe the teeth of the sea horse are medicinal; but for my part I believe the contrary, and that the only use to be made of them, is for hafts of knives, and other works that ivory is put to.

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The whale and most of the other fishes are as frequent and common in the hot and southern climates, as in the cold and northern countries, though we only use the cold, as *Greenland*, where we kill and make great benefit of them.

The *European* shores have the least number of whales; which I impute to shallow-water, because the greatest quantity known are about the great bay of *Biscay*, from which place we were instructed in our whale-fishing, when we began it in *Greenland*.

The whales that are found dead amongst us, of which I have had some proof by one or two cast upon land, come dead ashore by some hurt received at sea; for the nature of the whale, after she is hurt, is to seek the land, where she leaves her body to enrich him that has right to her, by her coming upon his shore.

Besides the great number of whales that make their habitation in the north seas, and the farther northward the greater store, there are abundance of them upon the coast of *Brazil*, the *West Indies*, and *Guinea*, which may the better appear by the *Indians* conceit, who thought the first ships they saw, when the *Spaniards* came thither upon the discovery, had been whales.

Upon the coast of *Brazil* there are such abundance, that if the *Portuguese* who dwell there would employ themselves in killing them, it would prove a commodious thing; but, I conceive, the reason they put it not in practice, is the mass of gain they make by their wood and sugars, holding the other not worth their labour, and having no vent for it but in *Portugal*.

By this you may perceive the pains and industry of man, and the difference betwixt men and nations; for if the *Hollanders* were planted in *Brazil*, and had that benefit of the whale the others have, they would, and might very well, with their cheapness of freight, serve *Europe* with their train-oil from thence; for I remember that two ships of *Holland* went to *Saldanna's* bay, as far as the cape of *Good Hope*, to kill whale, (for upon that coast there are abundance;) but it happened that one of the two ships was there wrecked, which perhaps might discourage farther proceedings upon that voyage."

But if we consider the industry of the *Hollanders*, and compare it with the sloth of the *Portuguese*, that the *Hollanders* went two thousand leagues to lade themselves with train-oil, when the *Portuguese* might have done the like at their own home, and rejected it, we must consequently attribute as great praise to the one, as we may blame and sloth to the other.

There are many dangers that may happen, and have happened to ships, by their accidental meeting with whales at sea, some whereof I will mention upon my own knowledge. The nature of a whale is, when she receives a hurt, to seek the bottom of the sea, and with fury to rise up again, and shew her self above water; if in rising she chance to come under the keel of a ship, she utterly destroys the ship, and the men in her.

I remember, that being upon the coast of *Barbary*, and not far from a whale, in 1587. I saw her mount above the water as high as the top of a ship, occasioned, as we conceived, by the sword-fish, who is an enemy to the whale, and upon their encounter cunningly gets under the belly of the whale, and with his sword vexeth, and forceth her to mount above the water, as I have said: this whale, upon her falling down again into the water, made a greater noise than the report of a cannon.

A whale in a calm betokens foul weather; for there cannot be a truer sign of a storm, than whales and porpoises playing upon the water. It happened in the ship in which I was taken prisoner off the *Burlings*, in 1591. the day sevennight before my taking, in the night-time the ship gave stem to a whale that lay asleep with her back above the water; the accident was so strange and rare, that it amazed the company, who gave a sudden shriek, thinking the ship had been founder'd upon a rock; but looking over-board they beheld the sea all bloody, which comforted them, conceiving it to be, as they found it was, a stem upon a whale.

In the year 1589. being at the islands *Azores* with my lord of *Cumberland*, after our overthrow at *St. Mary's*, as I have shew'd in my first book, and have had more particular occasion to speak of it in my fifth book, to bring this for an example of the greatest hazard I ever endured in my life, occasioned by a whale there, as you shall understand; to which place I refer you, because I will not be too tedious in this discourse.

In the reign of king *James* there was a ship of *Portsmouth*, the owner thereof my good friend, captain *Towersson* by name, who in her way, in company of other ships, to a fishing in *Newfoundland*, gave stem to a whale as she lay asleep; the ship had all her sails drawing, and a large wind, but for want of the company's looking out, she gave such a blow to the whale, that she presently founder'd; but by the help of other ships of her company the men were preserved, who otherwise had perished.

Many other accidents of this kind have happened to ships, which I need make no repetition

repetition of, they are so common; and this shall suffice for the subject of fishing, as well for food, as others that yield the commodity of oil.

I will speak little of the mermaid, because there are diversities of opinions: some think there are none; others that there are, though there be little doubt thereof; for we shall find in the year 1322. in our *English* chronicles, one taken in *England*, another in *Holland*, and a third in *Britany*; for the relation whereof I refer you to the authors aforesaid.

There is a tradition to this day in *Galicia*, one of the kingdoms of *Spain*, that a mermaid coming out of the sea, engender'd with a woman ashore, and begat on her a child: and to speak of later times, I see divers have seen them, who are now alive, and can justify it.

There are other strange fishes to be seen on the coast of *Norway*, and especially in sixty eight degrees of latitude, which are very wonderful, besides the great dangers and other particularities belonging to that sea, more than any other yet discovered.

In the country and height aforesaid there is a well called by the name of *Neal-stream*, which well draws the water to it with an in-drought, and with so great a fore-noise and dread to the hearers, during the time of the flood, which is six hours, that it is to be wonder'd at, above all wonders a man can report.

The force and violence of this flood is such, that its power reaches two miles about it every way; so that if a ship or vessel happen to be within that compass, it draws her into its bottomless gulph, where she is swallow'd up, and perishes.

The ebb has the contrary effect, which endures the said space of six hours, and sets off with the same violence the flood draws to it, insomuch that it will not suffer the heaviest thing that can be thrown overboard to sink. At this ebb the fishermen use to take away many sorts of strange deformed fishes, not seen elsewhere upon any coast whatsoever; one whereof I will take special notice of, which has been avowed to me by a very sufficient man who saw it; it is like an eel, and one hundred fathom long, which has sometimes entered a boat on the side, and pass'd through her on the other side; and if it be cut asunder, which a knife may well do, it casts forth the greatest stink in the world, and enough to poison a man that smells it.

Some are of opinion, that the stream pass'es under the ground through the parts of *Norway*, and bursts out again at the northermost part of *Finland*, where is ano-

ther *Neal-stream*, though not so violent or dangerous as this, and where the same kind of fish are taken as in the other aforesaid.

This place is called by some the *Navel of the sea*; and some think the ebbs and floods upon all the coasts on this side the equinoctial are caused out of this miraculous *Neal-stream*. I set this down but as a conjecture, not to be rely'd on; for the secret of ebbing and flowing is only known to God, and not to be apprehended by man; and so the philosophers acknowledge.

There are other dangers appearing upon our coast, but not so terrible and fearful as those of *Norway*; and for which, there may be reasons given, (as namely,) the race of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, the race of *Conquet* in *Britany*, the race of *Lyons* in *Italy*; and I have seen another, not much inferior to the least of these, at the isle of *Palma* in the *Canaries*.

That of *Portland* has been the destruction of many a ship and man, though it may be avoided, either by going within it towards the land, or without it to sea. The ship of war wherein I went the first time to sea, in her return from the coast of *Spain*, in her second voyage after, where she had made a profitable voyage, taking sundry *Spaniards*, as her lading would have witnessed, out of a covetousness to gain a league or two, though she might have easily avoided it, put herself into the race, little valuing the danger, and was presently swallowed up in view of her comforts, and neither man nor boy escaped.

The cause of these races that makes the bubbling and turning of the water and streams is the meeting of tides, and the foulness and rockiness of the ground, which makes that space of the sea, where this happens, to boil up like a pot upon the fire.

There are other places where the tide sets with wonderful force and swiftness, as well upon the ebb as flood; and namely, *Pintley Fritb*, which divides the whole continent of *Britany* from the islands of *Orkney*: I have pass'd it, and found such admirable tides, that I was amazed. I have heard people thereabouts say, that the force of that tide is such, that if a ship chance to anchor in it, and the cable and anchors hold, the strength of the stream is so violent, that she will be swallowed up at an anchor.

In the island of *Orkney* joining to it, as also upon the coast of *Norway*, the tide sets with that force, that he who knows not the nature of it will be afraid to approach near the shore; and yet experience tells us, that the tide sets from the land, and keeps a ship from running on shore.

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The sea produces many other strange things of nature, which I forbear to repeat; but the thing I covet to know, is what wonders the sea produces under the north pole, not yet attempted by any nation, though the *English* have approached nearest it, since the discovery of the island of *Greenland*, whither they resort to kill their whale.

Philosophers mention four indraughts in the ocean sea, in the four quarters of the world; from whence many conjecture, that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the wind, have their original: but these being mysteries above my capacity or reading, and nothing tending to the subject of fishing, which at last I have brought to an end, I will draw to a conclusion of my whole six books, making account, after a long and tedious navigation, I am at last arrived in a safe and secure port, where I have leisure to recollect my self, and think of my errors past, in taking so great pains to so little purpose, as to write so many lines and leaves of the sea only, few gentlemen delighting in it, or making profession of it: but before I end, as in my former navigation I have spoke of the profit of fishing, I will set down the enemy to fishermen and fishing in this that followeth.

There is no action at sea, be it great or small, that brings not with it both charge and danger; nor no business so easy that can be done, without pains and difficulty: and this subject we are now upon, that is, fishing, the only thing that is required in it, is labour and pains; for danger is little to be regarded, considering it is not far from home we are to seek our profit, nor our harbours so few, but they may be entered for our safeties both day and night, by erecting lights.

But indeed the greatest danger that may be feared to our fishermen, is interruption of pirates, who are the very scum of a commonwealth, and people to be abhorred by all honest and laborious men. It is usual, when these miscreants fail of relief of victuals, and are made desperate by want of it, to place all their hopes of food upon the poor painful fishermen, who, we may truly say, get their living with more hazard, with more pains, with more cold and watching, than any other trade or people whatsoever: their labour produces nothing that is ill, but the best help for man, which is food to live on.

Husbandmen and fishermen are the upholders of commonwealths; all other people live by their labours. They are stewards to provide sustenance to feed on; and yet comparing them together, there is great difference betwixt their lives and pains: the husbandman's work is without danger or ha-

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zard; and if he be wet, he has present help of fire to dry him; he is allowed a bed instead of the other's board to lie on; his diet is certain, and in a quiet manner, when the others are tost to and fro without a stedfast standing: if the one be cold, he may recover himself with exercise and work; if the other be cold, he is made colder, his labour being in cold water; the one keeps his certain hours for sleep, the other has no certain time to rest, but must attend his danger, which he is never free from: every hour he must be ready to look out for his shoal of fish, and watch his opportunity of weather and tide to take them: the one has pleasure on holidays, and is free from labour; all days are alike to the other; and the *Sunday* can give no more content or comfort, than the rest of the week.

What heart can be so hardened, or pirates so pitiless, as to disturb those harmless and innocent creatures, that make pains their pleasure, and their labour their countries plenty, procuring good for it by their own toils. And because such wickedness will never escape unpunished or unrevenged, as these pirates commit upon such harmless people, I will a while digress from the subject I have in hand, and relate a strange and tragical accident that deservedly befel two pirates that were disturbers of the innocent fishing.

#### *A Story of two Pirates.*

After my return from *Ireland*, in 1614, where I had been employ'd to suppress the arrogance and insolence of pirates, and where I punished the conniving that was betwixt those people and the inhabitants of that kingdom, I once again sent a bark for that coast, to be informed how things stood after I left them, and whether the severe course I had taken against them, in doing justice by death upon one of them, wrought better effect than before.

The first harbour my bark arrived in, she met a pirate named *Tucker*, a seaman bred from his youth, and continual practice made him excellent in his art and profession: he was very glad upon this occasion of meeting my bark to insinuate into my man's acquaintance, thinking thereby it would be a means for him to bewail himself to me, and to obtain the thing next to life he desired, which was his pardon, though he departed with the best part of his spoils, which were things of good value.

His persuasion prevailed so far with my servant, that though his directions were to view the northern parts of *Ireland*, where I had lately been, and there to inquire after the

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behaviour

behaviour of pirates, and the entertainment the country gave them; yet, as I have said, by the importunity of *Tucker*, my man was diverted from his employment, and persuaded to return with his letter of submission to me, on whom he wholly cast himself to dispose of, with promise there to stay a certain time to expect my answer; and to sweeten me the more, he presented me with a token worth accepting, but that I was always cautious in such cases how to connive at pirates, as in my letter I expressed. I mistrusted, before he could receive my answer, the winds then hanging contrary, he would depart from *Ireland*; whereupon I directed divers letters to one effect, and sent them by several ships, if they should chance to meet *Tucker* upon their way in their voyages. But as I have shewed the last refuge pirates have for victuals, is to feed upon the fishermen; and *Tucker* finding that *Ireland* could not supply him, by the strict course I had formerly taken, was forced to go to the northward, to seek succour of the poor fishermen, a contrary course to the ships that carry'd my letters: and coming to the north *Farro*, there he met with another pirate of the same sort, but far less honest, as it proved. These two concerted together, as thieves use to do in mischief.

The islands of *Farro* are dangerous, by reason of the great tides, and their setting; and it happened that *Tucker's* ship was wrecked upon one of them, in company of his companion, the other pirate; who seeing it, did not degenerate from his kind, for all spoils were alike to him, friend or foe; instead of help in that case of distress, play'd the part of a hawk over his prey, and had no more pity of him than of a *Spaniard*, who were most obnoxious to pirates in those days.

To be short, this pirate, who falsely called himself *Monnocho*, suddenly possessed himself of *Tucker's* ship, himself, his wealth and company; and used them with that rigorous cruelty, as though his action had been lawful, and allowed by authority to punish delinquents and offenders, and rather out of fear than pity, he shewed mercy to their lives; and mistrusting if he should detain them in his own ship, they might make a party and faction; for the condition of such people, is never to be constant, or honest, no longer than their devilish humours hold; therefore to avoid any such tumult, *Monnocho* seized upon an *English* fisherman, amongst many others he had taken, and put *Tucker* and his company into her, to seek a new fortune; which you must think was like to thrive, if you consider their course of life. And here they parted company like two wolves

that should separate themselves to seek their prey, they care not where, nor of whom, purposing never to see one another, unless the gallows gave them a meeting. *Monnocho* was a fellow of as base a condition as his present profession made him, being not long before a surgeon's mate, in a pinnace serving under me. And now hovering about those islands, it was his hap to meet a ship of the king of *Denmark's*, to whom the islands belong: this ship, after a little encounter, apprehended, and knew well what to do with him, so just that nation is to the detestable course of sea-rovers.

Here *Monnocho* found worse usage than he gave *Tucker*; for the time was not long before his ship made a return into *Denmark*, and in as short a while after he tasted deserved death upon the gallows; where he hung a spectacle for all men to behold.

Now *Monnocho* is brought to the destiny by right due to him; I will go scour the seas, and look if I can spy *Tucker*, being out of hope to find his ship put to that use for which she was first designed; I mean fishing.

After *Tucker* had spent some time at sea, domineering over the poor fishermen; they now tired with the usurping tyranny of the pirates, and being desirous to live by honest labour, rather than by evil pains, privately practised, and watching their opportunity, effected that they had determined to put in execution; which was, suddenly to surprize and seize upon the pirates persons, when they should least suspect it.

The attempt proved fortunate; for some they slew, and others they hurt; and *Tucker* they took prisoner, and insulted over him, as he had done before over them.

This lucky accident made the fishermen repair to shore, to supply their wants, their provisions being consumed by the pirates; as also to deliver the men, as delinquents, into the hands of justice, who were after conveyed to the *Marsbalsea* in *Southwark*, where they daily expected the doom of death.

The poor man, captain *Tucker*, being hopeless and friendless, sent me word of his misfortunes after his departure from *Ireland*, bewailing his hard hap and heavy chance, not to meet with any of my letters, written to him as aforesaid: He shewed the comfort of life was taken from him, and confessed his offences were above satisfaction; and that I was the only sheet-anchor he was to rely on; otherwise he was to perish.

I confess I was much moved and grieved with his calamity, when I remember'd how his



his penitency appeared in his former letter to me, repenting his misdoings, and detesting his kind of life, with a desire of pardon and forgiveness of his offences past.

This complaint came at an unlucky hour, both for him and me, it being in the midst of the time that malice set herself against me; for in few days after I was unjustly committed to the *Tower*; and yet I thank God by his providence, not an hour before I was imprisoned, I had finished and ended his pardon, that I might say the ending of his trouble was the beginning of my own; but not through his cause or occasion.

*Tucker* being set at liberty, was to dispose of himself as he should be guided by grace. And to give some sign of his thankfulness for the favour I did him, he resolved not to depart *London*, what shift soever he made to live, till he had acknowledged his life from me; and though at that time there was a general restraint of all people's resorting to me in the *Tower*, yet that prohibition was no sooner taken off, but *Tucker* was one of the first that repaired to visit me, with that protestation of thankfulness, and vows of amendment of his life, that he gave me satisfaction it proceeded from a penitent heart. It joy'd me much to see his reformation, and I held myself happy for the deed I had done in regaining a lost sheep that had stray'd out of the flock.

His credit being lost, which made him unfit for employment, moved pity in me what course to put him into; for no beginner can set up a trade without a stock to enable him: and to requite his remembrance of me, by the token he sent me from *Ireland*, I returned him the better part of that gift, wishing that good fortune would attend his happy beginning.

He was not long determining with himself, but immediately took a voyage to *Denmark*, whither he had often traded. Arriving there, and having occasion to go about his affairs, it happened, that passing a river, the ferryman of the boat knew him by an infallible token; for not long before the man was taken by *Tucker* at sea. The fellow had no sooner landed him and his fare, but speedily he hastened to the magistrate, requiring a warrant for his apprehension, alledging the cause; which was no sooner demanded than granted, all people of that country being naturally bent to revenge themselves upon offenders in that kind.

Being thus arrested, he was carried to prison, where he received the rigour of justice; and upon trial, by the witness of the ferryman was sentenced to die. The gibbet was erected near joining to that where *Monnocho*, his former companion, was still

hanging for him to behold, which was very odd; for it is not the greatness of the person, nor of the accident, makes a wonder the greater; for all things, be they great or little, are at the disposal of God alone, who many times advances the mean, and casts down the mighty. And it is worthy of observation, how in many cases he gives light to men, to discern his just punishment to some, for example of amendment of life to others.

And amongst the rest, this accident of these mean and ungodly pirates is no less strange, if we call to mind God's justice towards them, if you will consider the first progress of their beginning, till death cut them off, as it does all people that commit unnatural crimes; for such men never escape without cruel revenge: for a father of the church saith, *He ceases to be a man, and becomes a brute beast, that leaves the rules of reason and honesty, and gives his mind to mischief and sensuality.*

These two mens cursed courses are not unlike a novel; first in their unexpected meeting in remote islands, where they were both strangers; secondly, that upon their meeting they protested and vowed friendship, though I must say, that the agreement of ilk men in mischief cannot be called friendship: but call it what you will, it did not long continue; for there was a bone cast betwixt them, as it were, betwixt two ravenous mastiffs, to strive for, and the stronger to carry it away.

After these two pirates had parted company, the one stood to the northward, the other to the southward, a quite opposite course to one another, and where there was never likelihood of meeting more; but rather to avoid and eschew each other, their quarrel was so mortal: and yet both of them tasted one fortune alike; first in their apprehension, and after in their manner of execution; but above all, the place never doubted or feared by them; and where, perhaps, in many ages the like will not happen again, it being out of the road-way for such people to resort to.

This shall suffice for God's justice by example of these two miscreant pirates, and his detestation to their wicked courses against the silly and innocent fishermen, who, we may truly affirm and say, of all other people, get their living with the painful sweat of their brows.

I must not omit to give divers precedents of God's miraculous working in the example of fishing. Some I have heard avowed in the places where these accidents have happen'd; others I have by report, which is not so much to be credited, as, namely,

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at *Tenbigh* in *Wales*, a place not inferior to any that I know in his majesty's three kingdoms, for situation, air, plenty, and pleasure, which in times past enjoy'd a plentiful fishing; the other is the island of the *Lewes*, I have so often treated of.

These two places abounding at several times with an extraordinary quantity of fish, the minister of the one, and the bishop of the other, envying the prosperity of the poor fishermen, being led out of a covetous desire, sought to impose a greater tax by way of tythe, than had ever been before paid to their predecessors, which was no sooner questioned, but the fish vanished, and for a time became strangers to those shores where this happened; and as I will not conclude of the cause thereof, yet I will say with a father of the church, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*.

This shall suffice for so much as is contained in my sixth book, touching fish and fishing, and the merchantable commodity arising out of it; in which I will compare myself to a merchant, that freights his ship with sundry and several commodities, and sends them to several ports, thinking by the variety of wars to counter-vail the charge of the rest; for what commodity is desired in one country, is commonly little esteemed in another, as by example of gold, which above all other things is coveted in these parts of the world where we live, and nothing accounted of by the *Indians* where it is produced: hatchets, knives, and glasses, are held gross, base, and of little value by us; and yet esteemed in the highest degree of treasure amongst them: and so fares it with these six books, which are freighted and stuffed with superfluity of needless collections. Some perhaps may be delighted, and take advantage of them, how unworthy soever they may seem of themselves; for I remember the saying of that matchless and generous gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, That there was no book so bad, but had something in it that was commendable.

Whosoever is desirous to be informed in sea affairs, and actions in the late wars betwixt *Spain* and *England*, will find it in one of my six books: Whoever will seek to avoid errors and oversights by example of that war, may learn it: Whoever shall desire to know how a general ought to carry himself in the government of his fleet, will be instructed in it: Whosoever covets to understand how to defend his country, and offend others by sea, shall be taught it: Whosoever is desirous to sail into any of the four quarters of the world, as *America*, *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*, shall find the sea open, and discovered to his hands: Whosoever will delight himself with the passages, troubles, and conquests of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, and their enterprises upon new worlds, shall understand it: Whosoever will hear how the *Indians* were reduced to civility and christianity, he shall not be ignorant in it: Whosoever will put his hand to further such projects as are contained in the six books, shall not only see reasons to induce him, but shall deserve everlasting praise of his country, for his forwardness in them: Whosoever of an *Englishman* will live no longer in ignorance of what our seas produce to enrich them, shall have it discovered to their hands. Things to be admired at, when they shall remember their former errors.

I will say with Sir *Philip Sidney*, if any of these prove profitable, commendable, or delightful, the author is not to be condemned or blamed; for indeed he is like the merchant, spoken of before, that must seek to put off his ware, not by words, but worth; and as he refers himself to the buyer, so do I this discourse to the reader, to judge at his pleasure; for things give better counsel to men, than men to things; and in recompence for my labour and pains, I only crave a favourable construction, howsoever they shall appear in your conceit.

A N  
A D D I T I O N

T O T H E

Sixth and Last Book of FISHING,

A N D T H E

Reasons why it was divided from the other former Discourse.

**I** Forbear to annex this addition to the former relation of fishing, to avoid giving publick offence to the *Hollanders*; for it is an old saying, *That truth many times turns a Man to Ruin*; and I see that the present policy of our state is rather to dissemble an injury, than to revenge it, though the *Hollanders* secret envy is more to be feared, than when they declare themselves openly against us: but yet it shall appear that I have not been altogether ignorant of their beginnings and rise, but have carefully beheld their proceedings and actions, and can judge of their malicious detractions to us, and others; which is the nature of faction, at first to shew itself humble, till it mount to the top of ambition.

Our eyes and senses make it clearly appear, that they and their cunning courses are the mediate causes of the poverty that daily affails our glorious kingdom, as I shall instance some particulars within the land, before I ingulf myself into the open sea; which are as follow:

What trades and artificers of all kinds do they set up, to the ruin of many a poor *Englishman*, that has lived an apprentice and bondman seven years to attain his art and occupation?

What trades are there in which they have not stocks going, or scriveners with money to lend?

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What land is to be sold, or mortgage to be had, that they have not the first refusal of?

What marriages of man or woman, falls amongst them, that they will enrich the *English* with, so long as any of their country or tribe is found amongst them?

What maritime town, or other of account, within twenty miles of the sea, opposite to *Holland*, that is not stuffed and filled with their people, to the impoverishing of the inhabitants and dwellers?

What masses of money and gold have they, against the laws of the realm, transported out of it, as truth has made it plain?

What loss did they to the king and kingdom, when they and their faction opposed the brave work of dying and dressing of cloths, after it was in a good way of going forward?

What hurt or hindrance do they to our navigation, when they freight strange vessels, and refuse the *English* ships?

What an innumerable wealth have these people attained to, whose beginning was nothing when they made their first entrance into this kingdom? If it be consider'd, it will appear to be admirable.

And for all these domestick damages the subjects receive, his majesty has no

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more benefit by them, than if they were natural *English*.

These are the least to what shall appear when I launch into the ocean, and there encounter them; but in the mean time I will unmask their craft and cunning, and discover the subtilty of their *English* friends to intrap us in the snares of their policy, under the false colours and pretence of security to the state.

As well the one as the other desires it may be held a maxim of state, That the security of *England* must depend upon the fortunes of *Holland*; a foul imputation they cast upon us, when we remember the noble and victorious actions of our forefathers, who made other nations fear them, and they to fear none: but this position is devised to serve private mens purposes, contrary to truth or reason, as I will make it appear to the judgment of wise men. But under this conceived colour the *Hollander* plays the part of a *Panther*, which has a sweet scent, but a loathsome face, which makes other beasts follow till he has got them into his clutches. And the *Hollanders* have so entrapped us, that we are caught in their nets, and by nets we must be freed: we are made silly fishes, to be ensnared by the subtilty of those fishermen; but I hope we shall be released and relieved by fish, with our endeavour and pains.

Now to hoist sail and put to sea, to encounter, at least to discover, the *Hollanders* infolencies, their practices, their deceits, and designs, wherein I will make the indifferent reader wonder, and after judge, how dangerous a thing it was to put arms into their hands, and how necessary it is to bring them into the same state of shipping they were before the wars.

I will begin with the days of queen *Elizabeth*, speaking to the watchmen of our commonwealth of that time, and use an old phrase without application, *That profit and bribery makes a judge blind*.

Was it discretion and safety in those men, after the *Hollanders* had ingaged us in the war with *Spain*, that our ships were arrested, our goods forfeited, and from thenceforward prohibited traffick, yet to suffer the *Hollanders* to continue as absolute a trade into *Spain* as in time of peace, and supply them with ammunition, shipping, mariners, and intelligence against us? and rather than their manner of war should cease, by which they ingrossed the intire trade into their hands, if ever the king of *Spain's* army in *Flanders*, or his armado in *Spain*, should have wanted powder, or other abiliments for the war, they would have supply'd him: for all their drift was no more than to keep us severed from *Spain*,

and to prolong the war for their benefit of commerce and traffick. This was the beginning of their rising, to our ruin; and from this very day we must reckon, as from the birth of a child, their first life and prosperity.

Was it security for us, when our watchmen gave way to Monsieur, brother, and next heir apparent to the crown of *France*, and who had succeeded his brother, if he had outlived him, to be invested duke of *Brabant*, who had then enjoy'd the *Low Countries* with *France*, and who was no sooner placed in it, but he began treacherously to practise, by example of *Antwerp*, and other places?

Was it the part of friends, and with whom they had lately leagued, that when the king of *Spain* imploy'd a fleet against *England*, or upon defence of his own coast, he had ships, men, and his principal pilots, *Hollanders*, who were either prest in *Spain*, or willingly served against us?

Was it not cunning in the *Hollanders*, and fraud to us, when the greatest trade of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* into the *West Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brasil*, was in *Holland* ships, which defended the *Spaniards* goods from the *English*, with more slaughter to the *English* when they encountered, than ever we received from *Spain*? Here they supported an enemy by nature, to hurt and injure a friend by fact and proof.

Was it safety to us, or honesty in the *Hollanders*, in the year 1599. that her majesty rigged and furnished a royal navy upon a sudden service, and expected assistance of ships from them by contract, that in conclusion they sent but seven ships, and such, that the worst of ours was better than the best of them? Here they left us unprovided to encounter a danger; for a foe is as good that hurts not, as a friend that helps not.

Was it security, honour, or profit to us, that with an expence of more men and money than we have conquered kingdoms heretofore, we have maintained their principality, making mechanick persons equal with princes, raised a rabble commonwealth against the monarchy, trained up their people in discipline of war? that of a mean and timerous generation, we have put valour and knowledge of arms into their hands? And for all these unspeakable good turns done them, we have no more assurance from them, than discourtesies we receive in all parts where we meet: and no marvel; for popular states write favours in dust, injuries in marble.

Was it security, in all the time of war, to suffer our prime soldiers, and of all degrees, to be under their subjection, the most  
part

part of our wealth exhausted thither; and by consequence to be in their power to dispose of this kingdom as pleased most voices of their select council, which in their government is opposite to monarchy? For whereas monarchy propounds honour as the first thing, the second the publick good, and the third interest; a popular state prefers private profit, makes the common good the second, and honour the last.

Was it security to let go the cautionary towns, *Flushing* and *Brill*, being bridles to their insolencies? For by them we could at any time either curb, or give them their reins, as since we find by enjoying that liberty all their injuries towards us began, which before they durst not offer outwardly.

Was it, or is it security to us to suffer yearly three thousand vessels of theirs to fish upon his majesty's seas, and infringe his majesty's laws of *England* and *Scotland*, in which seas they are bound to acknowledge a sovereignty to the kings of both kingdoms? and under that pretence of fishing, they may use this stratagem, cunningly and secretly to put ten or twelve soldiers in every bus? and under colour of fishing, to land in some of his majesty's dominions, where it is to be feared they will not want a party?

Is it safety, when we enter into consideration, (by the multitude of their vessels increased out of fishing,) how they insult upon us at our own home and abroad, as, namely, in the *East Indies*, a thing able to move pity for the fact, and revenge for the doing it? and besides many other scorns and disgraces they put upon us, which need no repetition, because they are fresh in our memory? They resemble *Hecuba*, that has a human voice, speaking, like a friend, but is a wolf ravening like a fiend.

Is it good and beneficial to us to see the *Hollanders* enjoy our absolute trade of the world, and first discovered by us; and not contented with the moderate gain to themselves, labour by all indirect means to impoverish us, in uttering their commodities at an under rate, whereby to weary us of all such trades? For such is their covetousness, and such their unthankfulness, that they regard neither favours done, nor to be done them; and when there is no fear of revenge, there is little conscience of offence in a covetous man. *Lycurgus* says, *That riches and trade produce a scarcity of virtue.* And it is a rule, *That prove a man unthankful, and disprove him in all his other actions.*

By this false position, That *England's* safety must depend upon *Holland's* prosperity, we were driven to a war with *Spain*, and by

that war to defend their commerce; for they never undertook hostile act by sea against *Spain* till obliged by necessity that they were prohibited that trade: but the greatest mischief of all others, was tolerating their fishing, which we only might have enjoy'd; by means whereof we have resign'd our weapons, which are the ships increased out of it, into their hands out of our own, to dispose of to their advantage and our hurt, if at any time they comply with their king, and make him thereby mighty by sea, or if they cast themselves upon the protection of *France*, as they will do if *France* can bestead them more than we. This is a way, out of our cinders, to kindle a fire to burn and consume us.

It may be compared to a subtle woman, who, to abuse the simplicity of her weak husband with her hypocrisy and indirect practices, draws him to rely on her for the managing of his estate, being made believe he cannot otherwise subsist, according to the former proposition; but he dying, her voluptuous desires discover her foul intentions, and she despises his friends and children. In this simile *Holland* is the unnatural mother; this kingdom the silly husband; and the subjects the outcast and unrespected children.

Our watchmen, in their wisdoms, might have foreseen this, and prevented it by enjoying the fishing; for then had *England* kept the same strength by sea, which *Holland* has since attained to; then had *England* undertaken the same courses in fishing, as the *Hollanders* did; then would not *England* only have outstripped them, but all the world in strength of ships and wealth of subjects; and by consequence have caused not only an admiration, but a terror to all the world that should but hear of us, as now we are brought to reproach and scorn, by that mean nation of *Holland*, in remote countries, as far as the *Indies*, where they cast the imputation of a petty nation, and poor people upon us, and make themselves sovereigns and kings over this part of the world; and as vermine gnaw upon meat, so do they detract from the worthiest persons.

In this trade, as in all others, they either deprave us, or deceive us; by example of a merchant of note, who above five years since freighted a ship of red herrings, from *Yarmouth* to *Marseilles*, and departed in company of some *Hollanders*. It happened that by advantage of wind and weather the *Hollanders* arrived at their port, and made sale of their herrings to an exceeding gain before the other's coming. The *English* finding the *Hollanders* unburthened of their lading, some two hundred barrels excepted, desired to buy them at the rate the others had

had been sold, thinking thereby to keep up the price; but the *Hollanders* sold them at a low price to hinder and prejudice the others sale. This envy of the *Hollanders* was the greater, in that it was grounded upon malice, and not founded upon injury: for *Macrobius* says, *That anger is increased upon occasion, but malice upon ill condition.*

But if we enter into consideration of our other trades, which they seek to deprive us of, let their carriages in *Greenland*, in *Newfoundland*, and *Russia* appear, three places first known to us: in *Greenland* they contested with us in our whale-fishing, and were like to bring it to a naval battle, though the law of nations casts it upon us as the first discoverers. Here their envy appeared, and they shewed there is no such dangerous foe as the seeming friend.

*Newfoundland* being our ancient discovery, and that no nation could challenge interest therein but ourselves; not many years since the *Hollanders* practised to convey threecore or fourscore mariners, out of the west country, to instruct them in that manner of fishing; but it was discovered and prevented; beware therefore of them; for they are like a serpent, that never stings so deadly, as when it bites without hissing.

Notwithstanding, as I have shewed before, that they have brought the trade of *Russia*, from two ships of theirs to sixty, and the decrease of ours from fifteen to two, yet this would not satisfy them, but they practised with the *Muscovia* ambassador at the emperor's court at *Prague*, to forbid us the absolute trade of *Russia*; like envious persons that desire no good to any but themselves.

It is no less admirable how they take advantage of us, upon all occasions offered, as namely in the year 1628. when our wars with *France* prohibited our trading thither, whereby we were compelled to be served by the ships of *Holland* with the greatest part of wine that furnished this kingdom.

This prohibition much increased the *Holland* shipping; and they thereby raised their freight to their own price, and brought it from twenty four shillings to four pounds a ton; a sum never heard of, but upon that occasion.

One instance I will make apparent by a merchant of great account, himself being witness, and to whom it happened: a *Holland* ship being in the river of *Thames* to be sold, this merchant offered two hundred and fifty pounds for her, but could not have her under three hundred pounds; whereupon they parted for this difference of price, and the *Hollander* repaired to *Bordeaux* with his ship, and there procured a freight for

*England*, which cleared three times the value of what he would have sold her for; for to this merchant's knowledge, he gained nine hundred pounds by that voyage.

One great advantage the *Hollanders* have of us, is the built of their ships; there being little difference betwixt the *Hamburgerers*, or *Easterlings*, and them. This gives them a freedom of trade into all parts, as well friends as foes: as friends they pass for *Hollanders*, as enemies, they take upon them the name of *Easterlings*; so that betwixt the one and the other, they circumvent us in our freights of ships, and have just occasion to laugh at us; as, indeed, I confess we deserve it, when I consider what they do is under pretence of safety to this kingdom: for good words, and ill deeds, deceive the wisest.

They have many inticements to draw people and trade to them; they debar no man, be he *Turk*, *Jew*, or *Christian*, the freedom of religion; which made one truly say, *That the true religion was professed in Amsterdam*; for all sects, be they never so diabolical, are there allowed and maintained by some or other.

As for their customs and excises, though they be high, and indeed intolerable within the land, (for those mechanick people being in love with the word liberty, though they find it not in effect, live in excessive slavery, and pay impositions for every thing they eat or wear;) yet any thing brought in by sea, goes at a low rate; as for example of wine from *Bordeaux*, that which pays nine hundred pounds custom in *England*, will not come to above fifty pounds in *Holland*; and all other merchandize after that proportion. And this is the only cause of their great trade in their provinces above all other parts.

As these are their policies at home, so have they no less deceits abroad, but far less justifiable by the rules of honesty; for to make a man honest, is to take away the occasion of being dishonest; but contrary to the law of honesty, they injure, and will give no redress; they will suffer no wrong, nor yet give satisfaction in things of right: the thing they call good in themselves, how ill soever it is to others. But to come to them more particularly,

You shall not be ignorant of a policy of theirs, wherein they shewed craft and cruelty to the *Dunkirkers* they took at sea, only to abuse us; for when they had the chance to take one of them, which was not often, and that with the advantage of three ships to one, most inhumanly they would slay them, purposely to make us believe, their malice was implacable, and irreconcilable; and yet notwithstanding

notwithstanding these barbarous acts; they made their daily resort and trade into the ports of *Dunkirk* and *Flanders*, where they supplied them with victuals, powder, shot, or any other things they stood in need of.

And since then, as in the days of king *James*, in the view of all people; and though our articles of peace with the archduke did warrant our traffick thither, yet they would forbid it, and seize upon ships of ours as they entered the ports of *Flanders*, seeking to force us to *Calais*, from whence they knew our merchandise would be carried to *Flanders*, their drift being only to enrich *France* by our loss, with the customs we there paid: to thankful people the remembrance of benefits should never wax old; for no man is more bound to be grateful than they who have received such deep obligations, as I have proved the *Hollanders* have done from us.

Many grievances our merchants have received from *Spain* came by their foul practices, as namely, by their carrying counterfeit brass money into that kingdom, and laying it upon us; for which we have found a displeasure and punishment due for such an offence.

In time of peace, in the reign of king *James*, the *Hollanders* spared not to disperse rumours throughout this kingdom of fleets and preparations in *Spain* against us; to our no small scandal, as though we were born to fear, or that our intelligence seemed so weak as to receive it from them; when indeed they did it to nourish jealousies betwixt the two states, to eat us out of that trade, as they have done in all others.

He that shall read what is gone before, shall find that their ingratitude does as much appear, as a crow that picks out the eyes of him that first nourished him. And now I will apply my self to the watchmen of our time, to consider of these collections following;

1. Whether the ground and foundation of their positions, to make *Holland* equal in power with *England*, was laid with mature judgment, yea, or no? or out of some pri-

vate ends to advance themselves, fortunes, and credit?

2. In the second I would have them consider, in what estate *Holland*, and the people in it was in, before they contested with their lawful prince for sovereignty, to that they are now brought to?

3. The third, is to consider what a height they are now in, by our conniving with them; and we lessened and diminished by it.

4. The fourth, is the damage and hazard we have run in labouring to continue their greatness, and not seeking to abate it.

5. The fifth, is the discourtesies done us out of a covetous desire of gain, and we still to bear and permit them?

6. The sixth, is the condition of their *English* friends that still uphold their faction, and what the end of their designs are like to prove, if they be not let alone?

7. The seventh, is their strength by sea, and to think of a means to equal them in number of shipping, and how to bring their fishing and other trades into our hands; which may easily be effected, if my former proposition of fishing be prosecuted.

8. And lastly, it is to be consider'd, what tie or security we can have of them, longer than we yield to their insufferable injuries and insolencies? For they may well presume, that we bearing so many blows at their hands without revenge, demand the more:

And this shall suffice for a discovery of the *Hollanders* first beginning in greatness; their sixty and odd years of continuance, and their present state now in being; wherein their ingratitude to *England* is laid open, which the *Persians* define to be a spring of vice, the enemy of nature, the poison of amity, the ruin of gentleness and benignity. All men must confess they have found the true affection of friendship in us, described by *Plato*, That he is a good friend who does his friend good, but a mighty friend that defends him from harm.

*Some other Things I forbore to insert in this Sixth Book of Fishing, concerning the Islands Hebrides, and especially the Lewes, worthy of Consideration.*

I Forbore to handle the conditions of those islands, and the use the *Hollanders* may make of them, for the same reasons expressed before, as too tart a sauce for *Hollanders* tastes, and unfit to be published to the view of the vulgar sort.

But before I look so far to the northward as those islands, I will take a survey of my own country of *England*, and gather such collections as to make me understand the other the better.

I will not speak, as I am an *Englishman*; for all men naturally are partial to the country and soil that first gave them life and food; but I will speak according to sense and truth, to make my argument and reason the stronger, in what I shall say of the state of the islands *Hebrides*.

As God hath given a blessing to *England* above all other lands he hath placed and seated in this world; for, as it were, with his own finger he hath settled it in a sea for its own security, an annoyance to all other countries, in permitting and impeaching universal trades and navigations, as that we may truly say to that point, that we are only happy above all others.

For whereas the southern and richest part of *Europe* cannot subsist, nor the traffick of the *Indies* be maintained and upheld without such materials as are sent out of the northern regions; as also, that there is a necessity in the same case for the north to receive benefit of the south; all these navigations, as well the one as the other, must necessarily have their passage through our seas and channel, and by consequence fall into our mercies, as I have handled in my first book.

And as it has been an ancient position of state, for the kingdom of *England* to have an eye to its back-door, which was then *Scotland*, till both the kingdoms were blessed and united in one, whereby the occasion of jealousy, and the opportunity and practice of *France* ceased, that was wont to stir up coals, and set one nation against the other.

So I may say of these islands *Hebrides*, that they may be made as dangerous a back-door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as *Scotland* has been in former ages to *England*, being placed and seated with most advantage to annoy the two kingdoms aforesaid, if the *Hollanders* hold their footing they now have in them: the condition of the people of

*Holland* being considered with their popular government, which other nations begin naturally to affect, by the example and encouragement of their late successes and fortunes, by their wealth increased out of their trade, and by the excessive number of shipping, which are the dangers of islands; for without shipping they cannot be invaded.

By the *Hollanders* possessing those islands, they may make their rendezvous and staple of all their southern navigations, as well in peace as war; they shall find sufficient succours in those islands of victuals, both flesh and fish, to give them relief; they shall find that in those islands they shall be secured with several harbours of more importance and goodness, than their own coast can afford them; those islands will furnish them more natural helps against an enemy to defend themselves, if any attempt should be made against them; but above all, when they have thus settled and seated themselves, we shall lose our ancient and accustomed advantage of their passage through the *Narrow Seas*, which is the only awing power we have over them and all other nations; for they enjoying those islands, will be enabled to resort to them nine months in the year, and so to pass to *Holland* by the northern parts of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and avoid our channel and us, and our means to intercept them.

Moreover, in those islands, which are seated as a back-door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as I have said, and in so remote a place and distance from *England*, the danger is, that the people who are untamed, uncivil, will easily rebel by the insinuating practices and instigation of the *Hollanders*, who are ready to allure, entice, and undertake any unlawful action, which shall tend to the overthrow of monarchy, and to settle their own form of usurped government.

And therefore it behoves us to have a circumspect eye over the *Hollanders*; for if errors and dangers are not remedy'd in the beginning, after follows great and unavoidable mischiefs, like what is past; which is sooner to be repented than recalled.

This shall suffice to those points I have treated of in this sixth book, wherein I have unmask'd and discover'd, out of my own experience and observations, the *Hollanders* long and subtle deceits to abuse us; for all true-



true-minded *Englisfomen* to behold with an eye of indifference, how with cunning and craft they have still laboured to nourish divisions betwixt the two mighty kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*, merely for their own profit and gain, till the death of queen *Elizabeth*; when they could no longer support their politick practice, king *James* succeeding, who brought the blessed effect of his motto, *Beati pacifici*.

I could follow this subject of the *Hollanders*, but for making the bulk of this book too big; and that I would not do injury to another book that is written by the same author, entitled, *Certain Observations that are not worthy the name of history, that happened to England since the year of our Lord*

1558. and a little before. Which book contains these particulars:

The favours *England* hath done *Holland*.

The state of *Holland* from the beginning of their insurrections. The continuance, and what the end is like to prove.

Collections gathered out of a book written by Sir *Roger Williams*, and printed 1618.

Whether *Holland* do injury to their prince, yea, or no?

The desperate condition *Holland* has been often reduced to.

The difference of times betwixt the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, and the latter end.

### *A Relation of some Things that happened in the Reign of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.*

**T**Hough I have made a description at large of the *Hollanders* inconstancy, faithlessness, and manifest injuries they have offered to us, yet I must say there is no man so wicked or vicious, but some kind of virtue will appear in him, for which he deserves cherishment, as well as chastisement for the other; but naturally they are people that desire rather to live without virtue, than die without money; and this that followeth shall set forth their praises in the worldly carriages.

They are frugal in expence, the benefit whereof themselves and country find; they are industrious, as their actions at home and abroad do witness; they are just in contracts, holding a conscience in the little religion they have, not to defraud any man; they labour to seek out the secrets of lands not inhabited, and countries undiscovered; they are inventors of arts, which to their praise they have enriched the world with; they are willing without excuse to contribute for the good of the state, not standing so much upon privileges or petition of right, as to neglect any occasion of advantage to benefit their commonwealth; they are laborious and painful of body, not admitting a beggar in their provinces, and willing to relieve and comfort one another in strange countries; they are enemies to the expence of law and the griping of lawyers, and end most of their controversies by arbitration of friends: their expences in drinking are saved, and mitigated by their misery in eating: for out of their excessive covetousness they almost starve their bellies, and by their unmeasurable frugality they scarce cloath their bodies; for it is verily believed the people in one of their chief

cities spend not so much in apparel as is spent in a prince's court.

But all these virtues are drowned in a covetous ingratitude, that holds friendship with no body but for interest, which ends in the self-same interest: and no marvel; for popular states are no longer thankful, than they receive benefits; nor nothing is of shorter life amongst them, than the memory of pleasures or favours past: they are so careless to give satisfaction for the ill they do, that if it be demanded, it is as much as to speak of valour to a faint-heart, or charity to an unmerciful man, or of courtesy to a churlish disposition; for it will prove but the telling a tale to him that is asleep. The definition by a philosopher in matters of friendship is as followeth:

A friend is long sought for, scarce to find, and hard to keep; a friend is always ready to comfort in adversity, to help in necessity, to bear with one's infirmity, and reprove his errors gently. But the *Hollanders* are contrary in their friendship; for they are like an ill bird that lays an ill egg, an ill tree that brings forth ill fruit, or a young cub that grows crafty like his dam; they practise and follow the steps of their predecessors; they make riches the heaven of their thoughts; and as it is held no hurt to know ill, but to do it, these people are perfect artists as well in doing as knowing mischief.

Yet, to speak truth, their natural ill has been nourished and made worse by us; for if we had not connived at them and their actions, to our own prejudice, they had wanted power to have executed their ingratitude: therefore it had behoved us to consider

consider what we gave, before we gave; as also to whom we gave, and how we gave it; for states ought to be governed by wisdom, and not by popular affection or passion. Wise men should not measure things by outward appearance, but by discretion and reason, or else they behold their actions in a false glass.

But now let us at last seek to avoid that evil we have done in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, lest we feel the effect of repentance. It is not the meanest point of wisdom to doubt and mistrust the worst; for doubts beget understanding, and thereby prevention: and as in natural bodies the longer one lives in health, sickness is the more dangerous when it comes, so it is with us and the *Hollanders*; the longer

we have lived in a mutual and inseparable peace, now that they have over-wrought us with cunning, and made us feeble by the strength they have suck'd from us, it will behove us to recover our ancient vigour and valour, and be no longer deluded with false pretences of safety to us and the commonwealth. Let us follow the old rule in seeking to put out the fire of our neighbour's house, though he be our enemy, lest it should flame into our own; for it is an easier thing to oppose danger abroad than repulse is at home.

I have had occasion to insert some part of this last leaf in my former fourth book, which is there to be seen.

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*The End of the Sixth Book.*

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PHILIPPUS BALDÆUS DELPHENSIS V. D. M.  
PRIMO ANNUM IN PUNTE GALE, POSTEA  
IN REGNO IAFFNAPATNAM IN INSULA CEY-  
LON 8 Annos, iam in Geervliet 2. Ætatis 38. A. 1671.

BAR  
OF THE  
BOMBAY  
BRANCH  
OF THE  
SOCIETY

A  
Description of y<sup>e</sup>  
EAST INDIA  
COASTS OF  
MALABAR  
and CORMANDEL  
with their adjacent  
Kingdoms & Provinces,  
& of the Empire  
of  
CEYLON  
and of the Idolatry  
of the Pagans  
in the  
EAST INDIES.





A True and Exact

# DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Most Celebrated *East-India* Coasts

OF

*MALABAR* and *COROMANDEL*;

As also of the

*ISLE* of *CEYLON*:

With all the adjacent Kingdoms, Principalities, Provinces, Cities, Chief Harbours, Structures, Pagan Temples, Products, and living Creatures: The Manners, Habits, OEconomies and Ceremonies of the Inhabitants: As likewise the most remarkable warlike Exploits, Sieges, Sea and Field-Engagements betwixt the *Portuguese* and *Dutch*; with their Traffick and Commerce.

The Whole adorned with new Maps and Draughts of the chief Cities, Forts, Habits, Living Creatures, Fruits, &c. of the Product of the *Indies*, drawn to the Life, and cut in Copper Plates.

Also a most circumstantial and compleat Account of the Idolatry of the Pagans in the *East Indies*, the *Malabars*, *Benjans*, *Gentives*, *Brahmans*, &c. Taken partly from their own *Vedam*, or Law-Book, and authentick Manuscripts; partly from frequent Conversation with their Priests and Divines: With the Draughts of their Idols, done after their Originals.

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By PHILIP BALDÆUS, *Minister of the Word of God in Ceylon.*

Translated from the *High Dutch*, printed at *Amsterdam* 1672.

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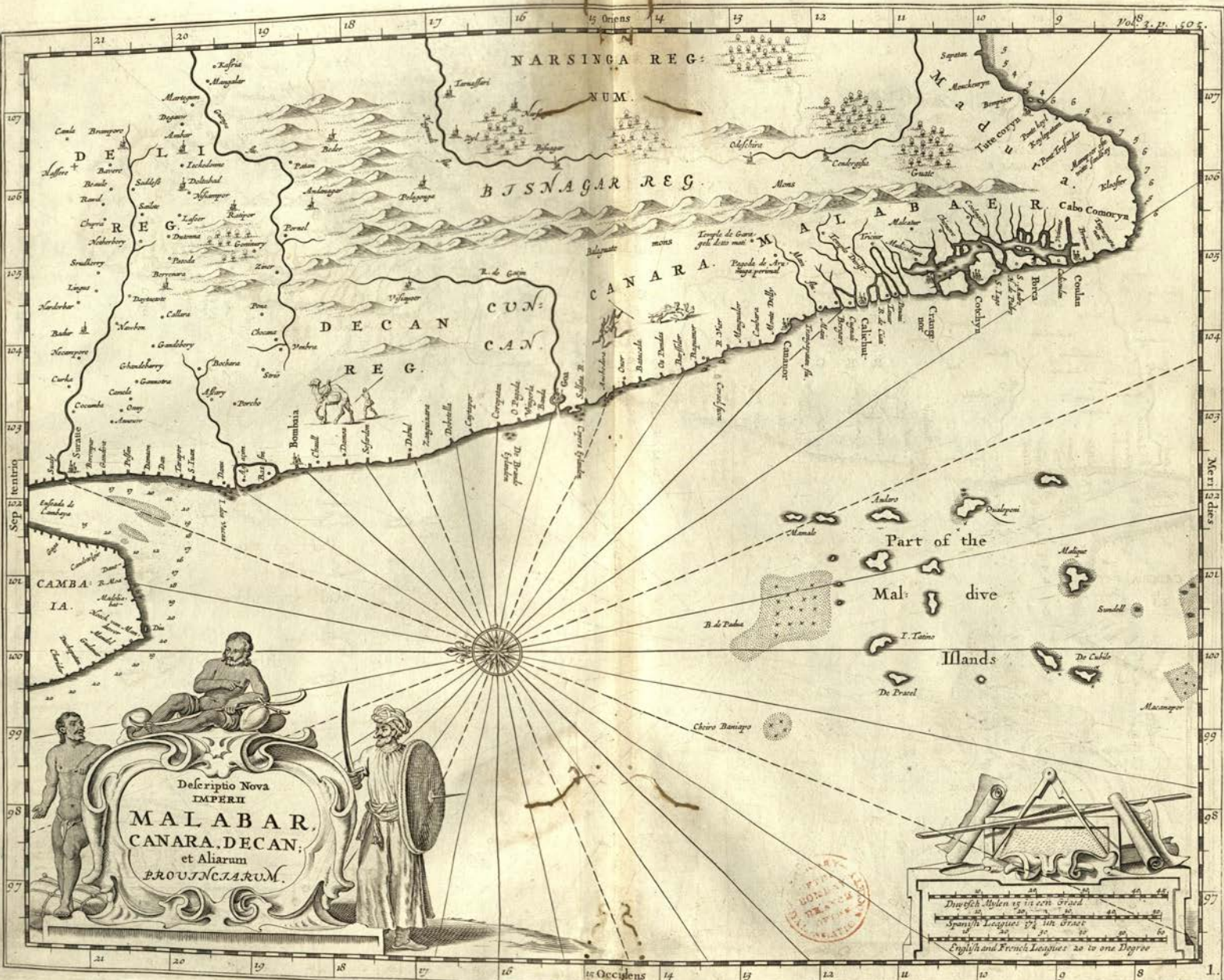


T H E  
P R E F A C E  
T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

**M**OST of the modern *East-India* voyages that have been published of late years, being very defective either in respect of the many fabulous relations that are inserted frequently, rather to please the reader, than to pursue the strict rules of truth, (not to mention the errors in the computation of the distances of places, and frequent unnecessary digressions,) it is no wonder, if the most curious in history have conceived a very indifferent opinion, if not an intire aversion to them. It was upon this consideration that the ensuing treatise coming to our hands, we thought it absolutely worthy the publick view, it being agreed by all who have had the opportunity of travelling in those countries, that the same may, in respect of its sincerity and exactness, challenge the prerogative before any other hitherto published upon the same subject. For, considering that the author thereof lived not only in the station of a minister in divers places of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, and especially for several years in the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* in the isle of *Ceylon*, but also assisted in person in divers sieges and expeditions, and thereby had more than ordinary opportunity to be informed concerning the nature and constitution of those countries, their products, inhabitants, manners, customs, religion, ceremonies, œconomy, traffick, manufacturies, civil and military exploits, and what else may be requisite for the accomplishment of a good history, founded upon the faith of one who had been an eye witness of those transactions; consequently he may challenge the preference before many, who relate matters chiefly upon hearsay. As to those things which are not grounded upon his ocular testimony, the same were taken from authentick records and manuscripts, and illustrated with maps and draughts of those several countries, cities, nations, &c. done to the life. What relates to the idolatry of these *Pagans*, we are convinced, by his own testimony, that besides the opportunity he had of visiting their *Pagodés*, or temples, (a thing rarely allowed there

there,) one of their most learned *Brabmans* lived with him in the same house for a considerable time, from whom he, by constant conversation, as well as out of their own records, learned the most secret recesses of their religion, and had the exact draughts of their idols, much beyond what *Abraham Royerius* (who writ upon the same subject) can pretend to upon that account. As for our part, we have made it our chiefest care to give you an exact delineation of the before-mentioned draughts in the best copper plates that could be procured; and that with all imaginable exactness, according to the true originals, contrary to what is practised by many, who study to represent matters of this kind, rather according to their own fancy, than to truth. We have only this to add, that to avoid all unnecessary prolixity, it was judged requisite to omit many digressions, tending not so much towards the elucidation of the history, (as we suppose,) to shew the author's criticism in the holy scripture.





DESCRIPITIO NOVA  
IMPERII  
**MALABAR.**  
**CANARA. DECAN.**  
et Aharum  
Prouinciarum.

Duyf sch. Mylen is in een Graad  
Spanij. Leagues 34 in breedte  
English and French Leagues 20 to one Degree

HOLLANDIAE  
MALACCA



An Exact  
**D-E S C R I P T I O N**  
 Of the COASTS of  
**MALABAR and COROMANDEL**  
 I N T H E  
**E A S T - I N D I E S.**

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C H A P. I.

*The Division and Limits of the Indies. The Author's Purpose in the ensuing Treatise. A Description of Cambaja and Suratte. The Treaty with the Great Mogul, by Mr. Van Teylingen.*

*Baldæus.* **T**HE main design of the ensuing treatise being to give an exact account of the *Indies*, as far as is come to our knowledge, either by our own experience, or the constant conversation with people of unquestionable credit, *viz.* the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, together with the isle of *Ceylon*, and places thereunto belonging; we thought it not beyond our scope to insert the true limits and division of the whole *Indies*, whereby the reader (together with the annexed map) may form to himself the more clear idea of the situation of these places.

*The limits of the Indies.*

*India* therefore borders to the west upon the river *Indus*, towards the *Arabian Sea*; to the north it is inclosed by the mount *Taurus*, on the east side by the vast *Eastern Ocean*, and to the south by the *Indian Sea*. *India* was anciently divided into two parts by the river *Ganges*; thence the more eastern part was called *India* beyond the *Ganges*; and the western part *India* on this side of the *Ganges*, now known by the name of *Indostan*, and, according to the opinion of some authors, is the same mentioned in the scripture by the name of *Havila*.

*India* is besides this divided into several kingdoms and provinces, to wit, the empire of the *Great Mogul*, *Decan*, *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, *Crika*, *Bengale*, *Pagu*, *Siam*, and *Cambaja*, besides the *Maldivè* isles, (of which

there is a vast number,) the islands of *Ceylon*, (of which in the second book,) of *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Celebes*, *Amboina*, *Banda*, and the *Molucque* isles, *viz.* *Termate*, *Machian*, *Bachian*, *Tidor*, *Motir*, *Potbacker*, and divers others.

As it is not my intention to treat of the whole *Indies*, but to confine my self to those parts I have for the most part seen my self, and to give you a relation of such remarkable transactions, both of peace and war, as have happened there; so I will begin with the kingdom of *Cambaja*, and its capital city, having the same name, and end with *Bimilipatam* upon the coast of *Orixa*, bordering upon *Bengale*.

*Cambaja* is a different province from *Gururatte*, situate at twenty two degrees of northern latitude; it has got its name from its capital city named *Cambaja*, (formerly the *Indian Cayrus*,) seated at the mouth of the river *Indus*, (or *Sandus*,) known by different names among divers nations: it rises among the mountains of *Paramisus*, and being augmented by at least nineteen other rivers, (among which are the *Hydaspes* and *Hypasis*, whither *Alexander the Great* carried his arms,) it falls by seven different channels, or, as some will have it, by five, into the sea, two of which pass through and exonerate themselves into the sea in this kingdom of *Cambaja*. It borders to

*Baldeus*. the east upon the country of *Mandoa*, to the west upon the country of the *Nautakers* or *Gedrosiers*, to the north it has the kingdoms of *Sanga* and *Dulcinga*, and to the south that of *Decan*. It is one of the most fruitful provinces of the *Indies*, which furnishes the circumjacent places with corn, wheat, rice, pease, butter, oil, and divers other provisions. The inhabitants are generally either *Gufurattiens* or *Benjans*, being much addicted to traffick, and very quick in their dealings. They make here the best calicoes of all forts; and the country abounds in indigoe, granates, hyacinths, amethists, and divers other precious commodities. According to *Cluver's* computation, *Cambaja* is one hundred and fifty *German* leagues long, and as many broad.

The city of *Cambaja* (called the *Benjan Paradise*) lies, according to the common computation, sixteen leagues to the west of *Brochia*, seated at the entrance of one of the largest channels of the river *Indus*. About three leagues thence, on the opposite shore, is a great village, inhabited by the rebellious *Raspoutes*, a perverse generation, living for the most part upon rapine. This river is almost dry all the winter, though at high tide it rises several fathoms deep, so that then ships may come up to the very walls of the city, where at low tide it is fordable. This city is reckoned as big again as *Suratte*, being well built, and fortified with a tripple wall: it has three *Bazars*, or great market-places, for the sale of all forts of merchandizes, and twelve gates; besides that almost every street has a peculiar gate, which is shut up every night, to prevent disorders: its whole circuit is about six or seven *English* miles; and without the gates are four very delicious large cisterns or ponds, and fifteen gardens, for the diversion of such of the inhabitants as are pleased to divert themselves there with walking in the cool of the evening. They are for the most part pagans, and addicted to traffick, especially in all sorts of stuffs for clothing, which they transport to *Diu*, *Goa*, *Atchin*, *Mecba* and *Perfia*.

*Amadabath*, the capital city of the province of *Gufuratte*, lies eighteen leagues from *Cambaja*, about twenty three degrees and a half northern latitude, and consequently directly under the tropick of *Cancer*: it is seated in a great and most delightful plain, just on the bank of a very fine river; it is both strong and populous, being fortified with a goodly wall with round turrets and twelve gates.

The streets are very broad, the houses very handsome, and the pagan temples stately built. In the center of the city is

the castle, the residence of the governor, *Baldus*, surrounded with a very high wall; the gates whereof are guarded by a certain body of troops, who let no body pass or repass without leave, this being formerly the ordinary seat of their kings. The commodities found at *Amadabath* are girdles, turbants, gold tissues, silk stuffs, satins, damasks, tapestries, suchar, amspien or opium, gummi lacca, borax, preserv'd ginger, mirabolans, sal-armoniack, and indigo. Under the jurisdiction of *Amadabath* are twenty five considerable towns, and two thousand nine hundred and ninety eight villages.

The city of *Suratte* is a place of great traffick, both the *English* and *Dutch* having factories here: it lies open to the water-side, except that the castle is well provided with cannon brought from the ship *Middleburgh*, which was lost there 1617. But on the land-side it is fortified by a wall of stone, the old fortifications being only of earth: it has no more than three gates, but two governors independent on one another, one of the castle, the other of the city. Next adjacent to the palace of the last stands the custom-house, where all goods imported or exported pay three and a half *per Cent*. custom, except gold and silver, which pay only two *per Cent*.

These custom-house officers are very troublesome and injurious to strangers, and have often given great cause of complaint to our company, as will appear from the following petition, and the *Mogul's* patent (or *Firman*) granted to the said company, and dated the 15th day of the month *Rammafay*, in the 16th year of the king's reign, and since that of *Makomet* 1052.

“THE *Dutch* are approached to the gates of your majesty's court, expecting at the feet of your majesty's throne (whose brightness is like that of the sun, and reaches to the skies) the happiness of seeing the eyes of the greatest monarch, to offer their just complaints against the officers of your majesty at *Suratte*, who have been extremely troublesome to them, in exacting from them illegal duties of their goods bought at *Agra* and *Amadabath*, and thence brought to *Suratte*. they humbly request your majesty to send your orders by your *Duwan* or commissioner to the custom-house officers at *Suratte*, with strict command to regulate themselves accordingly, as they expect to be accountable for it to your majesty.”

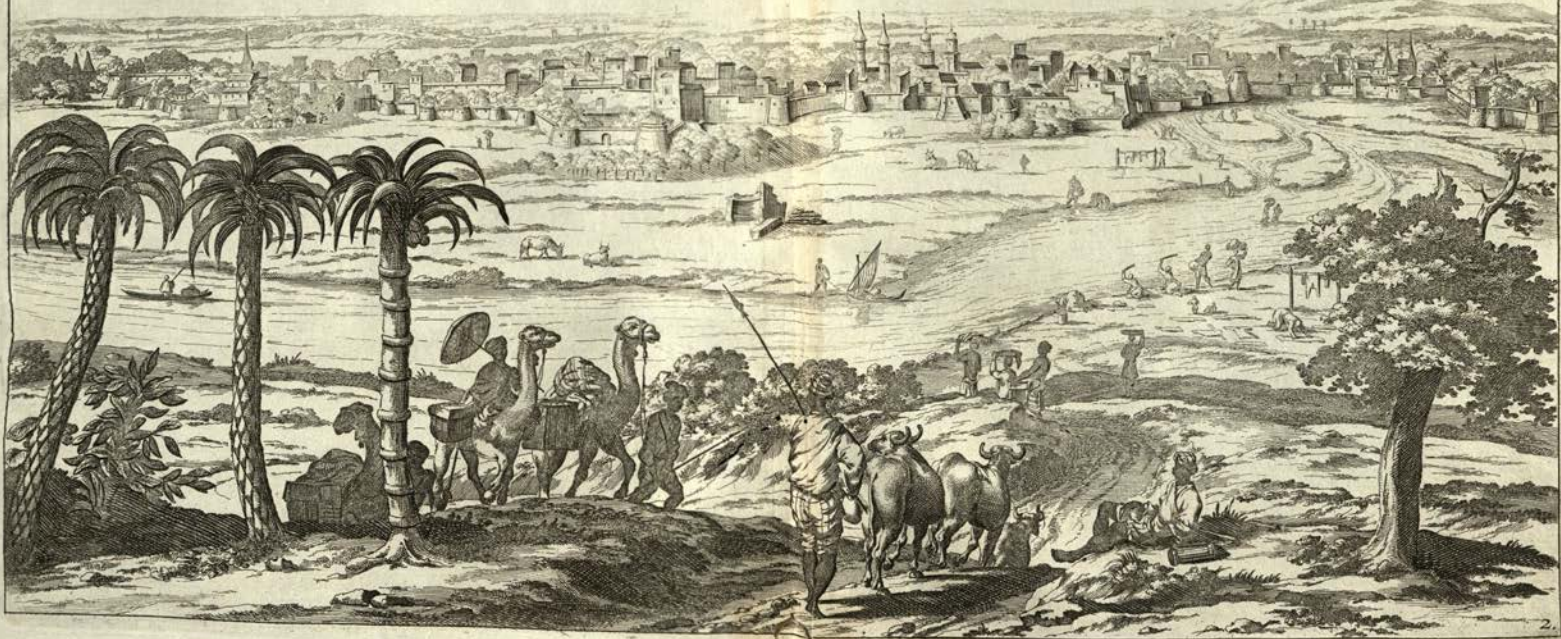
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The City of  
AMADABATH



SURATTE.





*Baldæus.* The king did immediately dispatch his orders, that the custom-house officers should not take from the commodities bought at *Agra*, and belonging to the *Dutch*, from ten to twelve *per Cent.* and those bought at *Amadabath* ten, or ten and one half *per Cent.* that they should be obliged to rest satisfied with the bills of loading given them by the *Dutch* merchants, and exact no more custom under any other pretence; that furthermore, all commodities bought at *Broderra* and *Suratte* should pay according to the price they were bought for; and that they should avoid giving any just reason of complaint to the *Dutch.* But these promises had not the desired effect, as will appear out of the next following letter of Mr. *John van Teylingen* president and governor of the *Dutch* factories in *Gusuratte*, *Indostan*, and *Mocha.*

Mr. Van Teylingen's Letter.

“ **W**Hereas by the manifold exactions and injuries, the robbing of the factory of our company, the detention of *Daniel Massouw*, barber's mate, and divers other enormous proceedings, the persons in the service of the company, in the empire of the *Great Mogul*, have received considerable detriment from divers of the *Great Mogul's* officers, (contrary to the intent of his *Firman*, or letters patents,) which must needs tend to the great damage of the company in general: it has, after mature deliberation, been thought expedient, by Mr. *Cornel. van der Lijn* governor-general, and the rest of the members of the council of the *Indies*, to redress the said affronts and injuries by force of arms. The yachts, the *Larck*, the *Sluice*, the *Lillo*, and the *Eight Churches*, being equipped lately for that purpose, and to be joined by divers other ships from *Batavia*, we give the command thereof, during my absence from the fleet, to the head factor *Gerard Pelgrim*, which however shall cease that minute, when I come aboard any one of these ships in person. To prevent all disorders, rapine, and other enormities, I do by these presents give a strict charge to all the officers, of what degree soever, and to all the soldiers and seamen aboard these vessels, not to hurt the *Moors*, either in their lives or estates, (this being contrary to the intention of the council,) but only to seize upon their ships, money, and goods, and to secure them, till satisfaction be obtained by the company upon their just pretensions. We therefore once more command all the officers, soldiers, and seamen, without exception, not to injure or rob (after the seizing of any of these ships) the *Moors* in their persons or goods, under the penalty of

“ corporal punishment, and (according to *Baldæus.* the nature of the crime) of the loss of their lives, as they will answer the same to the contrary at their peril.”

Given at the Dutch Factory at *Suratte*,  
Feb. 10. 1649.

JOHN VAN TEYLINGEN.

The following Order was likewise directed to the Head Factor *Gerard Pelgrim*, and the Factor *Peter Ruttens.*

“ **I**T being firmly resolved in council, the 25th of *October*, to prosecute with the utmost vigour the design laid formerly by the governor-general, and the council of the *Indies*, (which was delayed by our long stay,) with the first opportunity, the yachts, the *Sluice*, *Larck*, *Lillo*, and *Eight Churches*, are chosen for that purpose: but two of them being now at *Mocha*, and the other two ordered to stay there the winter at *Dabul*, we constitute the head factor *Mr. Gerard Pelgrim* commodore over the said ships, as soon as they are rejoined aboard the *Larck*, or any other of these ships he shall be pleased to chuse, where he shall carry the flag, with authority to call on board the council of war when occasion requires. In his absence, or separation of the ships, the factor, *Peter Ruttens*, shall exercise the same authority as *Gerard Pelgrim*, both which however shall cease with the arrival of the president *Mr. John van Teylingen.* Whether the two before-mentioned yachts shall leave *Mocha* together, or not, is not yet determined; but in the mean while we strictly charge you, that so soon as you have notice that the *Chasirovan*, (a ship of a vast bulk,) or any of the other ships belonging to *Suratte*, are preparing to depart you set sail some days before them, under pretence of being bound (according as we used to do) for *Gamron.* All which is to be understood, provided matters be not brought to a happy conclusion before that time; for if that were, you have nothing to do but to prosecute your voyage in good earnest thither, unless you had a sure prospect of gaining considerably by your stay, and increasing the price of your cargo. For the rest, it is to be your main concern, to take effectual care that none of the *Great Mogul's* ships, nay, even such as trade thither from *Diu*, escape your hands; and especially to keep a watchful eye over the *Chasirovan*, which commonly sails sooner than the rest, and has more ready money

*Baldæus.* “ money aboard. In case it should happen  
 “ (which we hope it will not,) that the  
 “ yacht the *Eight Churches*, which is to  
 “ return from *Gamron*, should, by some  
 “ accident or other, be detained in her  
 “ voyage, we have provided against it, by  
 “ dispatching to the commanders thereof a  
 “ copy of these orders for their direction up-  
 “ on occasion; which after the return from  
 “ their voyage they are to deliver, sealed  
 “ up, into your custody, where the same is  
 “ to remain till you set sail again; which  
 “ is to be redelivered to them to serve for  
 “ a sure direction, in case you should be  
 “ separated at sea. Silence ought to be  
 “ your most peculiar care in this case, for  
 “ fear the secret coming to the ears of the  
 “ *Moors*, they should stop the departure  
 “ of their ships. The *Larck* and the *Lillo*,  
 “ and in default of those, the *Post*, after  
 “ their first appearance here, shall be sent  
 “ to *Gamron*, whence they shall sail pret-  
 “ tily late, as if bound for *Batavia*; but un-  
 “ der pretence of being unable to prosecute  
 “ their voyage, come to an anchor in the  
 “ road before *Dabul*, from whence they  
 “ shall sail, Aug. 15. steering their course  
 “ directly for the river of *Suratte*; where  
 “ they are to stay till the arrival of the  
 “ president Mr. *John van Teylingen* a-  
 “ board them; and in the mean while  
 “ seize upon all the *Moors* vessels coming  
 “ from *Mocha*; yet so, as not to commit  
 “ any further outrages against them, ex-  
 “ cept only to keep them in safe custody  
 “ till the company shall have received sa-  
 “ tisfaction from the king *Cbastiaan*. So  
 “ soon as they have retaken a vessel, they  
 “ shall take the *Nachodas* merchants and  
 “ seamen over in their ships, and keep  
 “ them under a good guard, yet without  
 “ any molestation, rather shewing them  
 “ all the marks of respect and civility  
 “ that can be; and shall put as many sol-  
 “ diers and seamen of ours aboard such a  
 “ ship as shall be thought sufficient to keep  
 “ her: and proclamation is to be made,  
 “ enjoining every body to abstain from  
 “ doing the least injury to the seized  
 “ *Moors*, either in their persons or goods;  
 “ and officers are to be appointed to see  
 “ the same put in execution. After we  
 “ have got all, or most of the *Moorish*  
 “ vessels into our hands, you shall take  
 “ care to embark all the *Facquiers*, and

“ other loose people in one ship, and to  
 “ let them sail their ways where they  
 “ please, they being not worth our keep-  
 “ ing. This done, you shall take the first  
 “ opportunity of fair weather to trans-  
 “ port, first the ready money, and after-  
 “ wards the merchandizes aboard our ves-  
 “ sels; but so, as that they be well pack-  
 “ ed and sealed up first, an exact in-  
 “ ventory made, with the names or marks  
 “ of the respective owners; each parcel  
 “ is to be marked with a peculiar letter,  
 “ a copy of which is to be given to the  
 “ owners, and a written acknowledgment  
 “ to be taken from the *Nachodas* of what  
 “ is thus taken, and to be redelivered,  
 “ in case matters be adjusted hereafter,  
 “ that so every one may know where to  
 “ look for his own; the factor being to  
 “ be careful in this point, in the transpor-  
 “ tation, as well as the master of the  
 “ ship in receiving, as they will answer for  
 “ the loss at their peril. The *English*  
 “ yacht coming from *Mocha* you are to  
 “ let pass unmolested for weighty reasons,  
 “ pursuant to the resolution taken in  
 “ council the fourteenth. The same is to  
 “ be done in respect of all *French*, *Da-  
 “ nish*, and all other ships in amity with  
 “ the states, provided they don't attempt  
 “ any thing upon the *Moors* in your custo-  
 “ dy; in which case you shall defend your-  
 “ selves to the last extremity. Lastly, if  
 “ the matter could be so contrived, that  
 “ our vessels coming from *Mocha* might  
 “ intercept and seize the ships of *Cambaja*,  
 “ and carry them to the river of *Suratte*,  
 “ it would be a singular piece of service,  
 “ and much hasten the accommodation. I  
 “ conclude, wishing you health and hap-  
 “ piness in your voyage and undertaking,  
 “ for your own glory, and the interest of  
 “ the company.”

From the Dutch Factory at Suratte,  
 Feb. 20. 1649.

Signed, *Arent Barentsz*,  
*John van Teylingen*,  
*Joost Dirik*,  
*Adrian van der Burgh*,  
*Daniel van der Hagen*,  
*Gerardo Pelgrim*, and  
*Elias Boudaan*.

Baldaeus.

Baldaeus.

## C H A P. II.

*The Treaty carried on. What Articles were proposed by the Dutch, and agreed to by the King. His Patent, or Firman, and Ratification of the Treaty.*

FOR fear of exasperating the Great Mogul beyond redress, it was thought fit to dispatch the following letter to his majesty.

MOST renowned, most potent, and most illustrious king, and lord, filled with majesty and wealth, the brightest princes among the most powerful; As an unjust war is deservedly detested by all nations, and seldom comes to a happy conclusion; so our being obliged to act against your majesty (pursuant to the command of our general, and the council of the *Indies*;) is founded upon very just and legal pretensions. Had your officers thought fit to treat us according to the tenour of your majesty's patent, or *Firman*, granted to us, we should never have attempted to raise any differences betwixt your majesty and us, much less have had recourse to open hostilities. But when we were forced to see our traffick, not only in this place, but also at *Bengale*, interrupted and spoiled by most injurious monopolies (to the great detriment of the company) by intolerable affronts, and refusing our just request, and humble petitions, to have the two fugitives, and since circumcised servants of the company, delivered into our hands; and to have due reparation made for the damage sustained by the company in the robbery committed upon their factory. All these injurious proceedings have obliged our governor-general, and the council of the *Indies*, to have recourse to the law of arms, to procure us reasonable satisfaction; and having for this purpose sent us four ships from *Batavia*, we did the 12th and 16th of this month, seize your majesty's ships the *Genjawer* and *Sababbi*, (coming from *Mocha*;) and after having taken out of them all the ready money they had aboard, and understanding that the said *Genjawer* and *Sababbi* belonged properly to your majesty, we thought fit (out of respect to your person) to have them carried by our seamen into the river, and under the castle of *Suratte*, not questioning but what we have been forced to undertake upon this account, for the maintaining of our just rights, will meet with a favourable construction from your ma-

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“ jefty. The money seized by our vessels, shall not suffer the least diminution, but be kept with all security, till such time that your majesty shall grant us a new patent in due form, pursuant to such articles as we have orders from our superiors to represent to your majesty, and are as follows:

“ I. It is desired that leave be given to build a warehouse for our own use, either in or near the square of the castle, where we may lay up safely our merchandizes at the first hand free from those diminutions and losses we sustained yearly in the *Alphandigo*, paying exactly the usual customs; that done, we shall be at liberty to carry on our traffick, as formerly, undisturbed and unmolested.

The governor's answer was, “ That either a place or house should be granted us just without the castle, not far from the *Alphandigo*, for our proper use only.

“ II. We desire that our traffick may be carried on without disturbance at *Bengale*, and in the circumjacent places, free from paying any duties, except what is paid usually at *Pipeli*, (the place where goods are embarked,) pursuant to the patent formerly granted by his majesty, but contravened by the avaritious governors. Hereunto it was answered, “ That the governor *Miermosa* should endeavour to obtain this point from the king.

“ III. Restitution was required of such sums of money, as of late years had been unjustly detained, both at *Suratte* and *Amadabath*, and full satisfaction desired for what customs had been extorted from our ships betwixt *Agra* and *Amadabath*, contrary to the express words of his majesty's patent; the whole sum amounting to forty one thousand four hundred and seventy nine *Ropias*.

“ IV. His majesty was requested to issue his orders for the full restitution of what money was taken out of our factory at *Suratte*; and that a certain sum (as his majesty should direct) might be allotted in lieu of satisfaction for the robbery committed upon the said factory, the murdering of the company's servants, and the injuries and affronts put upon us: the sum of the money taken away from thence amounting to sixty six thousand *Ropias*.

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Unto

*Baldæus.* Unto these two points the answer was made; "That the restitution of what was taken from us was a reasonable request; but to give satisfaction, for that other enormities were committed by robbers, (since fled from justice,) was not in their power; but if any of these criminals could be taken, they should be delivered into our hands.

"V. That for the future none of his majesty's ships, or any others belonging to those of *Suratte*, *Bengale*, or other places, should traffick to *Achin*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Oedjang-Salang*, *Malacca*, &c. and in case they should, they might be seized and declared as good prizes by our vessels, by reason that the company being then engaged in a war against these places, were resolved to block up their rivers, and to keep all foreigners from trafficking with them by sea, till they have received entire satisfaction at their hands.

"VI. It was desired that his majesty would deliver to us the (beforementioned) two circumcised servants of the company; and if they were at present out of reach, to deposit into our hands, in lieu of them, four hundred thousand *Ropias*; which sum shall be restored immediately after the delivery of these two persons.

The answer was; "That one of these circumcised fellows was retreated many years before into *Persia*; and the last died in his flight about eight months before: but if they would have his bones, they would endeavour to procure them.

"VII. That if ever any of the company's servants shall run away hereafter, they shall not be protected, much less be circumcised; and in case any of the inferior officers should notwithstanding this detain any of them, (contrary to your majesty's knowledge) they shall be obliged to deliver the same to us.

"This article was granted, provided they did not take refuge among the *Raspoutes*, then in rebellion against the *Mogul*.

"VIII. That satisfaction should be given for what expences the company had been forced to be at both by sea and land, since the robbery committed upon their factory.

"This article was rejected, a general satisfaction being promised already.

"IX. That for the future a sufficient guard should be kept to protect the servants and goods of the company from the like danger; and that in case any such thing should ever happen again, the governor shall be obliged to make satisfaction.

"It was promised, that for the future a *Baldæus.* guard should be kept to secure the company against all danger.

"X. If our *Cassila*, or caravan, (which God forbid,) should be plundered by the way, that the governor shall be obliged to find out the goods; and if found, restore them to us, and in case of neglect, to make satisfaction for them.

It was answered; "That we must sue for a *Firman*, or patent, on that account, which would without question be granted.

"XI. That in all the cities, towns, and territories under his majesty's jurisdiction, we shall be exempted from paying any duties, custom, or impositions, except the customs at *Suratte* and *Brochia*; and in case any money should be exacted from the servants upon that account, the money shall be made good by his majesty's *Duwan*, or commissioner, at *Suratte*.

"XII. That the custom payable from such goods as are to be exported, shall continue on the same foot as settled by the king's last *Firman*, or patent.

"This article was granted without the least limitation.

"XIII. That the customs of the merchandizes imported, shall (as formerly) be satisfy'd with merchandizes each in its kind.

"This was also granted.

"XIV. That we shall be at liberty to dispose and sell our cargo's and goods where and when we please, without being controuled therein by the governor, or any other merchant.

"This was likewise agreed to.

"XV. That no governor, of what quality or degree soever, shall obstruct us in the buying up what commodities we have occasion for, or employing of brokers and other servants for that purpose, such as we judge may be most serviceable to us; neither shall they be taxed, or otherwise molested on that score.

It was answered; "That doubtless his majesty would grant that article; and that in the mean time no body should intermeddle with the traffick belonging to the company.

"XVI. That no body, of what degree or quality whatever, shall pretend to obstruct us in the sending away of our goods, or stop our *Cassilas* (caravans) or carts, and camels thereunto belonging, much less to endeavour to detain the same after they have been hired.

Unto this it was answered, "That the king would doubtless grant this request.

"XVII. In case of any contests arising betwixt both the nations, whereby mur-  
" der

*Baldæus.* “der or manslaughter may ensue, (which God forbid,) the governors shall have power only to punish the criminal, if he be one of his subjects; but if he belong to the company, he is to be put into the hands of our directory, in order to be punished according to the laws of our country; and if any of our people engage with any of the *Indian* women, the same shall be delivered up to us to suffer condign punishment.

Unto this it was answered, “That this article must be referred to the king’s determination; but that further satisfaction should be given upon this head to the *Dutch* company at *Suratte*.

“XVIII. If by tempests, or other accident, some of our ships should be stranded, or otherwise be lost in these coasts, the goods saved by your majesty’s subjects shall be restored to the owners.

“This was granted.

“XIX. That we shall be maintained and protected in the quiet enjoyment of the propagating and refining of the salt-petre; and that we shall meet with no opposition from the governors in transporting the same, or be burdened with new exactions, as it happened two years before when the prince of *Zaatfchan* squeezed six hundred ropias out of the company.

“This article was referred to the king.

“XX. That such as shall be injurious in words to any of our nation, shall be punished by the governor, in the presence of the affronted party, to prevent further inconveniencies, which otherwise might arise from thence.

“This article being very just, was agreed to.

“XXI. That we shall have full liberty to keep and maintain the yatch we always have had upon the river of *Suratte*, and (in case this becomes useless) to build another, and use it as formerly, for our diversion, or other occasions.

“We don’t in the least doubt, but that your majesty, according to your wonted bounty, will take into serious consideration this our humble, but nevertheless just and equitable request; it being our constant wish, that matters may be brought to a speedy accommodation: and we promise that immediately on the receipt of your majesty’s *Firman*, or letters patent, we will discharge what money and persons are in our custody, and carry on our traffick in your majesty’s dominions, as before: but in case your majesty (which we hope not) should refuse our petition, we desire notice may be given us thereof, that we may in time (with your majesty’s consent) remove our effects, and quit your territories; it being

“our firm resolution not to stay here, unless your majesty will be pleased to grant our just request; notwithstanding which we live in hopes of a favourable answer from your majesty’s goodness.”

Unto this was affixed another paper, as follows.

*Most potent King!*

JUST upon the conclusion of our humble petition, the deputies empowered by *Miermosa* the governor, to treat with us concerning the differences on foot betwixt us, viz. *Miersia Mamoeth*, *Hagie Siasbeecq*, *Zabandaar*, and several other persons of note, have promised us to give satisfaction for the money (pur-suant to your majesty’s orders) taken from us, to stop all traffick from *Bengale*, and this place, &c. to *Achin*, *Pera*, *Queda*, and *Oedjang-Salang*, &c. till the differences betwixt us and those places be brought to a conclusion; concerning which we expect further orders from our governor-general of the *Indies*. It was further promised us, that a place should be assigned us for the building of a warehouse, near the *Alphandigo*; which as well as the other articles being confirm’d to us by oath of the before-mentioned deputies, we were on our side willing to release the goods seized by our ships, which we have done accordingly, and resettled our traffick at *Suratte* as before: all which we hope will not be unacceptable to your majesty; humbly begging your majesty to be pleased to take our farther proposals into consideration, and to favour us with your royal *Firman*, to avoid all further differences, and to establish a mutual, firm, and everlasting correspondence betwixt us, which we shall very religiously observe, (as long as your majesty’s governors don’t act contrary to the said *Firman*.) without the least interruption on our side. We wish your majesty a prosperous and long life, and victory over your enemies.

Dated in your majesty’s city of *Suratte*, September 28. in the year 1649. after the birth of Christ.

The King’s Letter was thus:

*The King Chaasjan sends the following Directions to Miersia Arep, his Governor of Suratte.*

JUST as the *Sajetes* are esteemed among the saints, so is *Miersia Arep* respected in his family. I would have you rest secure of my royal favour: be-

“ fides



*Baldæus.* “ fides what dignities you were possessed  
 “ of before, we have thought fit to bestow  
 “ upon you the reward of *Paans Zeddi*,  
 “ and three hundred horses for your ser-  
 “ vices, in the government of the open  
 “ country; and since the departure of *Mi-*  
 “ *ermosa* have put you into his place; and  
 “ for the better maintaining of your gran-  
 “ deur, have allotted you the royal reve-  
 “ nues of both your governments, in the  
 “ administration of which you shall be very  
 “ vigilant and courteous; towards the  
 “ chief merchants you shall comport your  
 “ self very obligingly, and give a helping  
 “ hand to all the foreign nations traffick-  
 “ ing there, as tending to the no small  
 “ increase of our treasury. Your authori-  
 “ ty shall not extend to exact more than  
 “ the usual customs, even of the meanest  
 “ persons, but you shall act in every thing  
 “ as a man of honour and conscience: what  
 “ rarities you happen to meet with coming  
 “ from foreign places, you shall (like your  
 “ predecessor *Miermosa*) send to my daugh-  
 “ ter *Sabebbejen*, who twice a month pays  
 “ her respect before my throne; whatever  
 “ is extraordinary fine and rare, let it be  
 “ valued, and purchase it of the owner ac-  
 “ cordingly; but if you cannot agree, send

“ him hither, that he may be satisfied in *Baldæus.*  
 “ his just demands. So soon as my royal  
 “ *Firman* comes to your hands, you shall  
 “ endeavour to list ten christian constables,  
 “ well versed in their art, into our service,  
 “ and you shall spare no cost to have some  
 “ great cannon cast for our use. We have  
 “ been informed, that about two years ago,  
 “ the *Dutch* factory was robbed of fifty  
 “ thousand *Ropias*, for which they have <sup>*He makes*</sup>  
 “ seized divers sums of money belonging <sup>*it less than*</sup>  
 “ to our merchants, and coming in their  
 “ ships from *Mocha*, and have thereupon  
 “ declared their sentiments to the governor  
 “ *Miermosa*; it is therefore that I com-  
 “ mand you to oblige the *Hollanders* to  
 “ restore the said money to the owners,  
 “ who have neither the least share or know-  
 “ ledge in what relates to their loss: and  
 “ in case you should not be able to bring  
 “ things to an agreement with the *Hollan-*  
 “ *ders*, we command you to demand the  
 “ said sums of money of *Miermosa* and  
 “ *Ommerchan*, and pay the same to the said  
 “ merchants, (whose effects are seized,) in  
 “ recompence of their loss.

These are the contents of the king's let-  
 ter, as it was translated from the *Persian*.

### C H A P. III.

*The Chom of Suhali, or the Road before Suratte. Traffick of the  
 Dutch, English, Moors, and Portuguese to Suratte, Gufuratte,  
 Brochia, Goga, Pattepatane, Mangerol, Brodera, and other places.*

*Description* **T**HE city of *Suratte* did (pursuant to  
*of Suratte.* their ancient records) pay a yearly  
 tribute of two millions *Mamoidys*, or one  
 million of livres, or four hundred thousand  
 crowns, to their king *Achabaar*, one *Ganna*  
*Ganna* being then their governor, who had  
 eighteen hundred villages under his jurisdic-  
 tion. All about *Suratte* are abundance  
 of very pleasant and stately summer-seats,  
 and magnificent burying-places, (a thing  
 much in request among the *Moors*;) besides  
 several large cisterns, or rather ponds, faced  
 with freestone. Among the rest one de-  
 serves particularly to be taken notice of,  
 as having no less than a hundred angles of  
 twenty eight yards each, with stone steps to  
 lead you down into the cistern; in the midst  
 of which stands the tomb of the founder.

About an hour and a half to the north  
 from the mouth of the river of *Suratte*  
 (named *Tap-gyly*) is a road, where ships  
 may ride at anchor near a ridge of sand-  
 banks, which, together with part of the  
 continent, breaks the force of the winds.  
 This road, commonly called *Chom Suhali*,

or *Sualicom*, lies at twenty one degrees fif-  
 ty minutes north latitude, extending from *The Chom*  
 north-east to north, and again south-west *of Suhali.*  
 to south: the entrance of it is but narrow,  
 and at high water not above seven, but at  
 low water scarce five fathoms deep, with a  
 hard sandy bottom: the north-north-east,  
 and south-south-west winds make here the  
 highest tides. The harbour of *Subali* is not  
 above a musket-shot broad: the south-  
 south-west winds make this road unsafe, the  
 land-shelves lying then almost dry. The  
*English* settled their factory there 1609. and  
 the *Dutch* 1616. who carry their merchan-  
 dizes upon waggons drawn by oxen from  
 the said road four leagues to the city.

It is to the settlements of those two na-  
 tions *Suratte* owes its chief increase in *Traffick of*  
 trade, many rich merchants and artisans *Suratte.*  
 having been drawn thither since that time,  
 who send their commodities thence by the  
*Red-Sea* to *Arabia*, *Aden*, *Mocha*, *Hideda*,  
*Juda*, *Mecca*, *Cbibiry*, *Catziny*, *Doffer*, and  
*Souakin*, (in *Ethiopia*;) consisting in fine  
 and coarse *Indian*, *Gufuratte*, *Decan*, and  
*Bengale*





- |                             |                         |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. S. Mateo de Deus         | 16 S. Francis. maritima | S. Andrew               |
| 2. S. Joseph                | 17 S. Marco             | 22 S. Mathew            |
| 3. Most. de Dangun          | 18 S. Cocharge          | 23 S. John Baptist      |
| 4. S. Doms                  | 19 Misericordia         | 24 S. Lawrence          |
| 5. N. Sig. de Monte         | 20 N. S. de Serai       | 25 N. Senhora de        |
| 6. S. Amara                 | 21 Terra dos Galles     | Guadalupe               |
| 7. S. Brax                  | 22 Rua N. S. do Monte   | 26 S. Anna              |
| 8. S. Woodmarke             | 23 S. Paulo             | 27 S. M. Magdalena      |
| 9. S. S. Thoma              | 24 S. Thoma novo        | 28 S. John Evang.       |
| 10. S. D. N. S. de S. Thom. | 25 S. Peter             | 29 S. Peter             |
| 11. S. N. S. de S. Thom.    | 26 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 30 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 12. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 27 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 31 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 13. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 28 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 32 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 14. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 29 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 33 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 15. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 30 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 34 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 16. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 31 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 35 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 17. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 32 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 36 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 18. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 33 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 37 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 19. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 34 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 38 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 20. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 35 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 39 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 21. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 36 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 40 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 22. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 37 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 41 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 23. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 38 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 42 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |
| 24. S. S. S. de S. Thom.    | 39 S. S. S. de S. Thom. | 43 S. S. S. de S. Thom. |

Of Reis mada



*Baldæus*. Bengale stuffs and cloths, callicoës, indigo, fugar, gums, ginger, tobacco, wheat, rice, butter, and other provisions, in which this country abounds. Besides that two or three of the king's ships trade into these parts, and transport certain precious commodities belonging to some peculiar merchants and persons of the first rank; these are generally obliged to the company, for furnishing them with some able seamen and constables, (the *Moors* being but ill versed in these things;) especially while they were at enmity with the *Danes*.

One of the king's ships, named *Saby*, arrived here 1618. in its return from the *Red Sea*; the cargo whereof consisted in coral, camblets, sattins, velvets, woollen and linen cloths, tin, quicksilver, cinabar, leather, saffron, slaves, (both black and white) gum arabic, aloes of *Socotora*, amber, civet, sanguis draconis, myrrh, raisins, almonds, dates, coffee-berries, and about six or seven hundred passengers returning from *Mahomet's* tomb at *Mecca* and *Medina*; the whole valued at two millions five hundred thousand *Ropias*, each *Ropia* being about half a rix-dollar.

The value of a Ropia.

Traffick of the Red Sea.

The Malabars enemies of the Portuguese.

These ships set sail in *March* and *April* for the *Red Sea*, and return in *September* or *October*; they seldom spend above twenty five days in their passage. The inhabitants of *Goa*, *Dabul*, *Bassain*, *Daman*, and *Diu*, do also send their ships to *Mocha* and some other places in the *Red Sea*; and the *Benjans* and *Armenians* used to come thence to *Suratte* in their light ships loaden with all all sorts of trifles, which they exchange for wheat, linen, rice, and coffee-berries.

Towards the latter end of the *Mousson*, viz. in *March* and *April*, abundance of *Malabars* resort hither: these being mortal enemies of the *Portuguese*, are commonly well armed with fire-locks and scymitars, and formerly used to be very mischievous to them. The commodities they bring to sale here, are coarse fugar, cardamon, pepper, and cayr, (of which they make cables and ropes,) and coco-nuts.

Formerly the inhabitants of *Suratte* used to send yearly one or two ships in *May* or *June* (when the *Portuguese* ships were in harbour) to *Acbin*, *Tanasseri*, *Queda*, and the *Maldivè* islands, laden with stuffs, and cloths, and callicoës; and returned with pepper, camphire, cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandel-wood, porcelain, *Chinese* silks, (brought thither by those of *Malacca*,) tin, benzorn, elephants teeth, and coco-nuts; the last being almost the only product of the *Maldivè* isles.

The men in power here are generally very haughty and fierce; and though sufficiently curbed by the king's absolute sway, yet by

reason of the distance of the provinces from *Baldæus*, his residence, commit many enormities; his territories bordering upon *Persia*, *Aurwa*, the river *Ganges*, and *Bengale*, thence to *Decan*, and to the west by the sea.

The province of *Gusuratte* (in which all the beforementioned cities lie) extends in length from south to north; it begins at *Damana*, and reaches forty *Cos* beyond *Amadabath*, bordering upon the country of *Patbane* inhabited by pagans, so that its whole length is one hundred and eighty *Cos*, or ninety *Dutch* leagues: to the east it borders upon the country of *Parta Basia*, or at least within forty *Cos* or twenty leagues of it, extending further eastward for three days journey towards *Amadabath*, and to the west to the sea, and the kingdom of *Suadi*, which is divided from *Persia* by a great desert. It was a most fruitful and populous country, before it was reduced by the *Great Mogul*.

Extent of Gusuratte.

Two Indian Cos one Dutch leagues.

About twelve leagues to the north of *Suratte* lies the city of *Brochia* about nine or ten leagues from the sea, and twenty one degrees fifty six minutes upon the river *Nardabath*, which coming down by *Decan* and *Mandourw*, affords a good passage for ships, about half way from the sea towards *Brochia*, the passage being stopt up there by a sand-bank, which has not above nine or ten foot water. The situation of this city is both very convenient and pleasant, upon a hill, being surrounded by a strong stone wall: this place is famous for its manufactories of linen and cloths, of which they make more here than in any other place of the *Indies*; and they have the best way of whitening the first. The *Malabars* used formerly to come hither every year with nine or ten ships. The *Dutch* and *English* have had their factories here a considerable time ago. Its inhabitants are for the most part *Benjans*, who are very expert in managing the linen manufactory: the two suburbs of the city are chiefly inhabited by callico-weavers and merchants: *Brochia* is reckoned to contain eighty seven villages in its territories, the country round about being all low grounds, except that about five or six leagues to the south-east, the mountains of *Vindat* have their beginning, which are very rich in *Achatstens*. All merchandizes passing through *Brochia* pay two *per Cent.* custom.

The city of Brochia.

*Goga* is a small city seated in the bay of *Cambaja*, where it grows so streight, that it rather resembles a river than an arm of the sea: it has neither walls nor gates to the land-side, but is defended by a stone wall towards the sea. Here all the ships designed for *Arabia*, and the southern parts, (by the merchants of *Cam-*

Goga thirty leagues from Cambaja.

*Baldæus. baja* and *Amadabatb*,) are careen'd and victualled, there being a safe road here, though somewhat shallow: here also the *Portuguese* convoys used to keep their station to expect the coming of their merchantmen.

There are besides these several other places of less note belonging to this province, as *Pattapatane*, *Mangerol*, (mentioned by some under other names,) the inhabitants whereof live upon husbandry and managing of cotton: *Brodera*, an inland town, inhabited by husbandmen and clothiers; the company used to keep some factors there, to buy up coarse cloth for the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians*; not to mention here its fortifications, gardens, tombs, &c.

*Mamadabath* was, for its pleasant situation, sometimes honoured with the residence of its kings, but is since come to decay to that degree, that it is no more than a poor village now. We will also make mention only of *Nariau*, *Wasset*, (a very ancient castle,) *Issempour*, *Batona*, and their products, such as indigo, saltpetre, borax, asa-foetida, amfion or opium, gummi-lacen, and divers other commodities.

But before we leave the province of *Gusuratte*, and take our way thence over *Diu*, *Daman*, &c. to *Goa*, and so to the *Malabars*, we may say something of its traffick. It is beyond all dispute, that the traffick of *Suratte*, and adjacent places, is of great consequence, provided there be no want of ready money, and the management thereof be committed to persons of understanding. I remember that the college of XVII. give these following by-rules to their factors: to inform themselves of the constitution and manners of the inhabitants; what commodities are vended, and best to be vended there; who, and how potent our enemies are; what religion and coin is most regard-

ed, and the true situation of the place where *Baldæus*. they settle, in respect to its northern or southern latitude. Certain it is, that the inhabitants of the province of *Gusuratte* are a cunning and subtle generation, who must therefore be managed with dexterity and much reservedness, mixed with a becoming gravity and outward splendor, wherewith these people are much taken, yet without ever attempting to lord it over them; a thing which after has proved detrimental, if not destructive to the undertakers. It is to the wise conduct of our forefathers that we are obliged for the establishment and improvement of our traffick at *Suratte*, where our factory was no sooner settled, but we sent from thence, 1624. Jan. 20. our first ship, called the *Heusden*, along the coast of *Melinde* and *Soffala*, and thence to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and so to *Holland*.

This was followed the same year, March 12. by another, called the *Peuca*, but was forced to winter on the coast of *Coromandel*. These were followed, April 23. 1625. by the ship the *City of Dort*, and the *Wesop* yacht, but were obliged to winter in the isle of *St. Maurice*. In the year 1626. the following ships were sent to *Holland*, taking their way through the *South Sea*, viz. the *Golden Lion*, *Walcheren*, and *Orange*. 1628. the *City of Dort* was sent thence to *Holland* through the straits of *Madagascar*, along the coast of *Fussalia*.

Our *Dutch* vessels generally arrive here from *Batavia* about the end of *August*, in *October*, or beginning of *November*, and sometimes towards the middle of *December*; the *Dutch* factors at *Suratte* taking always care to send their ships into *Persia* in *January*, or about the middle of *February* at farthest, that they may be at *Batavia* before the end of *March*.

## CH A P. IV.

*Of what Consequence the Traffick of Suratte is. A particular Description of the City of Mocha; and of its peculiar Customs. The City of Agra, and its Strength. The Descent of the Great Mogul; his Pomp and Riches.*

OF what consequence the traffick of *Suratte* is to the *Dutch*, they have been sufficiently made sensible by their factors ever since 1616. The chief commodities to be vended here are, lead, quicksilver, cinabar, ivory, tin, copper, cumeta's, cloves, nutmegs, mace, pepper, porcelain, &c. And this traffick is the more

considerable, in respect of the communication it maintains with our other factories in those parts, with *Agra*, *Mocha*, and divers other places upon the coast of the *Happy Arabia*, where our traffick seems to be well established, provided we take care to live in good correspondence with those nations, which must be maintained by all possible



*Baldæus.* possible means, by avoiding such things as tend to the dissolution thereof. Amongst these, the seizing of the *Moorish* ships has several times brought our traffick into no small jeopardy, as it happened 1621. when our ships the *Samson* and *Wefos* having made reprisals upon some *Moorish* vessels, our trade into *Arabia* was quite interrupted, and likely to have been quite lost. And we run the same danger 1628. after the yacht the *Grottenbroeck* had taken a ship of *Gufuratte* upon the coast of *Coromandel*; and though our late seizure happened not to prove much to our disadvantage, yet can't we at all times promise our selves the same success, it being certain, that though the *Moors* court our friendship, yet are they, on the other hand, very stubborn, and not easily reconciled.

Some remarks upon the traffick in those parts.

Another thing absolutely requisite for the carrying on of the trade here, is the king's *Firman*, or patent, to keep the avaricious governors of *Cambaja*, *Suratte*, *Brochia*, and other places, in awe; besides that the *Portuguese* priests are always busy to create an ill opinion of us in the *Moors*: they must be carefully watched in their measures and weights, without which they will play you the same game as *Godjanisan* and *Godjaassan* did many years ago to Sir *Henry Middleton*, an *English* knight, who put them in irons aboard his ship till they had given him full satisfaction.

Our traffick to *Mocha* is likewise of great consequence to us: *Mocha* is seated in the *Happy Arabia*, at the entrance of the *Red Sea*, at thirteen degrees twenty eight minutes northern latitude: it is of a considerable extent, without any walls, in a barren ground, but well built with red and blue stones, the houses flat on the top, like those of *Constantinople*; it has three very fine pagodes, or pagan temples, two whereof have no steeples, the third in the midst of the city, being adorned with a very high steeple. At the north end stands a small castle, like a redoubt, built of blue stone, for the defence of the harbour, 1612.

*Mocha* was about ninety or one hundred years ago no more than a village inhabited by fishermen; but since its reduction by the *Turks*, is so increased by degrees, that it is one of the chief places on that coast now; the traffick of the *Indian* ships that used to come to an anchor at *Aden* (formerly a great trading city) being transferr'd to *Mocha*, by reason of the caravans which come thither with more conveniency at certain times of the year. Its inhabitants are *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Benjans*, and *Jews*: here is constantly a great concourse of people from the beginning of *March* to the middle of *September*; about which time the great ship called *Mansouri* (which is kept by the *Tur-*

*kish Sultan* for the transportation of the richest commodities from the farthest parts of the *Red Sea* hither) arrives here, its cargo being generally esteemed at 2500000 or 3000000 of reals, and consisting in pieces of eight, golden ducats, *Italian* golden tissues, camblets, saffron, quick-silver, and divers other commodities, besides slaves of both sexes taken in the *Levant*, or thereabouts, being generally *Grecians*, *Hungarians*, or of the isle of *Cyprus*; of all which they pay ten *per Cent.* custom. The same ship sails back again the first of *January*, laden with spices, indigo, fine callicoes, turbants, and such like *Indian* commodities.

The trade of Mocha.

Besides this, there comes every year in *Caravans* *March*: *Cassila*, or caravan, consisting commonly of one thousand six hundred camels, the merchants being for the most part *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Armenians*: these come by the way of *Aleppo* and *Alexandria* hither, and spend commonly two months in their whole journey, because they travel not above three or four *Dutch* leagues in a day. They bring along with them twisted silk, gold wire, red coral, cinabar, saffron, myrrh, divers sorts of small wares, needles, spectacles, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, &c. This caravan leaves the place again in *December*, loaden with all sorts of *Indian* commodities, and thus spends near a twelve-month in their whole journey.

Caravans over Aleppo and Alexandria.

At *Cairo* you see a vast multitude of pilgrims towards the beginning of the year, who take the conveniency of this caravan to travel to *Mocha*, eight leagues from whence lies *Medina*, where is the tomb of *Mahomet*, which is thus yearly visited by betwixt thirty and forty thousand pilgrims.

Pilgrims going to Mocha.

*Mocha* has been so rich for many years past, that in customs and taxes it pays no less than two hundred thousand reals, or pieces of eight every year to the *Grand Seigneur*, being one of the largest and most considerable places under the jurisdiction of the *bassâ* of *Yemak*. The governor of the city sits sometimes in person at the custom-house, visiting the packs and chests, he having a certain allowance out of every chest or pack. All *Indian* ships coming to an anchor here are obliged to pay, besides the ordinary customs, anchorage-money according to their bulk, from ten to fifty reals; which, with some other exactions, makes the whole amount to fifteen *per Cent.* The *Turks* here have also another invention of squeezing some money out of the *Moorish* *Nachodes*, or officers of the ships; for the governor having summoned them immediately after their arrival to appear in his presence, they are conducted thither in great state, attended

Anchorage-money.

*Baldæus.* attended by his drums, pipes, &c. and being reconducted to their lodgings, the clothes are taken away again. The same is repeated afterwards: just before their departure, when they are reconducted to their boats; and their clothes being taken off again, each officer is obliged to pay for this mock dress twenty or twenty five reals each time.

No sooner are the *Moorish* ships come into the roads after they have dropt their anchor, but they must carry their rudder and sails ashore, and unload the whole cargo of the ship, (whether they sell it, or not,) of which they are obliged to pay the full customs. After they are quite unloaden, they give a signal with a cannon for the governor or his deputies to come aboard to see whether any thing be left behind; and then they have liberty to sell.

In the spring the *Portuguese* come hither with their ships from *Goa*, *Goga*, and other places; their cargo is commonly indigo, farcaa, callicoës, sail-cloth, all sorts of *Gururatte* stuffs and clothing, tobacco, rice, and medicines; most of which commodities are sold to the *Turky* caravans, except the rice and tobacco, which is consumed in the country. They carry back reals or pieces of eight, golden ducats, a certain root used by the *Indians* in dying red. A little before, or about the same time, used also to come to *Mocha* the ships of *Daman*, *Cambaja*, and the *Malabar* coast, loaden with pepper, clothings of *Cambaja* and *Coromandel*, allegia's, taffecela's, red and white cassen, red jeta's, canekyns, basias, fine turbants, white and blue girdles, painted callicoës, rice, tobacco, coarse and fine porcelain: in lieu of which they carry back horses, raisins, almonds, camblets, elephants teeth of *Soffala*, red roots for dying, which grow only in *Arabia*, chauru or coffee-berries. Besides these the inhabitants of *Achin*, of *Paty*, and other places on the coast of *Melinda*, trade hither: they commonly set sail from home in *February*, or beginning of *March*, and return from *Mocha* about *August*, to take the conveniency of the *Mousson*.

The want of good water and fuel, which the ships must purchase here at a dear rate, is a great defect in *Mocha*: however, not far from the city lies a small isle, where the *English* used to lay up and careen their ships: here you may have provisions for old clothes in abundance, as likewise fuel and water enough; whence it is evident that the trade of *Suratte*, *Agra*, *Mocha*, and *Libiry*, (a city seated on the red sea, at fourteen

degrees fifty minutes, fortified with four round bastions, and adorn'd with three temples,) is one of the most considerable in those parts, as the *English* have found by experience.

But before we take quite our leave of *Suratte*, and the adjacent territories, we must say something also concerning the city and castle of *Agra*. This castle, the ordinary residence of the *Great Mogul*, is one of the most noble structures of the east, seated upon the banks of the river *Jemeni*, fortified with a strong wall of red stone, with large and deep ditches, draw-bridges, and four gates. Here is also kept the king's treasury, and the whole court, or general assembly of the great men of the empire, who oftentimes are not refrained by the absolute authority of their monarch from committing most barbarous enormities.

Thus it happened, *August* 4. 1644. in the evening after sun-set, when all the persons of quality used to appear in the *Go-salchanna* to salute the king, among the rest *Raja Ammersing* (a commander over five thousand horse, who had been absent some days by reason of his indisposition) making his appearance there, was asked by *Sillabatchan*, the king's chief *Bakia*, why he had not appeared there in several days? He answered him, That he had been prevented by his indisposition; wherewith the other being not satisfied, gave *Raja* some opprobrious words, which so exasperated him, that without more ado he run *Sillabatchan* with his scymitar through the body, laying him dead upon the ground. Another lord named *Galichan*, seeing the other murdered in the king's sight, cut almost off the arm of *Raja*, and another gentleman, the son of *Raja Rittelda*, dispatched him quite. The king seeing this tragical spectacle gave immediately orders that the body of *Sillabatchan* should be carried to his house in order to his burial; but that the body of *Raja Ammersing* should be thrown into the river: but scarce were they got with the body without the gate to execute the king's command, when some of the *Rasboutes*, (a rebellious crew,) who had served under him, seeing their commander's body dragged thus along, did fall upon the king's servants, and killed above thirty of them, among whom was the king's scepter-bearer; so that if the king would see his orders put in execution, he was obliged to send a considerable force to protect them against the *Rasboutes*.





The Murder Committed in the presence of the Great Mogul

**Baldæus.** *Agra* has four gates, one on the north-side, covered by strong works; the second on the west side, where is the market place, and the royal court of judicature; the third on the south side leads to the royal palace, being always chained up to prevent any body from passing through it on horse-back, except the king and his children: the fourth faces the river, where the king every day salutes the sun, and about noon sees the engagements of elephants, lions, and other wild beasts.

The city of *Agra* therefore is now the capital city (as *Labor* was formerly) of that part of the *Indies* on this side of the *Ganges*, which is under the jurisdiction of the *Great Mogul*. The castle is said to have been founded by king *Accabar*, (descended from the great *Tamerlan*,) after the conquest of *Guratte*.

**Wealth and strength of the Mogul.** I will not pretend to give you an exact account of the wealth of the *Mogul*, but leave you to guess at his strength by the forces he brought into the field 1630. against *Chasjaan*, which consisted in one hundred and forty four thousand five hundred horse, and five thousand elephants; these last the *Mogul* also uses for his diversions, and he is often seen in great state on the back of an elephant richly accoutred, attended by a great number of horse. When these elephants are to engage against one another be-

fore the king, they pay their reverence by **Baldæus.** bending their knees, and shaking their trunks to the king; which done, they fall on with a great deal of fierceness; but as soon as they are hotly engaged, certain persons are appointed to part them; which done, all enmity ceases betwixt them, they touch one another with their trunks, and are fed with sugar reeds, and arack, or strong-waters.

Combat of the elephants.

As to the wealth of the *Great Mogul*, the same appears in its lustre on certain festival days; the new-year's feast kept on the **Festival** day of the first new-moon in *March*, days, which lasts eighteen days. On the young **The prince's** prince's birth-day every body brings his offerings to the king, who in his turn makes presents to his courtiers, bestows new places and dignities upon such as have deserved well, and augments their yearly salaries. The people flock on that day to the queen's palace, (if she be living,) where having likewise made their offerings under the sound of their musical instruments, the prince is weighed in a golden pair of scales against gold and silver, which (after the weight thereof is set down) is distributed the next day among the poor.

The present king's birth-day is celebrated the second of *September*, when the king **The king's** is weighed in the same manner against pre- **birth-day.** cious

*Baldæus.* cious stones, gold, silver, gold tissues, silk stuffs, butter, rice, fruits, &c. which is afterwards bestowed upon the *Brabmans*; and nuts made so curiously of gold wire, (as likewise almonds, and other fruits,) are thrown among the people, that a thousand of them weigh not above twenty ropias, and cost about sixty ropias. The whole ceremony is concluded with drinking to a great excess all the night long, notwithstanding *Mahomet's* law. Sir *Thomas Row* relates that he had a golden cup beset with *Turquoises*, *Rubies*, and *Smaragdes*, presented him by the *Great Mogul* on his birth-day, but not till he had emptied it four or five times.

Another feast.

The *Moors* also celebrate a certain feast to the memory of two brothers, servants to *Mahomet Raly*, who being on their way to *Coromandel* on pilgrimage, were forced by the pagans of the country to seek for shelter in a certain castle; but being destitute of water, they sallied out courageously upon the pagans; and after having killed many of them, were at last slain themselves. Their memory is celebrated in *June*, ten days after the new-moon, when they carry a bear along the streets loaden with turbants, arrows, bows, and scymitars, certain priests singing doleful tunes, and flashing them-

selfes with knives, till the blood follows *Baldæus.* very plentifully. In the market-place they set up the figures of two men of straw, representing the murderers of these two saints, at which they let fly their arrows, and at last burn them to ashes. They keep also another feast in *June*, when they kill abundance of he-goats, and afterwards feast upon the meat. This is said to be done in commemoration of the sacrifice of *Abraham*.

The *Great Mogul* being absolute lord over thirty seven large provinces and kingdoms, the persons and estates of all which are at his sole disposal, beside the immense presents of his subjects, (none of whom dare approach his person without them,) must needs be master of immense treasures. The king of *Visiapour* sent at one time thirty elephants, two whereof were girded by golden chains, weighing four hundred pound weight, two others with silver chains, the rest of brass; besides five hundred horses, the saddles and bridles whereof were beset all over with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Mr. *John Twist* has given the world an exact account of the treasury of king *Accabaar*.

## CHAP. V.

*The Title of the Great Mogul; and of the Kings of Achem and Siam. The Origin of Mahomet; some of his pretended Miracles, Alcoran, &c.*

IT is most surprizing to understand what god-like titles the subjects of the *Great Mogul* bestow upon their lord and master! How all his words are looked upon as oracles, and all his actions received with a profound amazement! Hence it is that the vulgar sort are really of opinion, that certain rays dart from his head and turbant, which admit not of the near approach of indifferent persons; and that they scarce ever mention his name without the additional titles of the *most potent upon earth, lord of the world, great monarch, the most exalted majesty, the brightest of princes among the great ones, &c.* 'Tis true, most of the *Indian* kings affect most magnificent, or rather vain-glorious titles; but the kings of *Achem* and *Siam* seem to outvy all the rest in this point: the first styles himself "King of the world, created by God, whose body shines like the sun at noon-day: a king unto whom God has given the lustre of full-moon; a king chosen by God; a king perfect as the north-star, king of

The king of Achem's titles.

" kings, of the posterity of *Alexander the Great*; a king before whom all other kings must bow their heads, and pay homage; a king as wise as a round globe, and happy like the sea; a king who is God's slave and servant, who sees God, and lets the world know the justice of God; a protector of God's justice; a king blessed by God; a king who covers the iniquities of men, and forgives their offences; a king under whose shade slaves seek for shelter; a king perfect and infallible in his counsels; a king and benefactor to his people; a just king, who maintains God's justice; the most beneficial king upon earth, the soles of whose feet emit a most odoriferous scent, beyond all other kings; a king whom God has blessed with his gold mines, whose eyes are as bright as the morning star; a king who is master of many elephants of all sorts; a king unto whom God has given riches, to adorn his elephants with gold and precious stones; besides

*Baldæus.* “ besides a great number of elephants of war, armed with iron teeth and copper shoes ; a king upon whom God has bestowed horses with golden harnesses beset with precious stones, and many thousand horses for war ; the choicest stone-horses of *Arabia, Turkey, Catti, and Balacki* ; a king whose territories extend from the south to the north ; a king who bestows his favours upon all that love him, and rejoices such as are disturbed in mind ; a king who has in his custody every thing that God has created ; a king whom God has placed above all things to rule, and to shew the lustre of the throne of *Achem.*”

The king of *Siam* goes still beyond it, as may be seen by his letter written 1636. to the late prince of *Orange, Frederick Henry.*

*The king of Siam's title.*

“ THIS is a golden letter of friendship and confederacy, replenished with the brightness of God, the most excellent, comprehending all that is to be known ; the most fortunate, above what is to be found by men ; the best and the most secure in heaven, earth, and in hell ; the most magnificent, delicious, and most agreeable words ; the glory and irresistible virtue whereof pass all over the earth, with the same vigour, as if through God's power the dead were revived from their graves, and purify'd from all their iniquities, to the surprize, not only of the priests, but also of merchants, and all the servile sort of mankind. For what king can compare with me, who am the most potent, most illustrious, and invincible ? The master of an hundred crowns, adorned with nine sorts of precious stones ; supreme lord [*we pass by some blasphemous expressions*] of the vast and most noble kingdom of *Siam* ; the brightness of the most beautiful city of *India*, the capital city of the world, the streets whereof are crowded daily with people ; a city adorned with all the beauties of the world, and irrigated with delicious brooks ; whose lord has a palace of gold and precious stones ; a master of gilded thrones, of the white, red, and round-tailed elephants, which three sorts God has not bestowed upon any other kings ; a divine lord, in whose territories is deposited the victorious sword, and who resembles the God of war with four arms.”

*The Mogul's court.*

But to return to the *Great Mogul*, and his court : The *Persian* language is the court

language there, though besides this there are at least three other languages used throughout his territories. The chief lords of his courts have their certain monthly salaries allotted them, out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain number of horses ; among these are four who maintain twelve thousand horses each, (the king's sons entertain fifteen thousand horse,) others one thousand, others one hundred, in proportion to their salaries ; the whole number of horse maintained by his courtiers, being computed at an hundred thousand horse.

The *Mogul* changes his cloaths every day for new ones, which he bestows upon his courtiers. The *Mogul* entertains certain officers of quality, called *Nababes*, at *Suratte* and other places, whose business is, to enter upon treaties with foreigners, and to keep the roads free from robbers, by punishing them with the utmost severity. The *Mogul* has also a laudable custom, to lay up vast sums of money and provisions in certain places, to be reserved for necessitous occasions. He appears three times a-day, and sits in council from seven till nine in the evening.

The *Moguls* profess the *Mabometan Religion* ; but are no great zealots in it, as *Abbasius Kircher* has well observed in *Galatædim Mabomet*, the tenth of the *Moguls* descended from the *Great Tamerlain* the first, who called the jesuits into his empire ; and their continual debaucheries in strong liquor (directly contrary to the law of *Mabomet*) is an infallible sign of their indifferency in point of religion : besides that, throughout all the empire, they are not near so well versed in the *Alcoran* and the law of *Mabomet* as the *Africans*, those of *Fez* and *Morocco*, &c. Notwithstanding all their ignorance, this accursed doctrine has spread itself within fifty or sixty years, from hence all over the isles of *Java, Borneo, and Celebes*, besides divers other countries in those parts.

The *Mabometans* are obliged to pray five times every day, viz. in the morning, at noon, in the afternoon, after sun-set, and at midnight ; certain people being appointed, who, from the steeples of the mosques, exhort them to their prayers, by crying *Laila illa illa, Mabomed Resul Lalla* : when they are going to pray, they stand upright upon a carpet spread upon the ground, holding both their hands to their ears ; sometimes bowing towards the ground, sometimes standing upright again. The *Alcoran* is the law-book of the *Mabometans*, containing one hundred and fourteen chapters, being a mixture of the *Jewish* and *Christian* doctrine. *Mabomet* flourished about the year of christ 600. and died 632. His companion was one *Sergius* an *Arian*. The father of

*Baldæus*. of *Mabomet* was one *Abdalla*, and his mother *Emine*, descended of the illustrious family of the *Koreishites*.

*Mahomet's origin.* *Mabomet* first served in the wars under the emperor *Heraclius*, and afterwards served a merchant; after whose death he married *Chadiga*, a rich widow; and being addicted to enthusiasm, he and his companion *Sergius* compiled the *Alcoran*, pretending that he kept correspondence with the archangel *Gabriel*, who in his trances (which were nothing but epileptic fits) had revealed to him these secrets. He was born at *Mecca*; but being forced from thence, fled to *Medina*, from which time *Mabometans* take their *Epocha*, and call it *Medina Alnabi*, or the city of the great prophet. His doctrine was first received by his wife *Chadiga*, and his servant *Seydin*; after-

wards by *Hali*, *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Otman*, *Baldæus*, and others his followers, who were called *Caliphs*. The *Persians* prefer *Hali* before *Mabomet*, and the *Turks*, *Omar*. *Abubeker* reigned two years, *Omar* ten years: it is he who regulated the *Alcoran*, and instituted the fast in the month *Rammedan*. *Otman* reigned twelve years, and conquered *Mauritania* and *Cyprus*. *Hali* was by *Mabomet* appointed his successor; but the other three having usurped the kingdom, with the exclusion of *Hali*, this is the reason the *Persians*, who adhere to the last, abominate the three former.

The hatred between the *Persians* and *Turks* (though both *Mabometans*) proceeds from the different interpretations of the *Alcoran*, and certain ceremonies relating to their prayers, covering their heads, &c.

## CHAP. VI.

### The Feasts, Sabbath, and some other Things belonging to the Mahometans; their Priests, Holy Orders, Manners, and Customs.

NOT to insist here upon the fabulous trifles of *Mabomet's* visions, contained in some parts of the *Alcoran*, we will proceed to give you a short account of the most material parts of the *Mabometan* religion.

*Their circumcision.* They commonly circumcise boys and girls at thirteen years of age, viz. so soon as they are able to say their confessions, *There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet*. If a *Jew* turns *Turk*, he is not circumcised again, but only washed with water. Their washing, or bathing is performed upon a threefold occasion.

*Washing.* 1. After they have eased nature, or cohabited with their wives.  
2. When they are to go to the *Mosque*, or to read the *Alcoran*. And,  
3. After they have committed some enormous sins.

Their high priest is called *Mufti*, in great esteem with the grand seignior, and a member of his privy council. Next to him are the *Cadilesheri*, or provincial high priests of *Europe*, *Natolia*, &c. These are followed by the *Cady*, *Scriphes*, *Santones*, *Hoggy*, *Talismans*, and *Dervises*.

*Sabbath.* The sabbath of the *Mabometans* is on *Friday*, which they keep with the same strictness as the *Jews* do theirs on *Saturday*, at least with more devotion, as the christians their *Sunday*. They have in each city, besides the other *Mosques*, one great *Mosque*, where they then assemble to perform their devotion. Their lent begins in *February* with the new moon, and continues thirty days, with a great deal of severity, for they neither eat nor drink all the day long;

but some make themselves amends at night, though the zealots will not taste the least of wine, or any other strong liquor all that time, nor converse with their wives. They are permitted to marry as many wives as they please, though the *Alcoran* allows no more than four wives.

Their churches are flat on the top, commonly built on a rising ground, so as to be seen at a distance above the other houses. They have within nothing but bare white walls, without pictures or hangings; though on some of their tombs we see certain passages ingraved out of the *Alcoran*. On the south-east of the *Mosque* stands the pulpit made of brick-work, about three steps from the ground, from whence their teachers say their publick prayers, and explain the *Alcoran*. Their great *Mosques* are generally adorned with two high steeples, each having stairs within from the bottom to the top. Their *Mosques* have scarce any revenues belonging to them, except what the priest makes by letting some few chambers belonging to them: many of them are built by charitable persons, and some of these have a settled income. It is further worth observation, that if a *Jew* will turn *Mabometan*, he must first own *Christ*, before they will receive him among the *Musselmen*.

They have many ecclesiastical orders among them, three whereof have no possessions, or any other propriety; and some pretend to such a degree of purity, that they profess themselves born without manly seed. Some make certain vows, like the *Roman Catholick* monks; some appear quite naked,

*Baldæus*. naked, others only cover their privities. Some have vowed perpetual silence; some carry water without reward; some prick themselves with sharp-pointed needles or instruments; others carry a ring of three pound weight in their privy members.

Tenets of their religion.

For the rest, they believe God a corporeal being, who is carried in a throne by the angels, and Christ to be only a man, and *Mabomet* the comforter mentioned by *John* xiv. 16. They believe a third place besides heaven and hell, and therefore pray for the dead; as also a general judgment, but implicated in many fabulous absurdities; for they tell you that two black angels, one called *Munger*, the other *Quaregner*, will appear, the first with an iron club, the other with a large fork in his hand; that every man besides is to have two angels to assist him; but if after all he cannot give a good account of himself, the angel with the club knocks him down, and so he is carried to hell. And because they are of opinion that those angels appear to them in their graves, these are generally built hollow; whence also they often make the following ejaculation: *Good God, preserve us from the interrogating angel, from the pain of the grave, and from the evil way.* They add many fabulous things concerning the angel *Adriel*, who, at the approach of the day of judgment, is to kill all living things, and to hang himself at last, till after forty years the angel *Seraphiel* shall awaken the souls; and such-like fables too long to be inserted here.

Paradise.

Concerning beatitude, and the paradise, they believe it consists in a continued enjoyment of pleasures there. They divide it into seven different apartments; one whereof is of gold, the second of silver, another of pearls, precious stones, and so forth. Here they are to pass their time in pleasures with certain most beautiful women, created for that purpose by God, whilst their wives shall look through a grate, and be spectators of the enjoyments of their husbands with these most beautiful women, who shall not be subject to the monthly times, or child-bearing, and the men as vigorous as *Mabomet* himself, who gloried in his having out-done by double the number *Ovid* himself, *Et meminim, numeros sustinuisse novem.* They say they shall drink in paradise of the spring of *Alcazar* mentioned by *Mabomet*; they shall be delighted with the scent of the most odoriferous citrons, which shall produce most beautiful virgins that shall imbrace the *Musselmans* and delight them with their charms for fifty years together: and more such like notions, tending to elevate the thoughts with

imaginary corporeal pleasures, to be enjoy'd in the next world by such as have observed the following rules in their life-time, which they reckon absolutely requisite to attain to this bliss.

*Baldæus*.

To believe one God, and *Mabomet* his prophet, and a day of judgment; to pray at certain times; to wash, bow, and observe certain other ceremonies in praying: to pay the tenths; to fast in the month *Rammeden*; to go on pilgrimage to *Mecca*; to abstain from extortions, wine, and hogs-flesh, because they believe the hogs to have been progenerated out of the elephants and mens dung in the ark of *Noah*. They are also forbid not to use tables nor dice, not to swear by God, not to be rash in our judgment, or deceive a brother either in publick or private; not to part from a virtuous wife; not to be too forward to object and discover the faults of a brother, or to despise him; not to set the fear of God and his punishment out of our eyes, or to calumniate our neighbour, and spread what is heard upon slight reports. On the other hand, they are enjoined to be thankful for God's mercy; to be patient in adversities, and not to despair of God's mercy; and to believe that whatever happens to us does not come by chance; (for the *Mabometans* maintain strongly God's providence;) not to deny a brother's request out of avaritiousness; not to raise God's anger out of love to his creatures, or to prefer a temporal interest before that which is to come: in all ghostly affairs, to have a respect to him that is above us, and in temporal matters, to those that are below us: not to enter into any association with the devils; to refrain from vanity, allow orphans and widows their own; to instruct their children in such things as relate to the divine service; to do good to your neighbour; not to curse any of God's creatures, but to praise him in his works; to read the *Alcoran*, (except when you are unclean;) to appear at the publick congregations; and to do as you would be done by. It is further their opinion, that the souls of the brutes are likewise to be revived and joined with their bodies.

In relation to their manners and customs, I will begin here with the character given them by a person of extraordinary learning, viz. *That in their whole behaviour they are declared enemies to vanity, as well in their words and deeds as in their clothing, which makes them look upon many of us christians like monkeys, who are apt to imitate every thing they see; whereas the Turks of both sexes, young and old, rich or poor, are as regular and decent in their habits, as if they belonged to one certain order; and are*

*Their manners and customs.*

*Baldæus*, so careful in the education of their youth, that their schoolmasters prescribe every day a certain part of the Alcoran, which they learn by heart, and so in two years time pass through the whole Alcoran.

Tokens of marriage-  
ableness.

In their marriages, and the tokens of marriageableness and virginity, they observe the following rules: As soon as the monthly times begin to appear, they carry the maiden, for seven days together, adorn'd with flowers, and, as it were, in triumph, to the next brook, during which time she is to eat nothing but what comes from the cocoa-tree. The *Portuguese* (who perhaps have got it from the *Moors*) publish the marriageableness of their daughters by the sound of trumpets, and invite their next

Their mar-  
riages.

relations to a feast. When a marriage is to be concluded, they bargain very hard for the dowry; but this being past, and the agreement made betwixt the parents, guardians, or other nearest relations, the day for the consummation thereof is appointed: then the bridegroom on horseback, adorned with sweet-scented flowers, under two umbrello's, passes with his next friends through the chiefest streets under the sound of trumpets, hautboys, drums, and other such-like instruments, to the bride's house, where having stay'd half an hour at the door, and entertained his bride with the musick, and the throwing of some squibs, and other small fireworks, he is admitted into the house; and being seated upon a chair raised somewhat from the ground, and covered with tapestry, the bride is brought to him by her parents and relations in the presence of a priest and the judge of the place, (without whose consent no marriage is valid:) the priest having read certain passages out of a book, the bridegroom swears, that in case of a divorce from his wife, he will be ready to restore her dowry; which done, the priest gives the benedictions, and they are married, the whole being concluded at that time with a present of *Betel* and *Arrack* to the guests, yet not to any excess, though afterwards they keep the wedding for three, four, six, seven, or eight days together, according to every one's pleasure and ability.

Divorces.

However, divorces are very frequent among the *Moors*, (or *Indian Mahometans*;) which is soon done, if the husband, pursuant to his promise, returns the dowry, which consists commonly in nothing else but the woman's apparel. A man is at liberty to kill his wife in case of adultery; but a woman may not so much as sue a divorce upon the same score. When a woman is divorced from her husband, she takes generally her daughters along with her, lea-

ving the sons to the husband's disposal. *Baldæus*. The next morning after the bridegroom has lain with his bride, and found her a virgin, publick proclamation is made thereof throughout the whole town, (for the honour of her parents,) when the bride's mother hastening to her daughter's bed-chamber, and finding the usual tokens of virginity in the sheets or cloaths laid for that purpose, she carries them to the bridegroom's parents, who rejoice with her at the conquest of their son over the maiden's virginity. But if these tokens are not apparent, matters are carried off with less pomp and more silence.

The *Mahometans* in general are enemies to incest, so that even the *Grand Seignior's* son, after the death of his father, never touches his concubines, but shuts them up in a certain castle; on the other hand, they are extremely addicted not only to lust, but also to sodomy itself, and combination with brutes. There are instances, that two prostitutes in *Persia* have been condemned, one to be occupied by a horse, the other by an ass; the first died, but the second escaped with life.

The *Moors* feed generally upon rice instead of bread, which is well tasted here, and grows in great plenty in *Bengale*, and divers other provinces; the same is in much request throughout the *Indies*, in *China*, *Japan*, in the isles of *Formosa*, *Java*, *Celebes*, *Borneo*, *Ceylon* in *Malabar*, and other places, though *Japan* and *Bengale* produce likewise very good wheat. The poorer sort, who can't get above four or five pence a day to maintain themselves, are forced to be contented with *Kützery* (a mixture of beanflower and rice) boiled in water. Their habitations are also very low and mean, made of clay, and their household-stuff suitable to their houses; for besides a few vessels of brass, and the two bedsteads where the man and wife lie, (who never sleep together,) there is nothing to be seen there, they having neither benches nor chairs, but only mats to sit upon. In some places they use cording instead of wood for fuel: but the houses of people of fashion are spacious, and divided into many apartments, flat on the top, whereupon they take the cool air in the evening. They are very splendid in their entertainments, wives, and houses, but especially in gold and silver plate.

Their clothing is very grave, and they scarce ever change the fashion thereof; the men wear coats of callico, or rich tissues and silks; they are strait above, close to the body, fastened with a girdle round the waste, and reach down to the knees: their breeches are wide above, and narrow at the bottom, reaching down to the legs, and trimmed,

*Baldæus.* trimmed with fringes; their shoes are of gilt leather, which they turn down at the heels, for the conveniency of throwing them off upon occasion. When they salute one another, they touch the turbant with the hand only, but never move them as we do our hats. They are girt about their loins with a girdle of some fine stuff, over which they wear another of fine linnen, and a broad dagger on the left side. The ornament of the women consists chiefly in bracelets about their arms and feet, ear-pendants, nose-rings, and other jewels: when they are going abroad, they cover their heads with a veil, with several hair-locks twisted together, hanging down their backs.

*Their burials.*

They observe certain peculiar customs in their burials; for no sooner is the breath out of the body, but their wives, children, and neighbours, make a most lamentable outcry, asking ever and anon the deceased, What made him die? whether he wanted any thing in his life-time? This they continue for three days successively: then they invite his friends to a feast in memory of the deceased, whose corpse being in the mean while well washed, and sowed up in some white stuff, with all sorts of odoriferous drugs, is laid upon a bier, and accompa-

nied by three priests, (who sing and read *Baldæus.* all the way,) carried by ten or twelve persons to the grave: here they lay him upon his right side, with the feet to the south, the head to the north, and the face to the west. This done, they lay boards over the whole corpse to keep the earth from touching it; and whilst they are filling up the grave, the standers-by mutter out certain prayers, and then return to the house of the deceased with the priests, who for several days after pray for his soul, shorter or longer, according as they are able to pay them. During this time, no fire must be seen in the house, what victuals they use being dressed without doors. Upon the grave they lay two stones, one at the head, and another at the feet, the interstice being of the same length with the dead corpse underneath it: upon these the priests read certain chapters out of the *Alcoran*, and distribute some bread among the poor: upon the same, at the head, they set sometimes a turbant, and if a female be buried there, a kind of a bonnet. Thus much of the *Mabometan* subjects of the *Great Mogul*; of the idolatry of the *Gentives* we shall have occasion to treat at large in the third book.

CHAP. VII.

*A Description of Diu. A Sea-Engagement of the Portuguese with Jazy and Hocenus. The singular Bravery of Laurence d'Almeyda, and Nonnius Vasques Pereria. The Harbour of Diu taken by the Portuguese. The Flight of Jazy and Hocenus. Moorish Colours sent to Portugal.*

AT the uppermost southern point of *Gufuratte* lies the city of *Diu*, the draught whereof you see here annexed, where the *Portuguese* have three strong forts. It is commonly called *Diu*, though its right name is believed to be *Tivo*, i. e. an isle, in the *Malabar* language, as may be seen in the names of *Naynativo*, *Anchativo*, *Maltivo*, or the *Maldivè* islands, which being in all sixty in number, extend from the cape *Commoryn* from the seventh degree of northern latitude, to the third degree of southern latitude, a tract of one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty *German* leagues.

*Origin of Diu.*

As to the origin of *Diu*, they relate that one *Jazy*, a native of *Sarmatia*, did settle in this island; but being taken prisoner and made a slave by the *Mabometans* in these parts, he changed the christian religion for that of the *Turks*, and being sold into *Cam-*

*baja*, was at last, for his singular dexterity in managing the bow and arrow, prefer'd to the service of king *Madrafakaon*, the father of king *Mamudius*. *Jazy*, to give a proof of his skill, shooting one day a certain bird of prey flying, he gained thereby so much credit, that the king not long after gave him his liberty, and restored to him the isle of *Diu*.

This isle, which at that time had nothing to shew but the ruins and miserable remnants of a once-flourishing city, began to recover part of its former splendor under *Jazy*, by reason of its convenient situation betwixt the *Arabian* shore and the kingdom of *Decan*. Having provided for the security of the place, by erecting divers forts and other fortifications, and his wealth increasing in a few years, he began to equip a fleet in order to attack his enemies ships at sea. *Hocenus* (otherwise named *Mir Amirazem*) a *Persian* by birth, and commander



*Baldæus*, commander in chief of the ships that were to come from *Egypt* into the *Indies*, having lately had a smart engagement with the *Portuguese*, *Laurance* and *Francis d'Almeyda*, and coming that way, *Jazy* thought fit to enter into a confederacy with him, which was done accordingly: whilst they were consulting by what means best to annoy their enemies with their joint fleets, news was brought, that *Laurence d'Almeyda* was with a few ships come to an anchor before *Chaul*, and had landed his men, (as being quite ignorant of the arrival of the *Egyptian* fleet in those parts.) One *Nizamaluc* reigned at that time at *Chaul*; for the great persons of *Decan* having imprisoned their king, had divided his kingdom among themselves, whereof this part was fallen to his share. *Nizamaluc*, though no great friend to the christians, yet for interest sake had ordered his subjects to maintain a good correspondence with the *Portuguese* trafficking in those parts; which *Almeyda* being not ignorant of, he thought he might stay here with safety enough, till he had the opportunity of convoying the *Portuguese* merchant ships to *Cochin*. It was, indeed, rumoured abroad, that the *Egyptian* fleet had been seen on that coast; but the *Portuguese* imagining that the same

might be occasioned by the arrival of certain ships coming about that time of the year from *Mocha*, they made no great account of it: one of the ships crew at length espy'd a considerable fleet from the top of the main-mast, but could not discern their strength, till at last they began to suspect the truth; for *Hocenus* was advancing that way, and *Jazy* preparing to follow him, in order to attack the *Portuguese*. Certain intelligence being at last brought to *Almeyda*, that the enemy was at hand, he ordered his men aboard, which was scarce done when they saw the *Egyptians* advancing against them. These *Barbarians* had flattered themselves with hopes to surprize the *Portuguese*; but these having just had time enough to put themselves into a good posture of defence, received their enemies so warmly, that they thought fit to stay for the arrival of *Jazy*; however, they charged one another (but at a distance) all that day; but towards night *Hocenus* retreated with his vessels to the other bank of the river among the sands, for his greater security's sake.

The night being spent on the *Portuguese* side, in preparing for the combat against the next day, when *Almeyda* being ignorant of the confederacy betwixt *Hocenus* and

*Jazy*,



*Baldæus*. *Jazy*, attacked the first with great fury, in hopes of boarding the *Egyptian* ships; but not being able to come close enough up with them by reason of the sands, he was forced to rest satisfied with plying them with his cannon, which he did all the day long, notwithstanding the enemy were much stronger in ships and men. The engagement was very hot, *Laurence d'Almeyda* being himself wounded twice with an arrow: the combat continued thus with considerable loss on both sides, till towards night *Jazy* came to the relief of the *Egyptians* with forty ships, but not daring to engage with the *Portuguese*, came to an anchor at the entrance of the river, to be nearer to *Hocenus* in order to join with him the next day.

Advices of the Portuguese to their admiral.

The *Portuguese* being somewhat moved at this unexpected fight, represented to their admiral *Almeyda*, that having gained sufficient honour in the yesterday's engagement, they ought now to consult prudence, and to endeavour to bring their ships out of the harbour in the night time into the open sea. *Almeyda* did not disapprove the

Is rejected.

advice of his sea-commanders; but as he was of a haughty temper, so he could not resolve to steal away by night, but determined to make the best of his way to-morrow by day-light; with this resolution he ordered all his ships, as well merchants as others, to be ready to set sail with the first tide by break of day. The *Moors* no sooner perceived his intention, but they made towards them in order to intercept their passage; in this engagement a bullet happening to strike through the *Portuguese* admiral next to the rudder, she took much water, and was cast upon the rocks, whence she could not be got off: The *Portuguese* commanders seeing the impossibility of saving the ship, sent a boat to the admiral, desiring him to save his person, and preserve himself for another occasion; but in vain, for he told them, *that he would never be guilty of such a piece of treachery, as to leave those who had hitherto been his companions in danger in the lurch.* Accord-

The Portuguese admiral cast upon a rock.

His bravery.

ingly he animated his men both with his words and example to defend themselves to the utmost extremity; being thus animated by their admiral, they fought like lions, rejecting all proposals offered them by the enemy, resolving either to save the ship, or die in the defence thereof.

Is wounded.

In the mean while *Almeyda* having one of his thighs shot off by a bullet, lost however not his wanted courage, but ordering his men to place him upon a chair near the main-mast, he there gave his orders as occasion required; but whilst he was busy in encouraging his men, another

unfortunate ball took away part of his breast and ribs, so that his entrails falling out he gave up the ghost immediately, and his dead carcase was carried below deck immediately. This was the end of the brave *Almeyda*, who had signalized himself so often by his bravery in the service of his king and country.

*Baldæus*.  
And killed.

There were besides him two other brave fellows, though much inferior in rank, whose names do well deserve a place in this history; one was *Laurentius Frerius Catus*, a servant to the deceased admiral, who being wounded with an arrow in one of his eyes, threw himself notwithstanding this upon his master's body, and when he saw the *Moors* enter the ship, fell in pell-mell among them, and killed several of them with his sword before they could dispatch him. The other was a sailor, named *Andrew Van Portua*, who standing on the top of the main-mast, and being wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder, and having before lost the use of his right-hand, defended himself from thence with his left-hand for two whole days against those *Barbarians*, till at length they promised him his life; upon which he surrendered, and afterwards returned safely into *Portugal*, where he was honourably rewarded for his bravery.

Two other brave exploits.

The taking of the admiral's ship of the *Portuguese*, though it cost the *Barbarians* six hundred men, (one hundred and forty being lost on the christian side,) yet occasioned no small joy in their fleet; as on the other hand, the loss thereof soon reached to *Cochin* by such ships as were fled thither: however the *Portuguese* were so far from being dismay'd thereat, that resolving to be revenged upon those *Barbarians*, they left no stone unturned to gather a more formidable strength at sea; and *Albuquerque*, after having settled matters at *Socotora*, (an isle at the entrance of the *Red Sea*;) did considerable mischief to the *Moors* near *Ormus*, as *Laurence d'Almeyda* (the father of the admiral lately killed) revenged himself for the death of his son, by the taking of *Dabul*, *Diu*, and *Panane*, whereof we shall give you a more ample account anon.

For *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, being informed concerning the convenient situation of the harbour of *Diu*, sent his orders to *Sequeria* to build a fortress there, cost it what it would. Accordingly *Francis d'Almeyda*, after the taking of *Dabul*, steered his course for the harbour of *Diu*. *Hocenus* was for engaging the *Portuguese* without the harbour; but at the persuasion of *Jazy* laid aside that design, it being thought much more expedient to expect the coming of the christians with their joint forces,

*Diu attacked by the Portuguese.*

*Baldæus* forces, and to annoy them at their approach both by sea and land; for which purpose they had besides the *Egyptian* ships and those of *Diu* received eighty brigantines of *Calecut*, and had planted their cannon at convenient distances along the shore. The *Portuguese* admiral was somewhat surprized to see the enemy keep so close beyond expectation; yet interpreting the same as a good omen of his future victory, he spent the remainder of the day in viewing the posture of the enemy, and consultations what was best to be done.

He having declared his resolution of attacking the admiral's ship of the *Egyptians*, aboard of which was *Hocenus*, the same was approved; but he desired not to expose his person at this critical juncture, but to commit the management of the design to *Nonnius Vasques Pereria*: accordingly, every thing being got in readiness, they entered the harbour the next morning with the first tide, and a strong sea-wind, *Nonnius* leading the van in his ship with two hundred chosen men, being followed by the admiral *d'Almeyda* to protect and cover his rear. *Nonnius* advanced bravely under the thundering noise of the cannon, (by which ten seamen that were furling the sails were killed at once,) and making his way through the midst of the *Barbarians*, at last boarded *Hocenus* in his ship, though not without great slaughter on both sides, he himself having the misfortune to be wounded in the throat by an arrow, of which he died three days after.

The *Portuguese* not being dismay'd at the disaster of their commander, but inflamed with revenge, redoubled their fury, which the *Barbarians* being no longer able to withstand, they gave all over for lost, *Hocenus* himself narrowly escaping in a boat to the shore, and (being somewhat diffident of *Jazy*) took horse immediately, in order to fly to the king of *Cambaja*, where he was well received. Those of *Calecut* seeing the best of their brigantines ruined by the enemy's shot, thought it their best way

to save themselves with the lightest over the sands, and two of *Hocenus* his gallies were carried off by *Roderic Zoares*; many of the *Barbarians* leaped into the sea, where they lost their lives; the rest got ashore, and dispersed, *Jazy* not being able to stop their flight.

There was yet remaining the ship of *Jazy*, a vessel of a vast bulk, appearing like a castle, well provided with artillery and men, being besides this covered with oxes hides to keep off the arrows, and hinder the enemy from boarding by its slipperiness: the *Portuguese* made several attempts to master it, but being as often repulsed, at last sunk her with their cannon. The loss of the *Barbarians* was computed at three thousand men, the *Portuguese* had only thirty killed, but three hundred wounded. The *Portuguese* relate that *Nonnius* his ship being very old, yet held out very well during the combat, but immediately after was found leaky in many places; most of the *Mamaluques* or *Egyptians* were slain in this engagement. How slenderly the *Portuguese* were provided with all manner of necessaries, may be guessed from hence, that when *Nonnius* his wound was to be dressed, there was no linen in the ship to do it with, but they were forced to tear a shirt for that purpose. Certain it is that the *Portuguese* can make harder shift than most other nations, a thing of great consequence in time of war, plenty and luxury being often the ruin of the best armies. The booty got by the *Portuguese* in this engagement was considerable; for besides four war-ships, and as many merchant-men, with their artillery, they got a considerable quantity of gold, silver, and precious stuffs and cloths, all which was given a prey to the soldiers and ships crew: three of the sultan's colours were sent to *Portugal*, to be preserved there in memory of so remarkable a victory; which made an ample amends to the *Portuguese* for the loss they had sustained some time before near *Chaul*.

They attack the Moors ships in the harbour.

Ten men killed by one bullet.

Nonnius wounded.

Hocenus flies.

So do those of Calecut.

Jazy's ship sunk.

C H A P. VIII.

*Peace made with Jazy. Ferdinand Coutinho made Viceroy. Differences arisen betwixt Almeyda and Albuquerque. The Portuguese take Diu; which is refortified by Jazy. Nonnius goes to Diu. The Isle Betel taken. Saldania surprizes Goga.*

*Baldæus.*  
Jazy sues for peace.

**J**AZY thought it now time to sue for peace; to obtain which he was not sparing in his promises, to endeavour to engage all the neighbouring princes into the interest of *Portugal*; so the peace was concluded, under condition that he should surrender all the remaining *Egyptian* ships to the *Portuguese*, release the prisoners taken near *Cbaul*, and provide their fleet with all manner of necessaries. *Jazy* being very willing, or rather necessitated, to comply with the conditions, the *Portuguese* thought fit not to attempt any thing further against *Diu* for that time, as being unwilling to embroil themselves with the king of *Cambaja*. Thus *Almeyda* retired victorious to *Cochin*, having paid to *Nizamaluc*, as he passed that way, the usual presents that were in arrears.

*Almeyda is succeeded by Ferdinand Coutinho.*

But *Almeyda* did not long enjoy the fruits of his late victory; for *Ferdinand Coutinho*, a person of quality, was soon after sent with fifteen ships and three thousand men to join with *Albuquerque*, in order to attack the *Moors*, and especially the city of *Calecut*; for some differences being arisen betwixt *Almeyda* and *Albuquerque*, which were fomented by some malicious persons, the king of *Portugal* thought he could pitch upon no better expedient to prevent the ill consequences thereof, than by sending *Coutinho* to succeed *Almeyda*, who preferring the king's interest before his private interest, quietly surrendered his charge; and at the same time was reconciled to *Albuquerque*, after he had managed the government of the *Indies* with more than ordinary conduct and wisdom; a person worthy of a much better fortune than what happen'd to him afterwards. For in his return to *Portugal* having occasion to touch at the cape of *Good Hope*, to take in some fresh provisions, some of his men being got ashore, and falling into differences with some of the natives about the exchange of their commodities, *Almeyda* running thither with sword-in-hand, to see what was the matter, the natives began to fall upon him and his men; and being reinforced with fresh numbers, set so hard upon the *Portuguese*, that they were not able to get to their ships without fighting their way through them, which they did with a great deal of bravery; but, alas! not with-

*Differences betwixt Almeyda and Albuquerque.*

out the loss of their commander *Almeyda*, *Baldæus* (who was run through the body with a stick pointed at the end,) and twelve more of their best soldiers. This was the unfortunate end of this great man, so famous for his great achievements both in *Europe* and *Asia*, being forced to end his days upon the shore of *Africa*, which robbed him both of the rewards due to his services, and even of a christian sepulture.

*The death of Almeyda.*

We told you before, that the *Portuguese* thought fit not to attempt any thing further against *Diu*; it is now time to shew you what further measures were taken to bring about their design to erect a fort in that island. They had so far agreed the matter with the king of *Cambaja*, that he favoured their intentions, or at least was not against them; but *Jazy* not only used all his endeavours at court to obstruct the design of the *Portuguese*, but also prepared every thing for a vigorous resistance in case of need. In the mean while he was not sparing in fair words or promises, nay, even in deeds to the *Portuguese*; for no sooner arrived *Sequeria* at *Diu* from *Ormus*, but he regaled the fleet with fresh provisions, and the officers with presents, with a great many protestations of friendship to the crown of *Portugal*: but when *Sequeria* began to talk to *Jazy* concerning the intended fort, he declined the matter, alledging that it lay not alone in his power; and therefore they must obtain the king of *Cambaja*'s consent, in which he would assist them with all his interest.

*Jazy plays the hypocrite with the Portuguese.*

*Sequeria* was not so stupid as not to smell the rat; but thinking it best to repay him in his own coin, he dissembled the matter, and returning his compliments with much civility, he prepared underhand for war; but *Jazy*, who had a watchful eye upon all his actions, knew so well how to improve his time, and provide for his security, that *Sequeria* thought it most adviseable to delay his project till the next year, against which time he expected some considerable reinforcement.

*Is discovered.*

*Sequeria* was no sooner departed, but *Jazy* imbraced this opportunity of strengthening himself on all sides; he added several new works to the place, and erected a castle in the midst of the entrance of the harbour, and

and

*Baldæus*, and betwixt that and the city defended it with a strong chain: he kept several ships loaden with ballast ready to be sunk upon occasion, to stop up the passage on the other side, and ordered vast pieces of stones and rocks to be sunk under the walls, to prevent the *Portuguese* galleys from approaching near to them: he also for the better defence of the harbour hired one hundred and eighty brigantines, and some merchant-men, manned with *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Turks*, (professed enemies of the christians,) leaving in the mean while no stone unturned to thwart the designed project of the *Portuguese* at the court of the king of *Cambaja*.

Nonnius  
Acunia  
goes for  
Diu.

His rendez-  
vous.

Sail for  
Dabul.

Betel begun  
to be forti-  
fied by the  
Cambajans.

Neither were the *Portuguese* idle on their side, but having made what preparations they thought fit for such an undertaking, *Nonnius Acunia*, the chief commander of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, set forward in order to put it in execution: but being resolved to make use both of cunning and force at the same time, he had by presents engaged several bold and cunning fellows, who were to pass to *Diu* in the quality and habit of merchants, but in effect to serve for *Spies*, and to give notice of what they thought worth his knowledge. Thus prepared, the time and place of the rendezvous of the whole fleet being appointed at *Chaul*, he set sail from thence with three hundred sail, great and small, well provided with artillery and ammunition, having aboard three thousand *Portuguese*, as many *Malabars*, and two thousand *Canarines*, for *Dabul*, a small city in the confines of *Cambaja*; where the *Portuguese*, being much animated by the presence and speech of a certain *Franciscan* frier, named *Anthony Petron*, declared that they would not desist, till they had forced the *Barbarians* from their strong holds in those parts. But finding the place deserted by its inhabitants, they steered their course towards *Betel*, (a small rocky isle not above a league in compass, separated from the continent only by a narrow streight,) about eighty leagues from *Diu*. The situation of this isle being such, by reason of the rocks which inclose the isle near the shore, that it might easily be made defensible by an indifferent force, the king of *Cambaja* had not long before sent thither a certain commander, a *Turk* by birth, with two thousand soldiers, and one thousand workmen, to erect certain fortifications there; but having not had sufficient time to bring them into such a condition as to be able to resist such a force as this, they thought it their safest way to capitulate.

The commander in chief (having obtained a passport for that purpose) had an interview with the *Portuguese* general, offering to surrender the isle, under condition

that they might have liberty to depart with all their baggage and goods. *Nonnius* allowed the first; but would not consent to their taking the least thing away with them, except what they had about them. This harsh answer was no sooner known in the isle, but they resolved to abide the utmost extremity, rather than comply with it. The king's treasurer found means to have a boat built, wherewith he transported all the king's money and goods to the continent. Many of the garrison enraged with revenge and despair, brought all their horses, best moveables, wives and children together, and burnt them and themselves. There were about seven hundred left, most of them votaries, resolved to die with sword-in-hand. These like mad-men fell upon the *Portuguese* with more fury than effect; for the *Portuguese* general having repulsed them, attacked the next night by the light of the moon, their intrenchments with so much vigour, that after a most obstinate resistance (in which the *Turkish* commander was killed) they left them to the *Portuguese*, some running to the rocks, from whence they precipitated themselves into the sea; others endeavouring to escape the sword by hiding themselves in the hollows of the rocks; but being discovered, some of them were cut to pieces, the rest made slaves. A certain *Moor* having nothing left but his sword, and seeing his comrade slain just by his side, and a *Portuguese* advancing with his pike towards him, in order to kill him, ran desperately towards him, and thrusting himself upon the *Portuguese's* lance, at the same time killed his enemy with his sword; so that they both died upon the spot.

The *Portuguese* lost in this action about seventeen persons of note, and had an hundred and fifty wounded, many of whom died afterwards. *Nonnius* thought fit to tarry here eight days, in hopes of receiving some intelligence from his spies at *Diu*; this proved of great advantage to those of *Diu*, for in the mean while *Mustapha* and *Sopbar* (who had been at the siege of *Aden*) coming to an anchor with six hundred *Turks*, and one thousand three hundred *Arabians* before *Diu*, the inhabitants thereof (who before that time thought of nothing else than how to come to a good composition) being encouraged by this reinforcement, were resolved to venture all for their defence. *Mustapha* was no sooner entered the city, but he ordered the women, children, and other defenceless people to be sent out of the town; the rest being mustered were found eleven thousand in number, (without the *Turks* and *Arabians*,) able to bear arms: strict watches were set in all places, to let no body pass in or out of the town without special

*Baldæus.*  
They offer  
to surrender  
upon condi-  
tions.

A most des-  
perate reso-  
lution.

The Portu-  
guese take  
the isle.

Loss of the  
Portuguese.

*Baldæus.* special licence ; the cannon were planted on the walls, mines dug and filled, chains made across the harbour, and the entrance thereof defended by seventy three well-manned brigantines. To be short, nothing was omitted that was thought necessary to strengthen themselves either by sea or land.

Preparations at Diu.

*Nonnius Acunia* in the mean time tarried at *Betel*, in expectation of the tidings he waited for from his spies there ; but these being too narrowly watched to send any intelligence, he resolved to take his chance, and so set sail for *Diu*, where he cast his anchor in hopes to come to a parley with the inhabitants ; but he was not a little surprized when he heard the cannon from the ramparts thunder among his ships, and three bullets that had passed cross the admiral's ship, gave him sufficient warning, that it was not safe staying there long, which made him give immediate orders for the whole fleet to weigh anchor, and to secure themselves without the reach of the cannon from the city. Being by this time sufficiently convinced, (without consulting his spies,) that there were but little hopes of peace or a surrender, he took a full view of the town, to see on what side it might

be most conveniently attacked ; and finding more probability to succeed on the harbour than on the land side, (especially since he was better provided for a sea than land enterprize,) he ordered all his ships and artillery to be got in a readiness, in order to attack the castle at the entrance of the harbour, break the chains, and to fall upon the enemy's fleet, from whence he might annoy the city with his cannon on the north side. The attempt was made accordingly, but without success, the *Portuguese* being so fiercely galled on all sides by the enemy's cannon, that they were forced to desist, and *Nonnius* thought fit to retreat to *Betel*, from whence he returned with his fleet to *Goa*, leaving *Anthony Saldania* with some ships on the coast of *Cambaja*, to watch the enemy's motions. *Saldania*, after having done considerable mischief to the enemy, by the taking of the small city of *Goga*, and burning twenty five brigantines, left *James Sylveria* behind him, and returned afterwards to *Goa* ; where having spent the greatest part of the winter in refitting their ships, *Nonnius* in the spring set sail for *Cbaul*, about two leagues from *Calecut*, to intercept the *Arabian* ships trading in those parts.

The Portuguese assault Diu in vain.

CHAP. IX.

*Nonnius routs the Mahometans ; takes Bazain ; and Martin Soza Daman. Badur King of Cambaja engages in a Treaty with the Portuguese. His Forces, and Expedition to Citor. The Destruction of that City. Badur twice defeated ; flies to Diu. His End.*

*SYLVERIA* was in the mean while not idle, but took many ships bound for *Diu*, burnt some villages, and kept the place so blocked up on all sides, that in a little time they were within reduced to great scarcity of provisions. The next following year *Sylveria* continued to play the same game by destroying many towns, villages, and ships : he also took the cities of *Pate* and *Patane*, as also *Mangalor* in *Cambaja*, with a vast booty, and a great number of prisoners ; the new king of *Cambaja* being not in a condition to assist those of *Diu*, by reason of some intestine troubles.

Nonnius's design against Bazain.

*Nonnius* at the same time keeping still in remembrance the disgrace he had received before *Diu*, and being resolved to let slip no opportunity of revenging himself, he laid his design against *Bazain* in *Cambaja* ; accordingly he set sail with a fleet of eighty ships great and small, with four thousand land-men aboard them, (half *Portuguese*, half

*Malabars* :) he sent *Emanuel Albuquerque* with some ships before, to secure the entrance of the harbour, sent for *James Sylveria*, who had his station on the other side of *Diu*, and followed himself with the whole fleet.

*Tocan* the chief of *Diu*, had, upon notice that the *Portuguese* were arming against him, intrenched himself with a considerable number of horse and foot at *Bazain*. *Nonnius* on the other hand, being well informed of the condition of the place by certain deserters, divided his troops into three bodies. The vanguard was led by *James Sylveria*, the main battle by *Ferdinand de Za*, the reer being commanded by *Nonnius* in person.

As they were advancing towards the town, they received several smart salutes from the enemy's cannon, and whole showers of arrows, *Tocan* having intrenched himself with ten thousand men in the

The Portuguese attack it.

*Baldæus*. out-works; notwithstanding which, the *Portuguese* lost not so much as one man whilst they were advancing towards the enemy, whom they charged so briskly, that they were forced to betake to their heels; and the inhabitants seeing themselves deserted by their protectors, followed their footsteps. Thus this city, with all its works, fell into the hands of the *Portuguese*, with the loss only of six men on their side; whereas the loss of the *Moors* was computed at five hundred and fifty. They found in it a considerable booty of provisions and ammunition, as bullets, gunpowder, and brimstone. *Nonnius* highly extolled the bravery of *Sylveria*, who commanding the vanguard, had behaved himself so gallantly, that the main battle did not as much as come to the charge, and as an acknowledgment of his services, made presents to him and all his officers. After they had destroyed all the fruits of the field round about it, they destroyed the city, and demolished the fortifications, as thinking it not for their interest to spare a sufficient number of troops to garrison it. Thus *Nonnius* having taken an ample revenge upon the *Barbarians*, returned with his fleet to *Goa*, and the *Mabometans* being convinced by this as well as the loss of the isle of *Betel*, (and afterwards that of *Daman*,) of the strength and bravery of the *Portuguese*, began to remit much of their fierceness, and were at last forced to submit to the building of a fort upon the isle of *Diu*, as will appear out of the sequel of the matter.

Soza attacks Daman.

*Martinus Alphonsus Soza* being come lately from *Portugal* (in the quality of admiral) to *Goa* with five stout vessels, and being joined by thirty five ships, and six hundred land-soldiers of *Nonnius's* squadron, he set sail for *Daman*, a city of *Cambaja*, about fourteen leagues from *Bazain*. This being a place of no strength, the inhabitants had deserted their habitations; but the *Rasboutes*, a daring and unruly generation, being joined by some *Turks*, to the number of five thousand in all, had intrenched themselves near the harbour, and defended the entrance thereof with a good number of great cannon.

Takes and demolishes it.

*Alphonsus Soza* took peculiar care in taking a view of the posture of the enemy; and as he was going in his boat from the harbour along the shore, having taken notice of a place in the city which was but ill guarded, he ordered scaling-ladders to be hung to the walls; so that whilst they were scaling the town the defenders fled, and thereby gave an opportunity to the *Portuguese* to make themselves masters of a gate: here it was the slaughter begun, the fight being carried on with equal obstinacy for

some time, till the *Rasboutes* being forced to give way, many of them were cut to pieces by the *Portuguese*, who lost no more than ten men in this action, but had many more wounded. Three days were spent in demolishing the fortifications, and laying the whole city level with the ground: which done, *Soza* turned his victorious arms towards *Diu*, and all along the coast of *Cambaja*.

*Badur* king of *Cambaja*, being extremely nettled at the success of the *Portuguese*, whom he was not in a condition to oppose, at a time when he saw himself entangled in another war, thought it his best way to sue for peace with *Nonnius Acunia*, offering not only *Bazain*, but also the adjacent isles, (among which were likewise the *Saljetes*,) and a considerable tract of land on the continent, thereby to engage the *Portuguese* in his interest against his enemies, viz. *Cremantina* the queen-dowager of *Sanga*, and the *Mogores*, a warlike nation descended from the *Scytæ*, who are frequently at war with the *Persians*: their king *Miramudius*, who boasted himself to be descended from the *Great Tamerlane*, having not long before made a powerful irruption into *Cambaja*.

Peace betwixt the Portuguese and Badur.

The intention of *Badur* was first to vanquish the queen of *Sanga*, and afterwards the *Mogores*: his whole force consisted in one hundred and fifty thousand horse and five hundred thousand foot, besides fifteen thousand hired foreigners, two hundred elephants trained for the war, and a very good train of great artillery: with this army he marched to *Citor*, a very fine and populous city under the queen of *Sanga*, who was not long before retreated thence with her children. The inhabitants of *Citor*, unable to resist so powerful an army, resolved to follow the footsteps of those in the isle of *Betel*, (mentioned before,) and having brought together all their gold, silver, and precious stones, &c. burnt themselves with their wives and children, with the treasure. It is said, that during the conflagration, which lasted three days, more than seventy thousand persons perished by the flames. *Badur* entered victoriously into *Citor*, where having rewarded the services of his officers that behaved themselves well with presents, he marched directly against the *Mogores*, but with very different success; for being twice put to the rout by them, and deserted by *Mustapha* his general, he was forced to fly to *Diu*; and being full of despair, would have taken a resolution to leave his kingdom, and to send his treasure to *Mecca*; but being, at the earnest entreaty of his friends, removed from that resolution, he sent an ambassador to *Soliman* the *Grand Seignior*, to offer him six hundred

His warlike preparations.

He takes Citor.

*Baldæus.* hundred thousand crowns, provided he would send a certain number of well-disciplined troops to his assistance; but fearing lest the desired succours should come too late, he offered to *Soza*, who then lay before *Chaul*, as also to *Nonnius Acunia*, a proper place for the erecting a fort near *Diu*, provided they would assist him against his enemies.

*Sues for place.*

*The Portuguese fort near Diu.*

*Boldness of James Bottelbo.*

*New differences betwixt Badur and the Portuguese.*

The *Portuguese* willing to take the opportunity by the forelock, *Soza* sailed to *Diu* immediately, and being followed by *Nonnius*, the treaty was signed, and a place assigned, *viz.* the hill which overlooks the harbour of *Diu*. This happened in the year 1535. The *Portuguese* went to work immediately, and laid the foundation of a triangular fort, the wall from the sea-side to the hill being seventeen feet thick and twenty high, at the end whereof, just upon a hill near the city, was erected a redoubt, and on the other end a stone tower, (such a one as the *Portuguese* have at *Cranganor* and *Cananor*;) from whence extended another wall to the other corner of the island: the wall was defended by a deep ditch, as far as the rocks would permit; in the midst whereof was a gate defended by two towers, named *St. Thomas* and *St. James*. Thus king *Badur* saw a goodly fortress perfected by the *Portuguese* within forty nine days, that part to the sea-side being set aside till another opportunity.

One *James Bottelbo*, a brave commander, but fallen into disgrace with *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, being willing to court any opportunity of being restored to the king's favour, got a brigantine built on purpose of eighteen feet in length, and six broad; and having provided himself with as many seamen as were required to manage her at sea, he set sail from *Diu*, without letting them know whither they were bound, and proved so prosperous in his voyage, that without any remarkable accident he arrived safely at *Lisbon*, and brought the kind advice of their good success at *Diu*.

The *Portuguese* left a garrison of eight hundred men under *Emanuel Soza* in the fort, and were no sooner retired from thence with their fleet, but *Badur* began to repent of his having admitted the *Portuguese* into the isle of *Diu*, (especially since the promised succours arrived but slowly;) whereupon he ordered the governor *Ninaar* to surround the city with a new wall, and to inclose the royal square without the place, whereby their fortifications must approach very near to, and lie directly opposite to those of the *Portuguese*. These being resolved not to permit a thing of this nature,

which must needs tend to their prejudice, *Badur* was much incensed thereat, exclaiming highly against their proceedings, and endeavoured to have surprized them in their fort; which not succeeding, he sought for aid from the *Samoryn* of *Calecut*, and several *Malabar* kings against them.

*Nonnius* being advertised of all these treacheries, sets sail once more with twenty ships and five hundred chosen *Portuguese* foldiers for *Diu*, ordering *Martin Alphonso* to follow him from the *Malabar* coast. No sooner had he cast anchor before *Diu*, but feigning himself sick aboard, he sent certain persons to compliment king *Badur*, and beg his excuse for his not coming in person: whereupon *Badur* went aboard together with *Soza*, the governor of the fort, to give a visit to *Nonnius*, who met *Badur* at the door of his great cabin, and saluted him with a great deal of civility. For though the death of *Badur* was resolved on before-hand, yet, that they might not seem to violate the laws of hospitality, they had thought fit to defer the execution thereof till his return towards the shore: it was not long before *Badur* went into his boat again in order to return, but was no sooner got into it, and making the best way to the shore, when *Nonnius* giving the signal to his men, and exhorting them to do their duty, they leaped into boats kept for that purpose, and following that of *Badur*, attacked him on all sides. The king being grown desperate, exhorted his people to a brave defence, encouraging both by his words and example; which made the fight so obstinate, that the *Portuguese* were in danger of losing their prey, *Soza* himself being slain in the first attack. The bravery of a certain servant of *Badur* deserves our particular notice, he being observed to have wounded, with eighteen arrows, as many *Portuguese*, till he was killed by a musket-shot himself. In the mean while, three yachts, armed with *Turks*, were sent from the shore to succour the king; but being most of them killed, and the king's galley struck upon the bank, he leaped into the sea, and though sorely wounded, did swim to the galley of *Tristan Pavia*, and discovering himself to be the *Sultan*, begged his life; which *Tristan Pavia* would willingly have granted; but just as the king was entering the vessel, he was slain by a seaman, who knocked his brains out with a club. This was the unfortunate end of *Badur*, one of the most potent kings of *Asia*, who not long before had been a terror to all the circumjacent countries.

*Nonnius sails once more to Diu.*

*Badur gives him a visit aboard.*

*Is kill'd.*

*The bravery of a servant of Badur.*

*Badur slain.*

## C H A P. X.

*Sofar made a Prisoner. The Portuguese become Masters of the whole Isle. Mamud King of Cambaja. A considerable Number of Ottomans sent to the Indies. Diu besieged by the Turks. A smart Engagement betwixt the Mahometans and Portuguese. Diu relieved. Garzias Noronia constituted Viceroy.*

*Baldæus.* BUT to return to *Diu*, and the sea-engagement, where *Sofar* being taken prisoner, was kindly entertained by *Nonnius*. The death of *Badur* (though not very honourable on the *Portuguese* side) proved however of very great consequence, the *Portuguese* becoming thereby masters of the whole island without much opposition, the said *Badur* being deservedly hated by his subjects, by reason of his tyranny and cruelty; six hundred foot were left there in garrison, and all necessary care was taken that the customs both at *Diu* and *Rumenstadt* might be regularly paid. *Maffæus*, in his fourth book of the *Indian* history, says, that *Rumenstadt*, or *Rumopolis*, (lying not far from *Diu*;) was built by *Fazy*, (mentioned before) and got its name from the *Constantinopolitan Turks* that scour sometimes in the *Indies*, called by them *Rumes*.

*The Portuguese fortify the sea-side.* The *Portuguese* found no great treasure of ready money at *Diu*, but considerable stores of ammunition and provision, and the better to strengthen themselves, fortified the city on the sea-side.

*Mamud king of Cambaja.* *Badur* was succeeded in the kingdom of *Cambaja* by *Mamud* his sister's son, who being an infant, under the tuition of *Driacan*, *Madremaluc*, and *Alucan*, these were solicited by *Sofar* (out of a hatred to the *Portuguese*) to engage in a war for the recovery of *Diu*. *Alucan* having got together a body of five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, and *Sofar* three thousand foot and one thousand horse, they pitched their tents in *June* not far from *Rumenstadt*.

*His tutors engage in a war.* *Sofa* attacked the town vigorously; but being in one of the attacks wounded in both his hands, the *Portuguese* got a little breathing-time, and in the mean while repaired the walls of *Rumenstadt*, which for some reasons they had demolished before: for *Antonius Sylveria* having resolved to fortify and defend the whole island against the *Indians*, was disappointed in his design by *Alucan*, who improving the loss of some *Portuguese* ships by tempest to his advantage, galled the *Portuguese* so sorely from his ships in their entrenchments, that they were forced to quit their posts; so that *Alucan* landing his men, soon became mas-

ter of the whole isle and the suburbs, where there happened frequent skirmishes betwixt them, the *Indians* being not strong enough to attack the fort, which was bravely defended by *Lupo Soza Coutinho*.

Whilst these things were transacting in *Cambaja*, the *Grand Seignior*, to revenge the murder of *Badur*, (at the request of his widow,) had equipped a fleet of sixty four stout galleys, which being joined by seven ships of *Cambaja*, and three *Moors* of *Malabar* with three thousand five hundred landmen aboard them, under the command of *Soliman* *bassa* of *Egypt*, they set sail from *Aden*, not questioning but they would soon be masters of the *Portuguese* fort, and consequently of the island, from whence they might extend their conquests into the continent of the *Indies*. Matters being concerted beforehand betwixt *Soliman* and *Sofar*, the last went out to meet the *Turkish* squadron about fifteen leagues at sea; and *Antonius Sylveria* being advertised of their approach, took all imaginable precaution for his security, in disposing what force he had to make a vigorous defence, and at the same time gave notice thereof to *Goa*, to sollicite for prompt succours from thence, encouraging his men both by his example and exhortations. By this time *Soliman* having cast anchor in the road of *Diu*, he ordered seven hundred chosen men to land, and attempt the attack of the *Portuguese* fortresses; which they did accordingly, but were forced to retire to *Sofar's* fort with the loss of fifty janizaries killed, and a greater number wounded; the *Portuguese* had also six men killed, and twenty wounded.

About the same time the *Turkish* fleet being in great danger of being forced by a strong south wind upon the coast, and much exposed to the enemy's shot, he retreated to the harbour of *Madrassa*, five leagues from *Diu*; where having concerted new measures with *Sofar*, he sent back his landforces to renew the siege of *Diu*. But *Alucan*, one of the tutors of king *Mamud*, having conceived a jealousy of the design of the *Turks*, retired with his forces from before *Diu*; and having represented their ambitious projects to the king, he soon obtained of him a prohibition in all his territories



*Baldæus.* stories not to furnish the *Turkish* camp with provisions.

This proved no small disappointment to *Soliman*, who notwithstanding this did not lose courage, but pursued his design of carrying the place, cost it what it would :

*A fire-engine of the Turks.* for this purpose the *Turks* contrived a very large fire-ship, which, under favour of the tide, and the smoke of some burning wood, they intended to send into the harbour, and to fix to the fortifications ; and whilst the *Portuguese* were busied in quenching the flames, they were to attempt the surprising of the fort on the land-side : but whilst they were staying for the spring-tide, *Francisco*

*Set on fire by the Portuguese.* *Goveano*, a *Portuguese*, found means to set it on fire, though not without great hazard, being obliged to pass twice the enemy's fire ; twenty of the *Turks* aboard the fire-ship

*Rumenstadt left by the Portuguese.* leaped into the sea, and were all slain. The *Turks* were so incensed at this disappointment, that they exerted all their fury against *Rumenstadt*, the walls whereof being so ruined as not to be maintained any longer against a vigorous attack : *Patioco*,

*The Turks renew the siege of Diu.* the chief commander thereof, thought fit to quit it in time. The *Turks* flushed with this success, renewed the siege of *Diu*, both by sea and land, with more vigour than ever, leaving nothing unattempted, with canonading, mining, or whatever might be attempted to reduce the place ; whilst the *Portuguese*, on the other hand, with counter-mines, retrenchments, and frequent sallies, endeavoured to stop their fury.

*The Turks storm the place.* The *Turks* being at last, by means of a gallery, advanced over the ditch, and entering the breach, a most furious combat ensued for four hours successively, the *Portuguese* defending themselves like lions. *Maffæus*

*Are repulsed.* relates, that a *Portuguese* having spent all his balls, pulled out one of his teeth, and charged his musket with it. At last the *Turks* were forced to retire with the loss of five hundred men slain, and one thousand wounded : the *Portuguese* also on their side had fourteen of their best officers slain, and so many of their soldiers either killed or wounded, that they had scarce forty men left fit for service. Besides this, they began to be in such want of provisions and ammunition, that they were very near reduced to

the last extremity. However, they did not lose courage, but encouraged one another rather to die upon the spot, than to submit to the most fordid slavery ; the women and children were even not backward in giving all the assistance they were able.

In the mean time, *Nonnius Acunia*, being sufficiently sensible of the danger of the fortress of *Diu*, had left no stone unturned for the relief thereof ; but the case admitting of no delay, he sent sixteen *Patachos* or yachts thither : these coming to an anchor in the night-time before *Madrafaba*, had each put four lanthorns on their sterns, with an intention to terrify the enemy. This succeeded accordingly ; for the *Turks* having by this time lost above three thousand men, and fearing the succour expected from *Goa* might be much stronger than really it was, set fire to the city, and leaving five hundred wounded men, and most of their great cannon behind, reembarked the first of *November*, steering their coast towards *Arabia* ; and *Sofar*, with the remnants of his forces, retired to the continent, to the no small honour of the *Portuguese*, who, with so small a number, had defended themselves not against barbarous undisciplined *Indians*, but against a body of warlike, well-exercised *Turkish* troops. It is said, That *Francis I.* king of *France*, was so highly pleased with this brave action, that he desired, and had an original picture of the brave *Sylveria*, the governor of the place.

Whilst *Nonnius* was busied in making all the necessary preparations for the relief of *Diu*, *Goa Garzias Noronia* was sent by *Don John*, king of *Portugal*, with eleven men of war, and seven thousand land-men, to relieve *Nonnius* : among these there was one ship filled with malefactors and criminals of all sorts, who had obtained their pardon from the king ; but this being separated from the rest, was never heard of afterwards. *Nonnius Acunia* having surrender'd the government to *Noronia*, after a stay of ten years in those parts, set sail for *Portugal*, his native country ; but before he could reach it, died at sea, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, on the *African* coast.

## C H A P. XI.

*Noronia makes an Agreement with King Mamud. Lupius Soza constituted Governor of Diu. Sofar's sinister Designs against the Portuguese: He besieges Diu, in Conjunction with Mamud; is slain in the Enterprize. The City is vigorously assaulted, and is bravely defended. An unsuccessful Salley made by the Portuguese.*

*Baldæus.*  
Noronia  
sends his  
deputies to  
Mamud.

**N**ORONIA apply'd all his thoughts to the affairs of *Diu*; and having dispatched certain deputies to *Mamud*, to treat with him of a peace, they at last, not without a great deal of difficulty, came to the following agreement; in the negotiation of which they met with no small opposition from the grandmother of *Mamud* and *Sofar*, who were continually inciting the young king to revenge the death of his uncle king *Badur*, viz. That the king of *Cambaja* should remain in the possession of the city of *Diu*, and the *Portuguese* continue masters of the fort and harbour thereof; that they should divide the customs share and share alike; and that the *Cambajans* should be at liberty to erect a wall to front the castle, provided the same were done at a convenient distance.

*Their agreement.*

*Lupius*  
constituted  
governor.

Matters being thus settled, *Lupius Soza* was constituted governor of the place instead of *Sylveria*, with a garrison of nine hundred men. But it was not long before *Mamud*, at the instigation of his grandmother, sent a considerable body to attack *Bazain*; but *Laurentius Tavora* making a vigorous salley upon them, constrained them to seek for peace. *Sofar* in the mean time having recovered himself, had for six years together bent all his thoughts upon the ruin of the *Portuguese*; and having found means to ingratiate himself into king *Mamud*'s favour, they sent underhand their emissaries to the neighbouring *Indian* princes, to engage them against the *Portuguese*, who they told them did lord it over them, under pretence of trafficking in the *Indies*. The affairs of the *Portuguese* were at that time but in a very indifferent condition in those parts, their treasuries exhausted, their naval strength neglected, their seamen very scarce; and the land-soldiers deserted in such numbers, that of the nine hundred that were in garrison under the command of *Lupius Soza*, there were not above two hundred and fifty left in the government of *Mascarenbas*; and what was worse, there was not above a month's provision, and a slender share of ammunition left.

*Miserable*  
state of the  
*Portuguese*.

*Sofar* was not unacquainted with these things, having learned them from divers *Portuguese* merchants; so that looking upon this as a fit opportunity to execute their

projected design, they pitched upon the winter season, when they knew the *Portuguese* could not be so easily secured from *Goa*. *Sofar* being in the mean while not negligent to cajole *Mascarenbas*, the *Portuguese* governor, by his letters into a belief of his sincerity, the same did not discover his real intentions, till it was almost too late; but finding no other redress but in a brave defence, he made all the necessary preparations for it, by sending away all the useless mouths, and fortifying himself after the best manner he could; and having bought up what quantity of rice, flesh, and dried fish he could get of the *Portuguese*, he sent advice of his approaching danger to *Bazain*, *Chaul*, and *Goa*. This happened in the year 1546. *Sofar* took for a pretence the new walls that were to be erected at one end of the city, which being built too near the *Portuguese* fortress, these stopp'd the progress thereof, which soon gave occasion to open hostilities. *Mascarenbas*, to animate his soldiers, told them, "That they ought to remember the brave actions of the *Portuguese* in this very place, where they had frustrated the designs of the *Turks*, of which the same *Sofar*, who now came to attack them, had born his share; that God would certainly punish the breach of faith of this wretch; and that they ought not to be dismay'd at the winter season, there being no question, but that the *Portuguese*, by their skill in maritime affairs, would overcome these difficulties, and succour them in due time." The next thing he did, was to take care of all the posts: the water-redoubt he committed to the care of *Martinbo Carvalho* with thirty men, and the defence of the shore towards *Cambaja* to *Jacobo Leti*.

*Baldæus.*  
Treachery  
of Sofar.

*Breaks out*  
into open  
hostilities.

*Sofar* by this time had begun to carry on his approaches a good way, and ply'd the place warmly with his cannon, but could not without much difficulty attempt an assault by reason of the ditch, which being enlarged of late, was as broad again now as it was in *Sylveria*'s time; however he ceased not to play with his cannon, especially in the night time; and being sensible of what advantage it would be to him, if he could make himself master of the harbour, by taking

*Sofar at-*  
tacks *Diu*.

king

*Baldæus.* king the water-redoubt, he contrived such another engine, or fire-ship, as the *Turks* had made use of in the former sieg, which they intended to set on fire, and to carry with the high tide under the fort : but the *Portuguese* having received intelligence of this design, sent out *Jacobo Leti* with twenty men,

to burn her ; which he did with incredible *Baldæus.* bravery, and the loss of one man only, being forced to carry the vessel through the enemy's fire on both sides, till he brought her within a certain distance of the fort where she was set on fire, and consequently *Sofar's* project vanished into smoke. *fresh ship burnt.*



*The Portuguese receive some succours.*

Not long after the *Portuguese* were rejoiced with a fresh supply of men, provisions and ammunition from *Goa*, under the command of the young *de Castro*, a brave gentlemen; who, after he had been afflicted with very hard tempests at sea (in which several of his vessels were separated from his squadron,) came with the rest, being eight in number, into the road of *Diu*, and in spite of the besiegers, landed his men, ammunition, and provisions, which increased the number of the garrison to four hundred and fifty men. About the same time *Mamud*, king of *Cambaja*, came in person with a good number of troops into the camp : *Mascarenbas* being willing to know their exact number, sent out several desperado's, who engaging the out-guard of the enemy, three of them were killed in the skirmish, but the rest had the good fortune to carry off one of the enemy's sentinels, by whom *Mascarenbas* was informed of what he had a mind to know. *Mascarenbas* having or-

*King Mamud comes into the camp.*

dered certain signals of rejoicing to be made, the enemy sent a messenger to know the reason thereof; who was answered, that 'twas done on account of the king's arrival in the camp, which put them in hopes that for the future they should fight against a great prince, whereas hitherto they had been engaged with vagabonds and rogues.

*Mamud* immediately after his arrival levelled his cannon with great fury against the walls of the fortrefs, and having brought along with him an expert gunner, he ordered him to cast certain fiery balls into the place, though without much success, till the said constable being killed, another succeeded in his place, who was so unskilful in his art, that his fireworks did more mischief in the camp than to the enemy. However, by the continual battering of the enemies cannon, a large breach was made by this time in the wall, which the besieged repaired to the best of their power; but

*Makes a breach in the wall.*

*Baldæus*. but their main reliance was upon the breadth of the ditch; which the besiegers were endeavouring to pass, by the help of their galleries. To prevent this, the *Portuguese* had opened an old vault at the foot of the wall, in which they spent several days and nights, but turned to their advantage, since from thence they could take away great part of the materials the enemy had brought thither for the filling up of the ditch. From hence it was also that *Sofar* received his death's wound, being slain by a bullet which passed through his hand and forehead, which occasioned no small disturbance in the enemy's camp; and had it not been for *Rumecan* his son, the siege had been likely to have been raised at that time.

*Sofar kill'd.*

The joy the *Portuguese* had conceived at the death of *Sofar* their mortal enemy, was not a little allay'd by the perseverance of the besieged in filling up the ditch; and that with such success, that having stopped up the before-mentioned vault, *Mascarenbas* began to be reduced to the utmost stress, of which he gave notice to the viceroy at *Goa*, requesting immediate succours. It was now about the middle of *August*, when the mahometans were preparing for the general assault. They visited their mosques with a great deal of devotion, and *St. James's Day* being appointed for this attack, they advanced without the least noise in two bodies before the break of day towards the breach, in hopes of surprizing the *Portuguese*; but finding them upon their guard, they entered the breach with most terrible and dreadful out-cries; which, however, was so far from terrifying the brave *Portuguese*, that they were repulsed with great slaughter; some of the *Indians* taking the advantage of the low tide, got into the water-fort, where they pitched *Mahomet's* standard, which *Mascarenbas* no sooner perceived, but flying thither, he gave them such a reception, that after thirty of them were slain upon the spot, the rest were forced down headlong over the wall. This done, he returned to his post, where both by his words and actions he so encouraged his men, that *Rumecan*, after a hot dispute of six hours, saw himself obliged to sound a retreat. In this action not only *Mascarenbas*, but also *Ludovico Soza*, *Ferdinando de Castro*, *Antonio Passando*, and all the *Portuguese* in general, acquired immortal honour, several women having exposed themselves in the midst of the combat.

*The Indians storm the fort.*

*Are repulsed.*

Notwithstanding this repulse, the *Indians* did not cease to continue their fire against the fortress, which not succeeding according to expectation, they began to apply their mines, not without some success. *Mascarenbas* having taken notice that the ene-

my retreated sometimes without any necessity, near a certain tower, gave notice thereof to *de Castro*, and some other officers of note, commanding them to quit it; but these flushed with their last success, refused to obey, for which they paid dear soon after; for the enemy taking the opportunity, when they perceived the tower full of soldiers, blew it up on a sudden, with at least one hundred *Portuguese* in it, and among them *de Castro*, and several others of quality; and such was the barbarity of the *Indians*, that they thrust their swords through the half-dead bodies of such *Portuguese* as were thrown up into the air before by the mine. They were for improving this opportunity; and during the confusion occasioned by this disaster, attacked the fort with incredible fury, but were so warmly received by *Mascarenbas*, that they were glad to retreat. To prevent the like for the future, the *Portuguese* governor ordered his men to act with more caution for the future, and the tower of *St. James* to be blown up, which was executed; and not long after, finding the enemy ready to attack the tower of *St. Thomas*, he blew up the mine underneath it, and with it three hundred *Indians*.

*Baldæus.*

*A mine blows up an hundred Portuguese.*

*Three hundred Indians blown up by a mine.*

The *Portuguese* affairs in the fortress began, notwithstanding all this, to grow worse and worse; for though they had made intrenchments within intrenchments, yet had they (after a siege of four months) not above one hundred and fifty men left for the defence thereof; and being reduced to great extremity for want of provisions, were forced to feed upon unwholesome things; which so discouraged the garrison, that they were resolved to put an end to their misery by fighting their way through the enemy.

But being just upon the point of putting their design in execution, they were rejoiced with a most unexpected relief from *Goa*, *Diu* whence they had sent fifty frigats, under the command of *Alvares de Castro* and *Franciscus de Meneses*, who arrived happily at *Bazain*. *Alvares* sailed straightways thence with part of his forces (amounting to nine hundred in all) for *Diu*, and good store of ammunition and provisions, the rest followed before the end of *September*. You may easily imagine with what joy the poor emaciated soldiers of the garrison received this welcome news; which however they would not improve to so much advantage as they might have done, out of a perverse temper, peculiar to the *Portuguese*, who, as they are soon dejected in adversity, so are they insupportable in prosperity: for now the soldiery began to accuse *Mascarenbas* of cowardice and neglect, telling him in plain terms, that they were resolved no more to be shut up within the walls, but to act like brave *Portuguese*,

*Diu relieved with some men and provisions.*

*Mutiny among the Portuguese.*

*Baldæus. Portuguese*, to attack the enemy in their works, and to make him once for all to repent that ever he had attempted the *Portuguese*, whose glorious name was dreadful all over the *Indies*: this they told him they were fully resolved to put in execution; and if he refused to head them, they would chuse another, the first, the best they could. *Mascarenbas*, who knew very well the stubborn pride of the *Portuguese*, when flushed with success, did what he could to divert them from their design by all the mild insinuations and most forcible arguments he could invent, telling them that the securest methods were always the best; and how dangerous it might prove to hazard the losing of the fort when they were in a condition to keep it till the approaching spring, when they expected sufficient succours from *Goa*: but finding them deaf to his persuasions, he spoke to them in the following manner: "Soldiers, ye are not insensible that if you would consider your duty, you ought rather to follow my commands than your own directions; but since you have tied up my hands, and both by your words and actions, nay, by your very looks, give me sufficiently to understand, that instead of commanding I must obey, go on, and shew your courage, your knowledge, and expe-

*Mascarenbas has his speech to his soldiers.*

rience in martial affairs: go on, I say, *Baldæus*. "I will instead of leading you on, follow you, with this caution, however, that I would have you remember to take care to return with the same marks of bravery as you march out." Then dividing the whole garrison into three bodies, he ordered *Alvares de Castro* to command the van, the main battle he gave in charge to *Francisco de Meneses*, himself remaining to guard the rear. Thus they marched towards the enemy; but with far different success from what they had promised themselves: most of them after the first charge retreating towards the town, instead of pushing forward. The body commanded by *Meneses* being charged in front and flank, betook themselves to their heels, and *de Castro* himself, being forely wounded by a stone, was hardly saved by *Mascarenbas*, who crying out to the soldiers, that it was now time to shew their bravery they had so much boasted of before, would fain have stopped their flight, but in vain; for they retreated with so much fear and precipitation, that for some time after, they scarce durst look the enemy in the face, or keep their post; whereas the *Indians*, encouraged by this success, approached with their engines nearer and nearer to the walls of the town. *Their unsuccessful valley.*

CHAP. XII.

*De Castro comes to Diu. Takes some Arabian Vessels. Routs the Indians; who leave the Isle. Rumezan killed. Soliman's Transactions before Aden: He causes the King of that Place to be hang'd on his Mast, and makes himself Master of the City. A Description of Daman, Dabul, and Vifiapour.*

*De Castro sends Acunia to Diu.* **D**E *Castro*, viceroy of *Goa*, had no sooner received the unwelcome news of the death of his son, and the distressed condition of *Diu*, but he sent at the beginning of the spring *Alvares de Acunia* with five men of war and four hundred land-men thither, with strict orders that they should keep within their fortifications till the whole fleet with the intended succours should arrive there. *Alvares* in his passage thither took several *Arabian* vessels, aboard of which were several persons of note belonging to *Sofar*, who, though they offered a great sum of money for their ransom, were all cut to pieces, and their heads thrown into the river.

*He takes some Arabian vessels.*

The spring being pretty well advanced by this time, *De Castro* set sail for *Bazain* with forty yachts, having on board fourteen

hundred *Portuguese* land-soldiers, and three hundred *Canarines*. With these, after having for some time infested the coast of *Cambaja*, he arrived in the *Ilha dos mortos*, whence he sent an express to *Mascarenbas*, with orders to batter the enemies intrenchments near the sea-side with his cannon, to facilitate his landing; which being bravely executed by *Mascarenbas*, *De Castro* entered the harbour without much opposition, and soon after landed his men. *De Castro* being not a little surprized to see the fort appear more like a heap of rubbish than a fortification, the very ditches being laid level with the ground, he called a council of war to consult of the most proper means to put an end to the siege: some were of opinion, that some time ought to be allow'd to the soldiers to refresh themselves after

*De Castro relieves Diu in person.*

*Baldæus*. the fatigues of the sea ; but *De Castro* telling them, That it would be a great disgrace for a *Portuguese* viceroy to be locked up in a fort, it was resolved to attack the enemy next day.

The Portuguese make a general salley.

Accordingly they marched out in good order, *De Castro* ordering the draw-bridges to be drawn up, to cut off all hopes of retreating into the fort, and leaving *Antonio Correa* with some men to guard it against any sudden attempt. The better to distract the enemy's forces, *Nicolao Gonsalvo* was commanded to make a false attack with some ships on the backside of the island. *Rumecan* on the other hand, trusting to his number, took care to guard his posts on all sides, against which *De Castro* marched with a much lesser force, exhorting his soldiers in a few words, *That they ought to remember that they served a king, who never failed to reward such of his soldiers as fought bravely for God's cause, and the defence of his territories in the Indies, the preservation whereof depended on this battle ; that therefore they should fight like men, and consider that all their safety lay in their hands, all hopes of retreating being cut off by the shutting up of the gates of the fort, and the removal of the fleet to the backside of the isle.*

De Castro's speech to his soldiers.

Things being thus disposed, *Gonsalvo* made his false attack on the other side of the island, which so alarmed the *Indians*, that they hastened in whole troops thither ; which gave opportunity to the *Portuguese*, (who were about three thousand strong,) animated by the example of *De Castro* and *Mascarenbas* their leaders, to break in upon the *Indians* with such fury, that they were not able to resist them. *Rumecan* finding his forces to give way, and imagining that the fort was left destitute of men to defend it, assaulted the same full of despair ; but being repulsed by *Correa*, was forced to follow the rest, and being closely pursued by the *Portuguese*, quitted the isle, and with the remnants of his forces passed over to the continent. The *Portuguese* entered the city, where they killed all they met with, without any regard to age or sex, where they got an incredible booty, and among other things the standard of *Cambaja*, a prodigious quantity of arms, and thirty five brass cannon, one whereof being of an extraordinary size, is kept to this day in the arsenal at *Lisbon*, with certain *Arabick* characters upon it. The *Portuguese* lost, not above sixty men in this action ; whereas of the *Indians* were killed no less than four thousand, and six hundred taken prisoners : *Rumecan* himself lost his life, as he was preparing to pass over to the continent : *De Castro*, after having given the king of *Portugal* an account in his letter of this glorious victory, and the bravery of his officers and soldiers, gave

He routs the Indians.

Rumecan slain.

orders for the repairing the fortifications of *Baldæus*, the fort, and returned triumphant to *Goa*, where he was received with the general acclamations of the people.

*Castagnedo* gives a somewhat different relation of this action ; for he tells us, That *Rumecan* wanted neither bravery nor conduct ; and that he put the *Portuguese* so hard to it, that had it not been for *Mascarenbas*, who led in person the soldiers to the charge, the *Portuguese* would in all likelihood have lost the day. He says further, That they had one hundred and fifty men killed, and among them divers brave officers, *George de Souse*, *John Manoel*, *Francisco Azevedo*, *Cosmo de Paiva*, *Balthazar George*, *Eduardo Rodrigo*, *Juliano Ferdinando*, *Vasques Ferdinando*, and others ; that the *Indians* loss amounted to three thousand men ; and that the whole siege of *Diu* consumed the *Portuguese* at least two thousand men.

We told you before, that *Soliman* did come with his fleet before *Diu*, from *Aden* ; about twenty leagues thence, coming to an anchor, to take in fresh water, he sent certain deputies with a letter to the king of *Aden*, with the usual present of a brocado'd vest of tiffue of gold, offering him his friendship, and requiring him in the *Grand Seignior's* name to furnish his fleet with flesh and fuel, if he could not assist in person in the expedition he was going upon, to extirpate the *Portuguese* (declared enemies of the *Mabometans*) out of the *Indies*. The king of *Aden* was at that time a tributary to the *Portuguese*, unto whom he paid yearly ten thousand ducats tribute ; notwithstanding which he gave a very honourable entertainment to the messengers, promising to furnish them with what necessaries they wanted. About seven days after the whole *Turkish* fleet entering the harbour of *Aden*, was received with singular demonstrations of joy, the king sending one of his chief courtiers aboard to congratulate *Soliman* upon his arrival, and to invite him ashore. *Soliman* returned for answer, That he should be glad to embrace the king's kind offers ; but that the late fatigues of the sea had put him into such disorder, that he could not stir at present ; but as soon as he should be recovered of his present indisposition, he would not fail to pay his respects to the king.

The king's messengers were no sooner returned to the city, but *Soliman* sent three hundred men after them, under pretence of refreshing themselves, and taking a view of the place, (being all chosen men ; ) and the better to cover his treachery, he sent word to the king, that to prevent any disorders, he would send one hundred men the next day to bring them aboard again. The king of

Soliman's treachery with the king of Aden.

Aden

*Baldæus.* Aden was so credulous as to assign these three hundred men their quarters in his castle; which *Soliman* had no sooner notice of, but he sent the next day, instead of the one hundred men, no less than two thousand *Janizaries*, to the no small astonishment of the king, who now beginning to mistrust the matter, did not know what course to take; but whilst he was considering what measures to take, news was brought that a much stronger body of *Turks* was advancing into the city, who had no sooner posted themselves near the castle, but the commander in chief told the king with a smile, That he would be pleased to give a visit with two or three of his courtiers to *Soliman*, who was indisposed aboard his vessels. The king now began plainly to see the danger that threatened him; but not being in a condition to make any opposition, he was forced to submit; and being brought before *Soliman*, he asked them with an unparalleled magnanimity, under what colour he could presume to take in custody a prince in amity with the *Grand Seignior*, and to treat him no otherwise than as a criminal? Unto which *Soliman* reply'd, *And are you not ashamed to let the admiral of the grand seignior stay three days in your harbour with-*

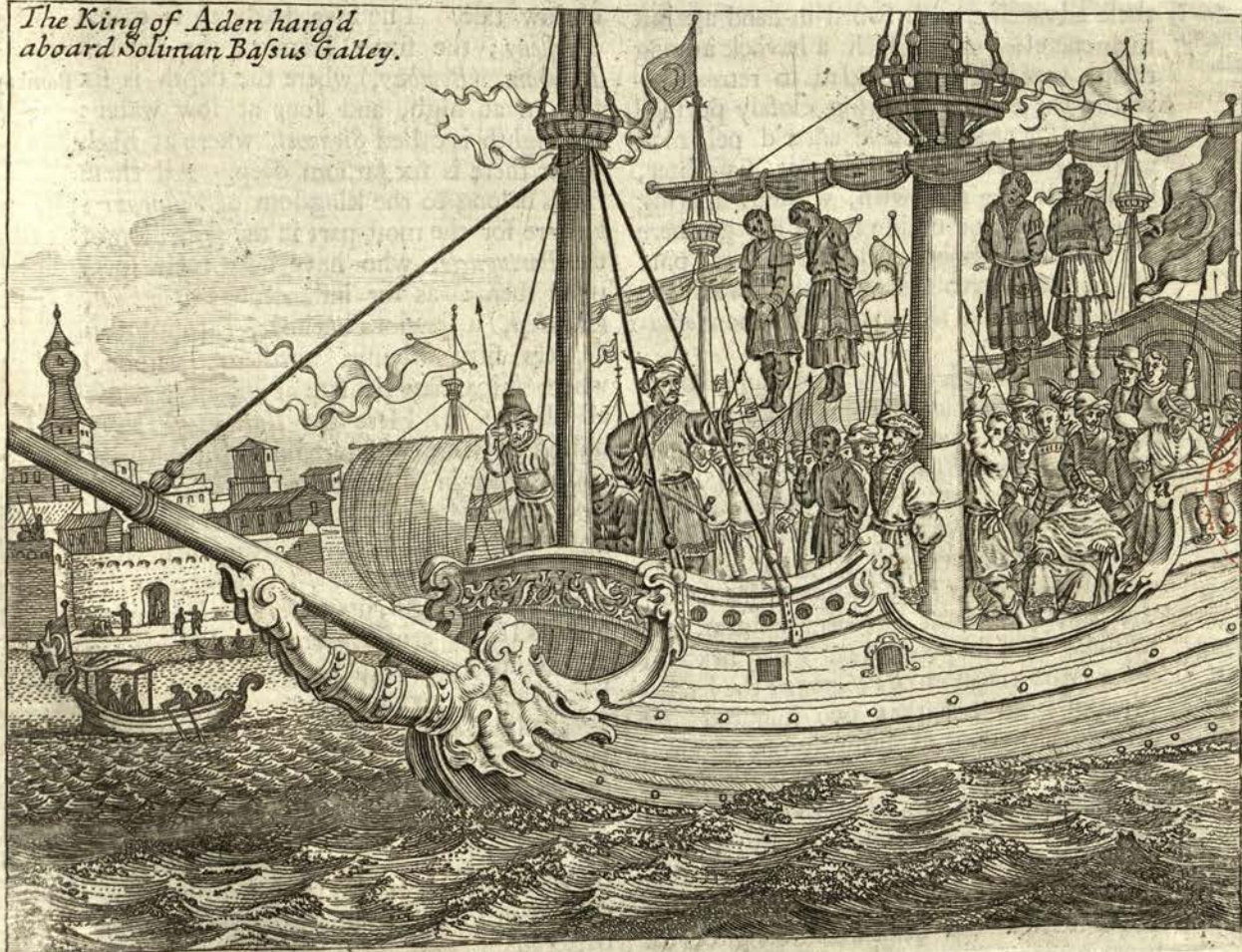
*out paying him a visit?* The king returned, *Baldæus* Had the grand seignior been here in person, I ought to have done no more than what I have done; and I am sure I should not have been treated thus. 'Tis true, I am now in your power, which I might have prevented, had I not trusted my self and my kingdom with those who now are going to betray both; without which Aden need not have stood in fear of your strength: I am now, though too late, sensible of my approaching destiny, seeing myself in the hands of a treacherous tyrant; but though you may dispose of my body, I hope the bravery of the inhabitants of Aden, and the grandure of their princes will out-last your barbarous cruelties. He had no sooner ended his speech, but *Soliman* ordered him to be hanged on the main-mast yard, with four of his chief courtiers, and afterwards seized upon the city, excusing his treachery with the grand seignior's order, to punish the king for his being a friend to the *Portuguese*.

*Diu* being one of the chiefest places of the *Indies*, we thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader, to insert the entire history thereof here. We will now proceed to the description of the other places: *Daman* was one of the most ancient and noted places of the kingdom of *Cambaja*, which

The King of Aden forced aboard the Turkish fleet.

The King of Aden hanged.

The King of Aden hang'd aboard Soliman Bafsus Galley.



*Baldau*, as we told you before, was taken and destroyed by *Martino Alphonso de Soza*. As to *Chaul* and *Bazain*, there is scarce any thing remarkable to be said of them, except what has already been mentioned in the account of *Diu*.

Chaul,  
Bazain.

*Dabul* is a city seated at seventeen degrees forty five minutes of northern latitude, upon a most pleasant river, arising out of the mountain *Ballaguatte*, about two leagues from the sea; in former times much frequented by foreign merchants, and famous for its traffick and riches. *Sabajus* (a declared enemy of the *Portuguese*) had surrounded this city with a wall, and fortified the harbour thereof with a strong castle, which being garrisoned with six thousand men, (among whom were five hundred *Turks*;) he thought himself secure against any attempts of the *Portuguese*.

A description of Dabul.

But *D'Almeyda*, the *Portuguese* admiral, appearing with his fleet, (aboard whereof were thirteen hundred *European* land-soldiers, besides four hundred *Malabars*;) sent some of his galleys to make a false attack upon the castle, whilst he took this opportunity of landing his men at some distance from thence. The *Indians* perceiving their error, marched with all possible speed out of their gates against the *Portuguese*, whom they galled sorely with their arrows; but these advancing with sword-in-hand against their enemies, made such a havock among them, that they were glad to retreat towards the city, and being closely pursued by the *Portuguese*, these enter'd pell-mell with them, and made a great slaughter, killing all they met with, without sparing men, women, or children. They got here a considerable booty, though a great part of the best moveables were burnt with the city, which was set on fire by the *Portuguese*.

Is taken by the Portuguese.

Limits of the kingdom of Decan.

We have hitherto given you an account of the most considerable cities of the kingdom of *Decan*, bordering to the south upon *Malabar*, upon *Bisnager* to the east, upon the sea to the west, and upon *Cambaja* to the north: it's divided into three parts, viz. into *Cuncan*, *Canara*, and *Ballaguatte*, the last of which is a ridge of high mountains flat on the top, with most excellent pastures, extending even beyond *Goa*. The next in order is the kingdom of *Visiapour*: the length whereof is no less than two hundred and fifty leagues, and its breadth one hundred and fifty. Its capital city, which bears the same name, lies seventy leagues beyond *Goa*, eighty from *Dabul*, and is said to be five leagues in compass, with very strong walls, and five noble gates, on which are mounted above a thousand brass and iron pieces of great cannon. They tell us, that among these there is one carrying no less than five hun-

The kingdom of Visiapour.

dred and forty pound weight of gunpowder, cast by a certain *Italian*, a native of *Rome*, who being questioned by one of the king's commissioners concerning the money he had disbursed upon this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before. Some have reckoned this city; but erroneously, among the cities of *Cambaja*. The king of *Visiapour* was formerly absolute sovereign of this kingdom; but after a long and heavy war was forced, with divers other princes in those parts, to become a vassal to the *Great Mogul*: he used also sometimes to be embroiled with the *Portuguese*.

The king of Visiapour now a vassal to the Great Mogul.

This kingdom borders to the south of *Wingurla*, upon the river *Mirsee*, the boundary of the country of *Carnatica*, in the territory of *Sivipaneyk*. To the north of *Wingurla* lies the sea-port of *Danno*, the boundary of the kingdom of *Visiapour* on the side of the empire of the *Great Mogul*, about ten leagues from *Daman*. The river here has four fathom and a half water at high tide, and one fathom and a half at low water. The second river is named *Terrapour*, having at low water half a fathom, and with high tide two fathoms depth. The third called *Chnuam*, has generally two fathoms. The fourth, called *Machyn*, has two fathom and a half at high water, and half a fathom at low tide. The fifth harbour is called *Quelleny*; the sixth *Bazain*; the seventh *Bombain*, (*Bombay*;) where the depth is six fathom at high, and four at low water: the eighth is called *Siouwel*, where at high water there is six fathom deep. All these rivers belong to the kingdom of *Visiapour*; but are for the most part in the possession of the *Portuguese*, who have built their forts upon them: as for instance, at *Bombain*, (*Bombay*;) a spacious harbour, (at eighteen degrees fifty minutes northern latitude,) where ships may lie safe at anchor against all the winds. Here the *Portuguese* have built a very fine castle, (the draught whereof you may see in the next cut,) which commands the whole road; and was in 1662. given in part of a dowry, together with *Tangier*, in the *Streights of Gibraltar*, to the infant of *Portugal*, upon her marriage with *Charles II.* king of *England*; whereby the *English* thought to have got a great booty from the *Portuguese*; whereas they are in effect places of no considerable traffick. The rivers *Dabul*, *Radiapour*, and *Carapatan*, are entirely possessed by the natives.

For the rest, this kingdom abounds in salt-petre works. The royal palace lies in the center of the capital city, defended by a double wall and ditch, with one hundred battering pieces, and a garrison of two thousand men; the richest merchants dwell in the suburbs. The other cities of note

The royal palace.

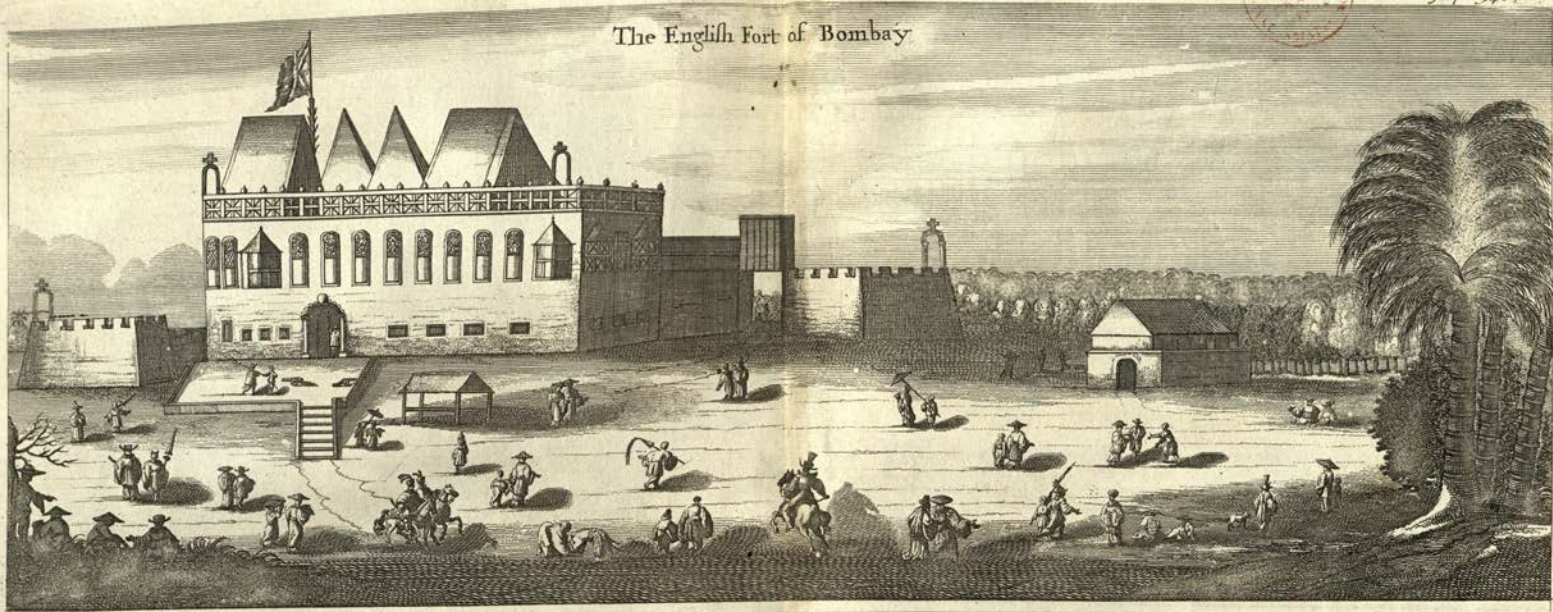
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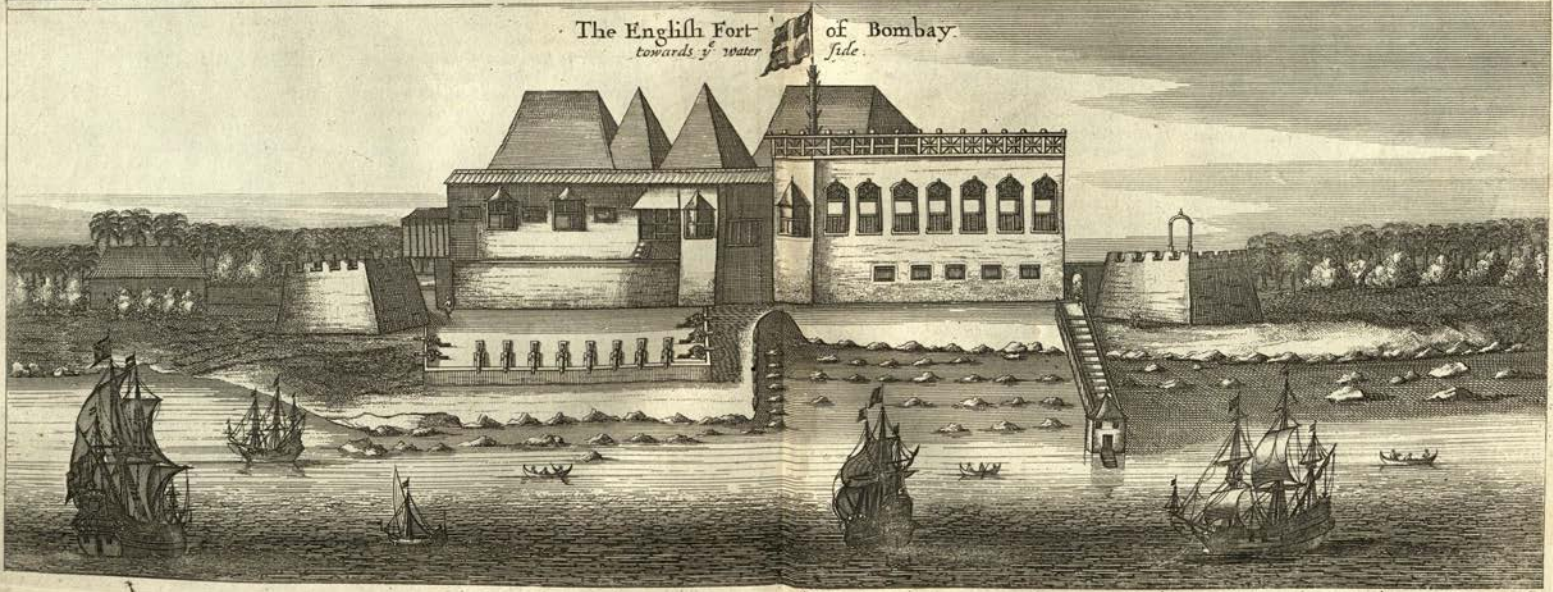




The English Fort of Bombay



The English Fort of Bombay  
towards the water side.





*Baldæus*. of this kingdom are *Cintapour*, a sea-port town, *Razapour*, *Banda*, *Rajebaag*, inland cities; *Arec*, *Mirdsy*, *Asta*, *Tamba*, and *Wingurla*, where the *Hollanders* have a stately factory: it is seated at fifteen degrees seven minutes of northern latitude, a place very considerable, not only for its plenty in wheat, rice, and all sorts of provisions and refreshments, but also for its situation near *Goa*, which stood the *Dutch* in no small stead, whilst they were engaged in war

with the *Portuguese*, and had blocked up *Baldæus* that harbour. The forces of the king of *Visapour* consists in one hundred and fifty thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, of which more anon in the description of *Negapatan*. We will in the next place proceed to the description of *Goa*, together with its origin, and what afterwards happened most remarkable in those parts betwixt our nation and the *Portuguese*.

C H A P. XIII.

*Goa taken by Albuquerque. The Death of Sabajus. Hidalcari comes before Goa. Albuquerque takes Goa a second time; routs the Moors, and establishes Christianity in that City. The Life and Actions of Xaverius in the Indies, China, and Japan: His Zeal and Piety.*

*Goa has a bad air, and most of its provisions from the continent.*

THE city of *Goa* is seated in an isle of a considerable bigness, at sixteen degrees of northern latitude. The air or climate is not very wholesome here, so that the *Portuguese* have in this place (as the *Dutch* have at *Batavia*) their great hospital of the *Indies*; because many of the *Europeans* die here immediately after their arrival, and many more fall sick by reason of the moisture of the air, as it was formerly at *Batavia*, which has been remedied since in some measure, by draining the fens thereabouts. *Goa* is the capital city of the *Portuguese Indies*, the chief residence of their viceroy and archbishop. The city is built after the *Portuguese* manner, each house having its peculiar garden, as at *Cochin*, and other *Portuguese* cities in the *Indies*.

*Goa taken by Albuquerque.*

The famous city of *Goa* was conquered for the *Portuguese* by *Albuquerque* in the following manner: One *Timoja*, a famous person in those parts, having possessed himself of a small isle belonging to the kingdom of *Onor*, was a declared enemy of *Sabajus*, (of whom before,) and the *Mabometans* of *Goa*, who interfering with him in their commerce, he had destroyed many of the ships of the *Egyptians* and *Saracens* trading thither. Thus being linked in point of interest to the *Portuguese*, he had declared to *Almeyda* his readiness to do what service he was able to perform to *Emanuel* then king of *Portugal*.

*Albuquerque* coming into those parts, sent for *Timoja*, to consult with him concerning certain matters of moment relating to those parts, who informed him, that *Sabajus* being a declared enemy of the *Portuguese*, had, after the taking of *Dabul*, bestow'd vast sums of money in making prepara-

tions against the christians; but being prevented by death from putting them in execution, he was succeeded by his son *Hidalcari*, who being engaged in a war with the neighbouring kings, and *Goa* at this time embroiled with intestine divisions, which had made most of the garrison desert his service, he was of opinion, that in case *Albuquerque* would for this time set aside his expedition against *Ormuz*, and attack *Goa*, he might make himself master of that city without much opposition: and to convince him of the sincerity of his intention, he offered to go along with him in person, and to take his share in all the danger. *Albuquerque* approving of the counsel of *Timoja*, called together a council of war; in which it being agreed to lay aside the design upon *Ormuz* and in lieu thereof to attack *Goa*, *Timoja* lifted a good number of soldiers, (under pretence that they were to be employed against *Ormuz*,) and soon after having join'd *Albuquerque* with fourteen ships, they tarried near eleven days in the isle of *Anchedrova*: for some of the *Portuguese* began to question the success of this enterprize, alledging that there were four thousand men in garrison in the city, and that it was imprudence to rely too much upon *Timoja*: but *Albuquerque* persevering in his resolution; set sail from the isle, and came to an anchor before the bar of *Goa*.

*Sabajus his death.*

*Albuquerque sets sail for Goa.*

From hence he detached *Anthony Noronia*, his sister's son, and *Timoja* with some light vessels, to make themselves masters of the two forts that defended the entrance towards the city; which being done with all imaginable success, he sent his messenger to *Goa*, to let the inhabitants know, that if they would submit, they should be treated like friends, and be discharged of

*Two forts taken.*

*Baldæus*. one third part of the tribute they were obliged to pay to *Hidalcan*; but in case of refusal they must expect no mercy. The inhabitants of *Goa* seeing themselves reduced to this nonplus, in the absence of *Hidalcan*, most of their soldiers having deserted, and their forts in the enemies hands, thought it their wisest course not to abide the extremity, but to accept of the offers of the *Portuguese*; which they did accordingly, and received *Albuquerque* with all the demonstrations of friendship, who rode triumphantly on horseback into the city under the acclamations of the people, a *Dominican* carrying an ensign with a cross in it, and another the keys of the city (surrendered to him) before him. He was very punctual in performing all the articles agreed upon betwixt him and the inhabitants, forbidding the soldiers, under the most severe penalties, to commit the least outrages. His next care was to take a view of the condition of the city, where he found divers goodly vessels, some lately built, others upon the stocks; the arsenal very well provided with artillery, and the king's stables with a considerable number of the best *Arabian* horses. And finding, by the situation of the place, of what consequence it might prove to the *Portuguese* for the future, in carrying on the war upon the continent of *Cambaja* and the cape of *Corus*, and to keep the neighbouring princes in awe, he left no stone unturned to provide for its security.

Goa surrendered to the Portuguese.

Lost again by the Portuguese.

Thus much for the first enterprize of the *Portuguese* upon *Goa*. We will now also give you a short account of their further success, how they lost it again by treachery, and regained it a second time, the 25th of *November 1510*. where these following persons signaliz'd themselves to their immortal honour, *Manuel de Cunha*, *Manuel de Lacerda*, *Don John de Lima*, and his brother *Don Jeronimo de Lima*, *Denys Fernandes*, *Diego Mendes de Vasconcelos*, with many others.

For *Hidalcan* had no sooner received the surprizing news of the loss of *Goa*, but he made a peace with the neighbouring princes upon the best conditions he could, with an intention to bend all his forces towards the recovery of *Goa*. The better to compass his design, he sent *Camalcan* his general, a brave soldier, before with eight thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to endeavour to pass a certain branch of the sea which incloses the isle, he himself intending to follow with an army of five thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, as soon as he had made all the necessary preparations for such an enterprize.

Hidalcan prepares for the recovery of Goa,

*Camalcan* having pitched his tents near the sea-shore, this, together with the news

of the approach of *Hidalcan* with a most powerful army, caused no small consternation in the island. *Goa* was inhabited at that time by two sorts of people, viz. the *Mahometans* and *Pagans*; the first out of an irreconcilable hatred to the christians, cry'd out for *Hidalcan* the son of *Sabajus*, who was of the same religion with them; and the pagans fearing lest they should be severely chastised for their having surrendered the city upon such easy terms, were for purchasing *Hidalcan's* favour by betraying *Albuquerque's* counsels to him. The worst of all was, that many even among the *Portuguese* began to upbraid *Albuquerque* with want of conduct; who they said, out of vain-glory only, without the least regard to the interest of *Portugal*, had with a handful of men ventured upon so desperate an enterprize, as the seizing of so populous a city.

*Albuquerque* nothing dismayed at all these obstacles, endeavoured to appease the *Portuguese* by fair words and promises, took one hundred of the chief inhabitants into custody; and having intercepted a letter directed to *Camalcan*, he punished the author thereof with death, with divers others who were convicted of a correspondence with the enemy. But as his chief aim was to dispute their passage cross the branch of the sea, he had erected batteries provided with cannon at convenient distances near the sea-side, and secured all their boats, by which means he had repulsed them several times in their attempts. At last, taking the advantage of a dark tempestuous night, they brought over both their horse and foot, without receiving any considerable damage from the *Portuguese*. Thus approaching to the city in battle-array, most of the inhabitants joined with them, which obliged the *Portuguese* to retreat thither, though without any great prospect of security.

*Camalcan* summoned *Albuquerque* to a surrender under certain conditions; but though he was sensible of the approaching danger, and the difficulty there would be of receiving any relief in the winter season from *May* till *September*, when the frequent storms render the seas thereabouts un navigable, and choak up the entrance of the harbour of *Goa*, yet was he resolved to expect the arrival of *Hidalcan*, and to abide the utmost extremities, rather than to surrender the place, resolving, if all failed to pass the winter in his ships in the harbour in spite of the enemy. *Camalcan*, astonished at the resolution of the *Portuguese*, made several fierce attacks upon them, but in vain; till at last *Hidalcan* appearing with all his forces, he resolved to cut off all

*Baldens.* all manner of provisions from the *Portuguese*, by which means he did not question to become master of the place without bloodshed.

He resolved however to send a herald to *Albuquerque*, to offer him honourable conditions, if he would depart; but whilst they were treating upon that head, he found means to have a ship loaden with ballast sunk below the city, where the branch of the sea is pretty narrow, and the channel very strait, with an intention to have another sunk hard by it: *Albuquerque* was no sooner advertised thereof, but he called a council of war; in which it was unanimously agreed, that they should embark the next night, before they had stopp'd up the whole channel, that the enemy might not intercept their passage.

Accordingly they marched out in the dead time of the night; but having set fire to their magazine, they were discovered and attacked by the enemy; so that with much ado they got to their ships, when they weighed their anchors, and with incredible difficulty passed through the narrow channel at some distance from the town: by which, however, they were not freed from their misery or danger; for by the continual windings of the river they were frequently exposed to the enemy's fire, and being destitute of fresh water, they were forced to drink salt corrupted water; what horse-flesh they had left being also consumed, they were reduced to feed upon mice, cats, and leather, which occasioned a great mortality among the *Portuguese*. Add to this, that they were continually annoy'd with the enemy's cannon from the two before-mentioned forts, (left by the *Portuguese* for want of men,) and saw no way how to pass them without a most manifest hazard.

*Albuquerque* being put to these straits, resolved upon a thing which at first sight appeared rather to be a madness, than founded upon serious considerations; but the event shewed, that in extremities the boldest and most hazardous undertakings are often the best. Both these forts were provided with good garrisons; but being sensible of the misery of the *Portuguese*, they regarded them so little, that they scarce thought it worth their while to guard their posts: *Albuquerque* having received some notice thereof, detached three hundred chosen men, whom he divided into two troops; these being animated with great promises and revenge, advanced towards the forts at the same time, and finding the centries asleep, killed them, and so entering the forts, soon put the rest to flight, took possession of the fort, and carried off the cannon aboard their vessels. *Hidalcan*

was so surprized at this bold enterprize, *Baldens.* that not thinking himself secure in the place where he was, he ordered his tent to be pitched at a greater distance.

The next thing the *Indians* attempted was, to endeavour to set fire to the *Portuguese* fleet by means of dry brush-wood and faggots dipp'd in pitch and rosin; to prevent which *Albuquerque* manned out certain boats to burn them before they could come near enough. This occasioned a smart engagement, wherein *Anthony Noronia*, (a *Anthony Noronia slain.* brave young gentleman, declared viceroy of the *Indies* after *Albuquerque*,) being dangerously wounded in the knee, died a few days after. The enemy's loss was also very considerable; but the death of *Noronia*, together with the manifold miseries, dangers, and difficulties they had daily to struggle with, made the *Portuguese* resolve to sail to the isle of *Anchediva* to set ashore their sick men, who stood in great need of refreshments for their recovery. *The Portuguese sail to Anchediva.*

Whilst *Albuquerque* was here ruminating with himself how to recover *Goa*, a squadron of ten *Portuguese* men of war arrived in the *Indies*. Strengthened with this succour, and having new modelled his forces by purging them of some mutinous spirits, he embarked one thousand five hundred land-soldiers, and three hundred *Malabars* aboard thirty four vessels; and steering his course to the isle of *Onor*, he concerted new measures with *Timoja* for the recovery of *Goa*: and having engaged him to lift as many forces as possibly he could, he set sail immediately towards *Goa* with such an astonishing confidence of success, that the *Indians* upon his approach deserted the forts without firing a cannon.

Advancing from hence to the city, a bloody engagement ensued near the royal palace, which *Hidalcan's* soldiers pretending to defend to the utmost extremity, but being routed, the rest threw down their arms, some precipitating themselves from the walls into the ditch, others seeking refuge, or rather death among the waves, whilst the rest dispersed in the island. This engagement lasted above six hours. Immediately after *Timoja* coming to the assistance of the *Portuguese*, they entered the city, where they made a most miserable havock among the *Moors*, whom they were resolved to extirpate root and branch; seven thousand whereof are supposed to have been slain in four days time, the pagans themselves being exasperated at them for having dispossest them of their lands, cut many of them to pieces, and among the rest the treasurer of *Hidalcan*, in whose house they found a good booty. Such of the *Mahometans* as were taken prisoners, *Albuquerque* ordered to be inclosed in a *Turkish* mosque, together with

*The Portuguese in great distress.*

*A hazardous attempt of the Portuguese.*

*Anthony Noronia slain.*

*The Portuguese sail to Anchediva.*

*Attack on Goa a second time.*

*And take it.*

*Commit great cruelties.*

*Baldæus*. with a certain renegado christian, who had deserted to *Goa*, and to set it on fire; which was executed accordingly.

A cross found in the ruins of *Goa*.

The next thing *Albuquerque* took care of, was to have bricks and lime made for the rebuilding and strengthening of the fortifications; and (if we may credit the *Portuguese*) as they were digging under the ruins of some old walls, they found a brazen cross, which (considering no christians were ever known to have lived there before) was looked upon by them as a miraculous good omen, presaging the establishment of the christian religion there.

The church of the Franciscans and Dominicans.

*Albuquerque* having punished with death such of the inhabitants as had had a hand in the first mutiny, ordered that the *Portuguese* should marry the young women of the country, (after they had been baptized,) the better to people the city, which from that time began to increase considerably; *Sequeria* having caused the first church that was built, with the adjacent houses and convent, to be dedicated to *St. Francis*. And in the year 1548. the church and convent of *Dominicans* was erected of brick-work, twelve fathers of that order being about that time introduced into the *Indies* by *James Bermudius*, a *Castilian*. After the arrival of the jesuits in those parts, (who have also a fine college here,) there were in four years time baptized no less than seven thousand two hundred and ninety *Indians*, without reckoning those converted by the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* before. In the jesuits chappel lies intrenched the body of *Francis Xaverius*, of which the *Portuguese* relate strange miracles, as well as of his whole life; an ample relation whereof may be seen in *John de Lucena* in *Portuguese*, by *Daniel Barboli* in *Italian*, and by several others in *Latin*; and in another treatise of *Bartholi*, printed at *Rome*, 1653. concerning the actions of the antient fathers of the jesuitical order. It will be sufficient for us to touch upon some of the chief heads related by the *Portuguese* of this Saint.

The death of *Xaverius*.

He died in the isle of *Sanchan* in *China*, 1552. the second of *December*, of a violent fever, in the eleventh year of his voyage over the *Indies*. His dead carcase was laid in a coffin with his cloaths on, filled with lime, with an intention to transport his bones thence after the flesh had been consumed by the quick lime. Many days after the *Portuguese* opening the coffin, found his body not only uncorrupted, but also of a lively colour, and most agreeable scent. Thence being transported to *Malacca*, and the coffin being opened a second time, above three months after his decease, they found neither the least signs of corruption, or any naufeous stench. After he had been

His body uncorrupted.

buried here five months, a certain jesuit travelling that way from *Goa*, being desirous to see the body of *Xaverius*, found not only the body, but also his cloaths uncorrupted; and of a very odoriferous scent.

Thus it being judged unseemly that his body should remain any longer under ground, *Didacus Pereria* caused a magnificent coffin adorned with gold and silk to be made, wherein the body was deposited at *Malacca*, till it could be transported to *Goa*, where it was received with incredible demonstrations of joy by the viceroy, all the persons of note, and especially by the jesuits, and deposited with a great deal of ceremony in the chappel of *St. Paul*. And finding that the people were so eager to touch his body, that it was to be feared they would in time consume it, or carry it away by piece-meals, it was inclosed in an iron grate; such being the zeal of the people of *Goa*, at that time, that they would embrace the body of *Xaverius* without intermission, lay their beads upon it, rub it with their hands, &c. and the whole city rung of the praises of this faint, of his uncommon zeal, piety, charity, mildness, his dangers in his voyages, his chastity, temperance, fasts, prayers, miracles, constancy, prudence, and great actions for the honour of christ.

The speech he made upon his departure for *Japan* and *China* to his friends, who were for dissuading him from so dangerous an undertaking, is so excellent in its kind, that it very well deserves a place in this treatise.

I Am surprized to see you who spend your days in the praise of God Almighty's power and mercy, should now be so diffident thereof in regard of my person. Have you forgot who is the supreme governor of the universe? and that every thing is ruled by his will? Can you be destitute of instances of this nature? Don't the waves of the sea, who opened a way to the servants of God through the depth thereof, furnish you with an undeniable example? Don't the winds who allay'd their fury by his command, proclaim his power? Pray look upon *Job*, who could not be afflicted by the devil, without God's special permission. The mouth of truth himself tells you, that the hairs of our heads are numbered. As we see ambassadors of temporal princes, relying upon their characters, and the power of their masters, pass unarmed and undisturbed, through an enemy's camp; so it becomes us, who bear the character of interpreters of the divine law, and of teachers of the heathens, to rely upon nothing but the assistance and power of  
" the

*Baldæus.* “ the divine majesty, which without any  
 “ other weapons can carry us safely through  
 “ all dangers both by sea and land, through  
 “ fire and sword, or what else may seem  
 “ to oppose the accomplishment of his  
 “ will. And if it happen that some of his  
 “ faithful ministers fall into the hands of  
 “ cruel persons, if they are devoured by  
 “ wild beasts, suffer shipwrecks, or are  
 “ exposed to hunger, thirst, cold, heat,  
 “ sicknesses, and other miseries; all these  
 “ are to be looked upon as the effects of  
 “ the divine pleasure, to try the faith and  
 “ constancy of his servants: for were it not  
 “ so, we are sufficiently convinced by ma-  
 “ ny examples, in what manner our God  
 “ has a careful eye over them; how he  
 “ has sent the ravens to feed them, the  
 “ angels to feed them; how the wildest  
 “ beasts have deposited their natural fury  
 “ and become mild? how the flame itself  
 “ has not been able to hurt them, nor the  
 “ greatest tyrants to execute their cruel-  
 “ ties upon them. 'Tis true, the victory  
 “ does not always incline on our side, and  
 “ we are often frustrated in the expecta-  
 “ tion of the fruits of our labour; but  
 “ those disappointments ought not in the  
 “ least stop the hand of a zealous minister,  
 “ in attempting every thing that may con-  
 “ duce to God's honour, and the salvation  
 “ of souls. If a soldier, in hopes of a small  
 “ share of honour, ventures his life in the  
 “ midst of his enemies; if the seaman for  
 “ the hopes of an inconsiderable lucre,  
 “ leave the shore, and commit his life to  
 “ the merciless waves, would it not be a  
 “ shame for a minister of Christ to refuse  
 “ to hazard his life for God's service, and  
 “ to look upon every thing as a trifle in  
 “ comparison of the kingdom of heaven,  
 “ and its increase? Let no such thoughts  
 “ enter our minds, there being nothing so  
 “ precious, that ought in this regard to

“ hinder us from the promoting of God's *Baldæus.*  
 “ service.”

A most excellent speech, worthy to be imprinted in the hearts of all faithful ministers of Christ; and the more valuable upon that score, that his deeds were altogether agreeable to his words; for embarking at Goa for Malacca, he thence set sail in a Chinese Jonke, or vessel, for Japan, where he arrived happily at Cangoxima, where this great man did not think it below himself to be instructed in the first rudiments of that language for Christ's sake. The next thing he applies himself to, was, to have the chief articles of the christian faith translated into the Japanese language, making use for this purpose of an interpreter, till he attained himself to the perfection thereof, in which he ceased not to labour day and night; being moved by an uncontrollable zeal of planting the gospel among these pagans. Truly a very commendable zeal, not to be forgotten by all who bear the name of christians; and though Xaverius's religion differs in certain points from ours, yet might his piety and other commendable virtues serve as an encouragement to all pious ministers, to follow his footsteps in performing the service of God to the utmost of their power. It must be confessed on all hands, that had not the active spirit of the jesuits awakened the Franciscans, and other religious orders from their drowsiness, the Roman church had before this time been buried in its ruins: and as for myself, I am very willing to own, that my pen is not capable of expressing the worth of so great a man; though at the same time I am of opinion, that if Xaverius were alive now, he would disown many things, especially as to his miracles, since published by his followers.

C H A P. XIV.

*Increase of the City of Goa: Its Traffick, Manners, and Way of living of the Portuguese there. The War betwixt the Dutch Company and the Portuguese. Their Ambassadors appear in the Great Council at Batavia: Their Propositions and Transactions.*

THE city of Goa increasing every year in riches and traffick, increased also in strength by the addition of several forts near the water-side; this being the capital city of the Portuguese in the Indies. Its traffick was much more considerable formerly than of late years, since by our blocking up the bar of Goa, they were not a

little disturbed by our ships. Whilst Goa increase was in its flourishing state, they used to *and traffick* send their ships to Pegu, Siam, Japan, Per- of Goa. sia, Cambaja, Arabia, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengale, Achem, besides divers other places. It is well inhabited, not only by *Inhabi:* Europeans, but also Canarins, Moors, and *ants.* Pagans of all nations, who live for the



*Baldæus.* most part upon trading, or are handicraftsmen. The great street of *Goa* has many rich shops well stored with silks, porcellain, and other precious commodities, druggiftry wares, manufactories, &c. Some of these, as well as fresh provisions, are sold every day in the market-places, where you hear a crier, or auctioneer, (called by them *Lalang,*) to sell in publick all sorts of goods, both movable and unmovable, cattle, slaves, &c. to the fairest bidder; but they leave off early, by reason of the excessive heat about midday.

*The way of living of the Portugese.* The manner of living of the *Portuguese* is the same here as in most other places of the *Indies*; they are distinguished into *Cazados*, i. e. married people, and *Zoldados*, single people; the last are most esteemed. The *Portuguese* here are generally very idle, seldom applying themselves to any employment, leaving the management of their business, for the most part, to their slaves; even the women committing the care of their children to the female slaves, who also give them suck. The men frequently marry with the natives of the country, yet not so much now as formerly: the children begot betwixt a *Portuguese* and an *Indian* woman are called *Mistices*, as the children of these *Mistices* are called *Castices*.

*Their lust,* The men are generally addicted to excessive lust; and I remember to have seen three women-slaves lie in at once, who were got with child by their masters; fornication and adultery being considered among them as errors of little moment: but they are very averse to drunkenness, notwithstanding which quarrels and murders are frequent among them.

*and pride.* The men are also generally excessive proud, there being scarce any of them that thinks himself removed a little above the vulgar sort, but what has his umbrello carried over his head, another servant to carry his cloke after him, and another who holds his sword: they use frequently snuff, not excepting even the maidens and women; and as they walk along the streets, they are continually stroking and setting up their whiskers. The women never appear abroad either a foot or in chairs unveil'd, their husbands being (and perhaps not without reason) very jealous of them; for which reason also they keep them at home in their apartments above stairs, the windows whereof are so contrived, that they can look upwards, but not downwards into the streets.

*Distempers.* The distempers most in vogue at *Goa* are the burning fevers, which the *Portuguese* cure by venesection, sometimes five or six times a-day, but they let but little at a time. The *French* or *Spanish* pox are also so common here, (as in most other parts of the

*Indies,*) that a *Fidalgo*, or gentleman, here *Baldæus.* does not look upon it as a disgrace to have been afflicted with it twice or thrice in his life-time. For the rest, the *Portuguese* use much sweetmeats, and take a draught of cool water after it, they being enemies to strong liquors, and moderate in their diet, a small share sufficing for a good number of people. The women feed much upon rice, though they have excellent wheaten bread; they also use frequently *Betel* and *Arek*, and all sorts of pickles, which makes them have a pale colour.

The king of *Visiapour* has more than once shewn his inclination of attacking *Goa* by land, especially at that time, whilst *Cornelius Simonsz* commanded the *Dutch* fleet in those parts, he being much respected among the *Mabometans* ever since his burning of the galleons near *Mormagon*: but the death of the said admiral prevented the design of that king, as much questioning whether his successor might be a man of the same stamp. In the year 1641. the said king promised a second time to form the siege of *Goa*, provided the *Dutch* company would engage to let a certain number of their ships winter at *Dabul*, *Orizery*, or some other of his majesty's harbours, which was no more than a necessary precaution, it being certain, that in case the siege should miscarry, the *Portuguese*, without our assistance, would have made themselves masters of these harbours. Formerly it was accounted dangerous to send our ships to the bar of *Goa* before *October*; but experience has taught us since, that this coast of the *Indies* is navigable towards the latter end of *August*, or in *September*, the exact time when the rich ships come from *Mosambique*, *Mascatte*, and divers other places, which have sometimes been taken by our ships; whereas if they come later, they have nothing else to do but to attempt the galleons under the castle. In the year 1640. the *Portuguese* made shift to bring into the harbour two caracks, and as many galleons, well provided with men and all other necessaries, which gave them the opportunity to fortify the isle of *Mormagon*; since which time, to render the blockade by sea the more effectual, the *Hollander* have ordered certain frigates to cruize with a sloop near the cape and the *Burned Islands*, (called *Ilhas quimadas*,) whereby the *Portuguese* *Cassikas*, which supply them with provisions, are prevented from going out or in.

It is sufficiently demonstrable, that the *Dutch* company did at first judge it for their interest to be masters of *Goa*, but laid it aside afterwards, thinking it more for their interest to block up the bar of *Gaa*; certain it is, that both the directors and the governor and members of the great council of the *Indies*, looked upon the war betwixt

*Baldæus*. twixt them and *Portugal* as propitious to them, as is evident from the petition delivered in *May*, 1641. by the said directors in the *Hague* to the states-general of the *United Provinces*.

The war betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese propitious to the first.

The chief intent of this petition, was to shew, That though it was beyond all question, that the *Dutch East-India* company was erected in its first beginning in the years 1601, 1602, and 1604. to carry on a peaceable commerce in the *Indies*; but that since experience had sufficiently convinced them, that the *Portuguese*, who had play'd the masters in the *Indies* for many years before, had left no stone unturned to disturb the commerce of the *Dutch*, by seizing their ships, and imprinting very disadvantageous notions of them into the *Indian* princes. That in 1602. when the *Dutch East India* trade was incorporated into one society, or company, two peculiar advantages were (among others) obtained thereby at that time: first, full authority of protecting their traffick jointly in the *Indies* by force of arms; the consequence whereof had been, secondly, that the *Indian* princes were entered into an engagement with the said *Dutch* company, out of hatred and fear of the *Portuguese*; that, by these means, the ships of the *Dutch* company having purged the seas of the pirates, had settled since the year 1604. their factories and traffick, not only in all the islands from the *Red Sea* as far as *Japan*, but also in the territories of the *Grand Seignior*, in *Arabia* at *Mocha*, in *Persia* even in the capital city of *Ispahan*, in the kingdom of *Cambaja*, and the empire of the *Great Mogul*, in *Decan*, in *Malabar*, *Narsinga*, *Coromandel*, *Golgonda*, *Bengale*, *Ara-can*, *Pegu*, *Achin*, *Sumatra*, *Jambi*, *Palimban*, *Bantam*, *Cambodia*, *Siam*, *Cochin-China*, *Tonquin*, &c. That since the establishment of these factories, the security of their commerce was chiefly founded upon this maxim, To maintain a war against the declared enemy of these *Indian* princes, their engagements to us being founded upon their opinion of our enmity with the *Portuguese*. To prove this, they alledge the following ten reasons.

Factories of the Dutch in the Indies.

Ten reasons for the continuance of a war with the Portuguese.

1. Because the *Dutch East-India* company was chiefly by means of the war with the *Portuguese* arrived to that greatness it is now at, their whole traffick in the *Indies* being founded upon this basis; whence they draw yearly a return of seventy eight thousand nine hundred and ten millions of guilders; and if the said foundation were not shaken, they might expect every year larger returns.

2. That in case of a truce, they should not reap the fruits of the victories, viz. to

put a stop to their power, a thing absolutely to be considered.

3. In case of a truce, the equipment of many ships of war would be laid aside, by which means *Holland* would be deprived of the strength of a considerable number of men of war in case of necessity.

4. That in case of an abatement of the equipment of ships of war for the *East Indies*, and consequently of the diminution of our trade in the *Indies*, and the return of our ships from thence, the advantage accruing to *Holland* by the convoys must also be necessarily diminished.

5. That many thousands of families in the *Indies* would thereby be deprived of their livelihood.

6. That the whole *East-India* trade, by which many millions are gained yearly, would decay in proportion as the *Portuguese* should increase in the said traffick.

7. That in regard of the interest of the *Dutch* company, it ought to be considered, that since of late years they had been at vast expences in providing ships of war, and listing of soldiers, they were (through God's blessing) in a probability of making farther conquests upon the *Portuguese*.

8. That in case the *East-India* trade should come to decay, and consequently their profit be diminished, they would be in danger of being quite oppressed by the heavy burden they lay under, of providing garrisons and other necessaries against the attempts of the *Europeans* their enemies.

9. That thereby the *Dutch* company would be exposed to the hazard of being deprived of all the advantages they had gained by right of arms from the *Portuguese*, or otherwise.

10. In case of a peace or cessation of arms betwixt the *Dutch* company and the *Portuguese*, it was to be feared, that the good understanding betwixt the said company and the *Indian* princes would soon decay, to the no small detriment and danger of the company and their servants, especially in *Japan*: which traffick, if it were lost, the trade of *China* would be of little consequence; a peace or truce with the *Portuguese* being absolutely contrary to the engagements they had with the *Indian* kings.

In consideration therefore of the great detriment that would accrue to the said company by a peace with the *Portuguese*, the said directors did most humbly petition their high and mightinesses to take it into serious consideration, whether the damages their subjects, and especially the company, were likely to suffer thereby, would not in

a great

*Baldeus*. a great measure over-balance the advantages the states might promise themselves from a peace with *Portugal*; and in case they judged the peace with *Portugal* absolutely for their interest, whether the *East Indies* might not be excepted in the said peace, as was done in the truce concluded 1609. and whereof other instances were in fresh memory betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, who notwithstanding they were entered into alliances since the conclusion of the peace in *Europe*, yet did continue the war in the *Indies*, as is evident from the *English* squadron's appearing before *Mosambique*, *Goa*, and *Manilba*, and the assisting of the *Persians* in the conquest of *Ormuz* against the *Portuguese*.

Lastly, They requested, that in case their high and mightinesses did not judge their reasons of such weight as to stop the truce in the *East Indies*, betwixt the company and the *Portuguese*, who lately have shaken off the *Spanish* dominion, and embraced the interest of king *John IV.* their high and mightinesses would be pleased at least to delay the conclusion thereof till advice could be had whether any of the places belonging to the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* had declared for the new king, that the directors might have the opportunity (in case of an ensuing truce) to recal such of their servants as were perhaps engaged in the service of some of the *Indian* princes, without which they might be in danger of being surprized and seized there, to their irrecoverable detriment.

*Goa block'd up by the Dutch.* The bar of *Goa* had for a considerable time been kept blocked up by a squadron of *Dutch* ships, the better to annoy the *Portuguese* in their traffick. *James Cooper* kept the said harbour block'd up for three years successively, as commodore, who was succeeded by *Adam Westerwold*, (of which hereafter in the description of *Ceylon*,) and he by *Anthony Kaan*. In the year 1639. commanded before that place *Cornelius Simonson Van der Veer*, (mentioned before,) a brave commander; and 1641. *Matthew Hendriksz Quast*, with ten ships, and one thousand one hundred and forty seven men: this fleet took a carack richly laden from *Portugal*; but he being killed in the engagement, was succeeded by *Cornelius Leenderisz Blaau*, reer-admiral.

*Two Portuguese ambassadors come to Batavia.* In the year 1642. two *Portuguese* ambassadors, named *Diego Mendes de Britto*, and *Gonsalvo Villosa de Sanct Joseph*, a religious of the order of *St. Francis*, being sent by the *Portuguese* viceroy of the *Indies* to the general and great council of the *Indies* at *Batavia*, the same were ordered to be received with all marks of honour and respect: for which purpose Mr. *John Maatzuyker*, chief pensionary, *Justus Schouten*, a mem-

ber of the great council of the *Indies*, *Si-Baldeus*, *mon van Alphen* doctor of the laws, sheriff of the city of *Batavia*, *Sebald Wanderaar* receiver-general, *Peter Soury*, *Barent Wichmans*, *Dirk Snoek*, *Ewoud Spieringb*, head factors, *John Lamoot* serjeant-major, *Gerard Herbers* doctor of the laws, head factor, *Francisco de Souza de Castro*, and *Antonio Fialbo Ferreira*, both *Portuguese* gentlemen, were sent to conduct them from aboard their vessel to the general's palace, under the discharge of five pieces of cannon; and being immediately introduced into the apartment where the great council was then assembled, after the first compliments on both sides, one of the ambassadors began to make his harangue: "That *Portugal* having withdrawn itself from the *Spanish* jurisdiction, had chosen *Don John*, duke of *Braganza*, their king; that the said king having soon after sent an ambassador to their high and mightinesses to treat of a peace and an alliance betwixt both nations, they had all the reason to believe that the same was brought to a happy conclusion before this time: in regard of which they were sent by the viceroy of *Goa* to treat with their excellencies about a cessation of arms, as would more at large appear out of their credentials." Which they delivered at the same time to the governor-general with this superscription:

*A. O. Senbor Antonio de diemen, Capitaon General de Nacaon Ollandesa n'este Oriente.*

On the other side was written,

*De Conde d' Aveiras Viceroye Capitaon d' India.*

The letter was sealed with the arms of *Portugal*, and written in the *Portuguese* language, as follows:

"IN the beginning of *September* arrived in our fort *Onor*, a caravel, sent from *Portugal*; whereby we were informed, that the *Portuguese* have proclaimed and acknowledged a king of their own, by the general consent of that nation. His majesty of *Portugal* did, in one of his letters, give notice to us, that certain ambassadors having been dispatched to their high and mightinesses the states general, to treat about a peace, it was not doubted but the same would be soon concluded, a truce having been already agreed upon betwixt the two nations in *Europe*, whereof notice had been given to the said majesty to the commodore *Quast*, intimating, That as a cessation of arms was concluded in *Europe*, so the same might take effect in these parts, and

*Baldæus.* "and that he had given orders to the viceroy of *Goa* accordingly. After the decease of the said commodore we gave notice thereof to *Cornelius Leendertsz.* *Blaau* his successor, who excusing himself with his want of power, as being obliged to follow strictly the orders of the great council of the *Indies*, we thought fit to send *Diego Mendes de Britto*, gentleman of the king's household, and father *Gonçalvo Villosa*, to treat with your excellencies concerning this point, they being provided with credentials from his majesty, that whatever shall be agreed upon with them shall be valid, and kept inviolably. We wish all blessings to the crown of *Portugal* and the *United Provinces*. Dated *Decemb. 6. 1641.*

Subscribed,  
*Conde d' Aveiras.*

The great council having told them, that they would take the matter into serious consideration, the discourse began to turn upon indifferent matters, and among the rest concerning the carrack lately taken by the *Dutch*. The ambassadors being asked whether the captain did not present the viceroy with two or three casks of wine, they answered, No; at which the governor-general shewed a great dislike, telling the ambassadors, that they must pardon the matter, it being a common thing for the best seamen to make the worst courtiers. After the ambassadors had dined with his excellency, they were conducted to their lodgings at Mr. *James Harder's* house. They were both persons of a goodly aspect, the *Franciscan* being being betwixt sixty and seventy years of age, the other of about fifty. Their train consisted in two pages, and four *Portuguese* footmen, besides the negroes and mistices, a gentleman, a secretary, surgeon, and two boys; their livery was orange colour.

Their age,

and train.

Their second audience.

The 8th of *February* the said ambassadors demanded a second audience; which being for weighty reasons deferr'd till the 10th, they appeared a second time at nine a clock in the morning in the great council, reiterating their former propositions concerning a cessation of arms: and lest the governor-general might not as yet have received a full account of what had been transacted in *Europe*, they produced certain original letters, sent by his *Portuguese* majesty to the viceroy: but these being only private letters from certain *Dutch* merchants living at *Lisbon*, and another letter from the states-general to the admiralty of that place, and consequently the same that were before sent hither from our squadron at *Goa*, by the way of *Coromandel*, by the sloop called the *Pipeli*. His excellency the governor-general

reply'd, That the last being sent to the *Baldæus.* council before by the commodore *Quast*, they had perused the same, and found, that in the letter of the states-general, it was expressly said, *That the Dutch should not molest the Portuguese on the other side of the line*; which being to be understood of the north side, the *Indians* were not comprehended therein; besides, that they had not received any instructions upon that account from the governors and directors of the *East-India* company.

But to convince the ambassadors that they were not entered into this war out of any other motive than to obtain an honourable peace, they could not but put them in mind, that though they had delivered their credentials from the viceroy, they had not brought along with them any positive proof, whether the said viceroy were authorized by his majesty of *Portugal* to treat concerning matters of such great consequence; and it was consequently to be doubted whether the same would be approved of and ratify'd by his majesty.

One of the ambassadors reply'd, That the viceroy of *India* was always endowed with a power of making peace and war, many instances of which could be alledged upon divers occasions, which would leave no room to question his authority in this case; but if they did, they were ready to remain as hostages for the accomplishment of what should be agreed upon. His excellency the governor-general return'd, That he was satisfied of the authority of the viceroy in making peace or war with the *Indian* princes, but remained doubtful, whether the same did extend also to the *European* nations: nevertheless, that he believed the viceroy would not transgress his commission, and that therefore they had been acknowledged as plenipotentiaries; which being done, there remained nothing now to do, but to proceed to the treaty itself, and to make their propositions under what conditions they would have the truce settled.

The ambassadors answered, That they looked upon it as unnecessary to insist upon many conditions or limitations at this juncture, when they expected every day to hear of a peace concluded betwixt both nations in *Europe*; according to the conditions of which, both parties would be obliged to regulate themselves hereafter: that their only aim now being to obtain a cessation of arms, the main thing in question, was to fix a certain time of its beginning, which they thought ought to be taken from that very hour the truce was agreed upon and sign'd betwixt them.

*Baldæus.* The governor-general told them, That he agreed with them in that point; that not many conditions were required at this time; but that it would be next to an impossibility the truce should commence from the very hour the same was signed, it being very probable that the *Dutch* squadron would, in the mean while, not let slip any opportunity of taking their advantage over the *Portuguese*; as the forces lately sent to *Ceylon*, perhaps, might have made an enterprize upon *Negumbo* or *Columbo*; as, on the other hand, the *Portuguese* might probably have undertaken something against *Gale*, or have obtained some advantages against the *Dutch* in other places: the viceroy himself having commanded *Don Philippo Mascarenbas*, that he should (till the news of the truce did arrive) act with his utmost vigour against the *Dutch* in *Ceylon*. He urged, That all these things considered, it was to be feared, that in case the truce commenced according to their desire, this might furnish occasion to new misunderstandings, it being more than probable that neither of the two parties would be willing to restore what they had conquered in the mean while; that therefore it was his opinion, that the beginning of the said truce must be so fixed, as that sufficient time might be allowed for giving notice thereof to the subjects of both parties.

The ambassadors made many objections against this, insisting to have the beginning of the truce settled from the date of the signing thereof; alledging, among the rest, that they could scarce imagine the viceroy should have sent such orders to *Mascarenbas*. The governor-general reply'd, That he had certain advice of it from *Ceylon*; but that notwithstanding this, he hoped the ambassadors should not leave *Batavia* unsatisfied. He at the same time invited them to dine with him, where they were splendidly entertained, and drank to the health of the king of *Portugal*, and the prince of *Orange*.

The third audience.

The 18th of *February* the said ambassadors had another audience; wherein they desired a positive answer to their propositions, the time desired by the governor to consult with the great council being expired. They urged, That since the 14th of *February* some yachts were arrived, which had brought the confirmation of the news of the peace lately concluded betwixt both nations; therefore they did not question but their excellencies would no longer deny them the desired trade.

The governor-general gave for answer, That the said yachts had touched at *Fernambuco*, from whence they had brought the articles of a ten years truce betwixt his *Portuguese* majesty *Don John IV.* and the

high and mighty the states-general of the *Baldæus. United Provinces*, in respect of their territories in *Europe*, with exception however of the places and colonies belonging to the *East* and *West-India* companies; that they had also brought along with them the articles or conditions agreed upon betwixt their high and mightinesses and *Tristan de Mendoza* the *Portuguese* ambassador, concerning the *West-India* company: whence it appeared, that the same ought to be first ratified by his *Portuguese* majesty, and sent back to the states-general; and that the same after that should not take effect before notice be given thereof in *Brazil*: and the same being agreed upon in reference to the *East-India* company, and our ships which left *Holland* in *September* last, being expected every day in these parts with the ratifications of the said treaty, it was thought convenient by the great council to expect their coming, and to regulate themselves according to the conditions agreed upon betwixt their respective masters; especially since the said ships would probably arrive before the season would permit the ambassadors to depart for *Goa*, and consequently there would be no loss of time in this respect.

The ambassadors told them, That they could not but think it strange, that since both nations lived in amity in *Europe*, they should act in a hostile manner against one another in the *Indies*. The governor-general reply'd, That since their respective masters had thought it convenient it should be so, till the ratification of the treaty by his *Portuguese* majesty, and that notice had been given thereof to them, they were obliged to take their measures accordingly. The ambassadors answered, That they had promised themselves a quite other answer; though in all other respects they acknowledged the honours and obliging entertainment they had received, desiring that a copy might be given them containing an exact account of all the transactions, during their stay here, betwixt their excellencies and them, by which it might appear that they had not been defective in their zeal and industry to bring this matter to the desired effect. This was promised by the governor-general, with this addition, That to give them all imaginable satisfaction concerning the truce, they would also give them a faithful copy of the articles thereof, not questioning but that the ships would arrive in the mean while; but if they should happen to stay longer, beyond expectation, they would consult all proper means to give them what satisfaction they could. They thankfully received this answer, extolling once more the obliging entertainment they had met with at their hands; they dined with most

*Baldæus.* of the members of the great council at the governor-general's house, and towards the evening took the air on horse-back

*Their fourth audience.* The 30th of *March* the said ambassadors had another audience; in which they delivered a memorial to the great council: which being read, the governor-general told them, That what was alledged in the said memorial was a matter of fact, and agreeable to what had been entered in their records; but that they would not have them despond concerning the arrival of the ships, which he was sorry staid so long behind; but that notwithstanding this, he hoped they should not depart without satisfaction. The ambassadors reply'd, His excellency would be pleased to remember his promise, of not letting them depart without satisfaction, or obtaining the end of their commission, in case the ships should not arrive.

The governor-general returned for answer, That by saying so, he did not intend to consent to the truce, which was beyond his power, at least till the arrival of the said ships; but to give them all the possible marks of his good-will and esteem, and that they should be dismissed with all the marks of respect they were able to pay them. That since his masters had thought fit to limit the beginning of the truce to the time of its being ratified by his majesty of *Portugal*, and being returned into *Holland*, and thence to the *East-Indies*, they were absolutely obliged to wait for the arrival of it, lest it should seem as if they thought themselves more understanding in this point than the states-general.

One of the ambassadors made answer, That they were persuaded his excellency the governor-general was sufficiently authorized to make peace and war at his pleasure in these countries, the same tending to the advantage of the *Dutch* nation; and that this cessation of arms could not but be acceptable to the states-general, who had so lately concluded a peace with the king of *Portugal*. He further told them, That the viceroy of *Goa* was always authorized with such a power; but in a more peculiar manner at this time, having received express orders for that purpose by a carvel from his majesty.

At last the ambassadors perceiving that the great council remained stedfast in their resolution, they thought it unfit to push the matter any further for that time, reiterating their former request, of having a copy granted them concerning their transactions here; and desiring, that since the season began to open the passage by sea to *Coromandel*, they might be dismissed forthwith, in order to prosecute their journey by land to *Goa* before the winter, the same being impracticable afterwards, by reason

of the frequent rains. The governor-general *Baldæus.* promised them entire satisfaction upon both these heads, and that a ship should be got ready for their excellencies; but that however, he could not forbear to tell them, That in his opinion they would do better to tarry a little longer, in expectation of the before-mentioned ships, and the ratification expected to be brought over by them. They replied, That having received express orders from the viceroy to return to *Goa* with the first opportunity, they were obliged to obey, unless his excellency would lay his commands upon them to the contrary. The governor-general answered, That it was not in his power to command them, what he had said being only by way of advice; but if they were resolved to the contrary, they should not be in the least detained: that if they thought fit, advice might be sent thereof to the viceroy by the ship that was then just ready to sail for *Coromandel*; or if they disliked this proposition, one of them might tarry at *Batavia* till the arrival of the ratification, whilst the other return'd to *Goa*. This expedient being approved by them, it was agreed that the *Franciscan* father should go back to *Goa* by the way of *Coromandel*, and the other stay at *Batavia*, till the arrival of the ratification.

Then the ambassadors desired the release-  
*Some particular requests of the ambassadors.*  
ment of certain *Mistices* and *Negroes* that were prisoners among us; which being soon granted by the governor-general, he asked the same favour in behalf of four other persons who had been clapp'd in irons on occasion of some mutiny at *Batavia*, in which they were the ringleaders; which was also granted, under condition that they should depart the country with the *Franciscan* father. They also made the like request concerning *Francisco de Souza de Castro*, who (at the request of the governor-general) being released out of his prison by those of *Acbin*, was delivered up to the *Dutch*; he had likewise leave given him to depart with the *Franciscan* father, provided he paid his debts before his departure.

The first of *April* the two ships called the *Tyger* and *Nassaw*, which had left *Holland* the 16th of *September* last, being arrived at *Batavia*, the said ambassadors appeared once  
*Another audience.*  
more in the great council, intimating, That they being informed that at the time of the departure of these ships out of *Holland*, the ratification of the articles of his *Portuguese* majesty concerning the *East-Indies* was not arrived; at which they were much surpriz'd, as not knowing what might be the reason thereof; they desired to know whether his excellency had not received any more particular intelligence, which might induce him to grant the desired cessation of arms. The governor-general reply'd, That he had

*Baldæus*. had put it beyond all doubt, that the ratification would have been brought along with these ships; but since it had happen'd otherwise, it was not in his power to grant the required truce. The ambassadors ask'd, Whether they should both depart? or whether his excellency thought convenient that one of them should stay behind? The governor-general told them, That they were at their own disposal; but that since they expected every day the arrival of their winter-ships, which infallibly would bring over the said ratification, he judg'd it might be best for them to continue a little longer at *Batavia*.

One of the ambassadors returns to Goa.

Hereupon they resolv'd once more, that the *Franciscan* father should go back over *Coromandel* to *Goa*, whilst the other should stay at *Batavia* for the arrival of the ratification. Accordingly a written certificate was given to the ambassadors concerning their zeal and industry in compassing their commission, signed by his excellency the governor-general *Anthony van Diemen*, by *Cornelius van der Lijn*, *John Maatzuyker*, *Justus Schouten*, *Cornelius Wizen*, and *Peter Boreel*, in the castle of *Batavia*, April 9. 1642. To the *Franciscan* father the council gave the following letter, directed to the viceroy of *Goa*.

Most Illustrious Lord!

A Letter to the viceroy of Goa.

*Diego Mendes de Britto*, gentleman of the king's household, and the reverend father, brother *Gonsalvo de S. Joseph*, your excellency's ambassadors, being come in our road the 28th of *January* aboard the *Dolphin*, were honourably received by us the next day. They delivered to us your excellency's credential letters, dated in *Goa* the 6th of *December* of the last year; as also the letters of his *Portuguese* majesty to you, concerning the truce betwixt *Portugal* and the *United Provinces*. The before-men-

tioned ambassadors have not been remiss in their zeal, industry, and duty, to press in their several audiences the obtaining of a truce; which we would willingly have granted, had not we received certain advice by some ships arriv'd the 14th of *February*, by the way of *Fernambuco*, and others arriv'd the first of *April* here, of a truce concluded betwixt his majesty of *Portugal* and the states-general of the *United Provinces*; wherein it was expressly agreed with his majesty's plenipotentiary *Tristaon de Mendoza Furtado*, among other points, that the truce agreed upon for ten years in *Europe*, should be of the same validity in these parts, yet so that the same should not commence before that his *Portuguese* majesty should have sent back his ratification into *Holland*, and the same be publickly proclaimed afterwards in these parts, as will more fully appear to your excellencies out of the enclosed letters. Thus being oblig'd to follow the directions of our lords and masters, we could not proceed further in this business till the arrival of the next ships from *Holland*; which being expected daily, with the said ratification, we did advise your ambassadors to stay (or at least one of them) for the coming of the said ships, as the only means not to render your excellency's embassy altogether fruitless: accordingly *Mr. Diego Mendes de Britto* intends to hasten his journey to *Goa*; immediately after the first further notice of the said ratification, which we hope will prove agreeable to your excellency's sentiments. We recommend your excellency to God's protection. Dated in the castle of *Batavia*, the 8th of *April*, 1642.

Subscribed,

The governor-general for the *United Provinces* in the *East-Indies*.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Ratification of the ten Years Truce brought to Batavia. A Protestation sent to the Count d'Aveiras. Treaty of Peace with the Viceroy: The Articles thereof. Agreements about the Division of the Limits betwixt the Portuguese and Hollanders in the Isle of Ceylon. Agreement betwixt Mascarenhas and Cornelius van Sanen.*

The ratification published.

THE so-much-desired ratification (signed at *Lisbon* the 16th of *January*, 1642, and delivered at the *Hague* the 15th

of *February* following,) being at last brought to *Batavia*, the same was published the 8th of *October* throughout the *Indies*.

*Anthony*

Baldaeus. “ *Anthony van Diemen* governor-  
 “ general, and the members of the  
 “ great council of the *East Indies* under the  
 “ jurisdiction of the *United Provinces*, make  
 “ known to all it may concern; That  
 “ whereas by two several letters, dated the  
 “ 22d of *February*, and the 15th of *March*,  
 “ 1642. brought over by the ship the  
 “ *Salamander*, we have been advertised,  
 “ That the 12th of *June* 1641. a firm  
 “ alliance and truce has been concluded for  
 “ ten years betwixt the most potent *Don*  
 “ *John IV.* king of *Portugal*, *Algarve*, and  
 “ lord of *Guinea*, and of the conquests  
 “ made on the shore of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*,  
 “ *Persia*, and *India*, on one side, and their  
 “ high and mightinesses the states general  
 “ of the *United Provinces* on the other side,  
 “ including all the before-mentioned king-  
 “ doms, countries, provinces, islands, and  
 “ other places on both sides of the equi-  
 “ noctial line, (without exception,) all such  
 “ as now actually are, or for the future  
 “ may be under the jurisdiction of the said  
 “ king and the states-general; during which  
 “ space of ten years successively all hostilities  
 “ betwixt their respective subjects shall cease  
 “ both by sea and land, without limitation  
 “ or exception of any places, persons, or  
 “ circumstances, as by the articles of the  
 “ said truce does more amply and fully  
 “ appear. It is therefore that we are com-  
 “ manded to surcease all manner of hostili-  
 “ ties from this day for the next succeeding  
 “ ten years, according to which all our sub-  
 “ jects shall regulate themselves; and to  
 “ take effectual care that nothing may be  
 “ transacted any wise contrary to the true  
 “ intent of the articles of the said alliance  
 “ and truce, but to maintain the same  
 “ inviolably. And that nobody may plead  
 “ ignorance in this case, we have ordered  
 “ these presents to be published, enjoining  
 “ every body, under severe penalties, not  
 “ to infringe any of the before-mentioned  
 “ articles, as they will answer the same at  
 “ their peril. Dated in the castle of  
 “ *Batavia*, *Octob.* 4. 1642. and first pub-  
 “ lished the 7th of the same month, under  
 “ the great seal of the company in red  
 “ wax.

*Anthony van Diemen.*

By order of his excellency,

*Peter Mejdach*, Secretary.

However, this truce was but ill observed by the viceroy of *Goa*, especially in the territories of *Gale*, in the isle of *Ceylon*, which induced the *Dutch* general and great council to send him this following protest.

VOL. III.

“ BY letters from our commissary *Peter Baldaeus*.  
 “ *Boreel*, whom (after the ratification  
 “ of the truce betwixt his *Portuguese* ma-  
 “ jesty and the states-general of the *United*  
 “ *Provinces*) we dispatched to *Goa*, to  
 “ give notice thereof to your excellency,  
 “ we have been informed beyond all ex-  
 “ pectation, that upon his arrival there,  
 “ and his earnest request to your excellency,  
 “ (pursuant to our orders,) to withdraw  
 “ the army under the command of *Don*  
 “ *Philip* of *Mascarenbas* from the terri-  
 “ tories of *Puntegale*, under our jurisdiction,  
 “ your excellency has been pleased to  
 “ shew so much aversion to comply with  
 “ his demands, though founded upon un-  
 “ deniable and just grounds represented to  
 “ your commissioners in the several con-  
 “ ferences held upon that subject\*, that  
 “ he finding his presence useles at *Goa*,  
 “ he was forced to return from thence  
 “ without being able to encompass his just  
 “ designs, and (pursuant to his orders  
 “ received from us) to denounce before  
 “ his departure, the continuation of the  
 “ war to your excellency, till satisfaction  
 “ might be obtained upon this score.  
 “ And since the unjust detention of the  
 “ territories of *Gale* tends to our consider-  
 “ able detriment, we declare, That upon  
 “ perusal of the writings sent to us by  
 “ your excellency by the hands of our com-  
 “ missary, we can make no better construc-  
 “ tion of the whole matter, than that  
 “ your excellency’s intention is, under this  
 “ framed pretext, to render the truce con-  
 “ cluded betwixt our respective masters  
 “ invalid, and of no worth. It is there-  
 “ fore that we think ourselves obliged to  
 “ approve every thing that has been trans-  
 “ acted upon this head by our commissary,  
 “ and to make use of such means for the  
 “ justification of our rights, as God has  
 “ put into our hands, and are altogether  
 “ suitable to the laws of nations. And as  
 “ upon these considerations, we have sent  
 “ back this fleet, by which your excellency  
 “ will at once receive this *Protest*, and  
 “ be made sensible at the same time of  
 “ our resolution of maintaining our just  
 “ cause, which will questionless prove the  
 “ occasion of new differences betwixt  
 “ his *Portuguese* majesty and the states-  
 “ general of the *United Provinces*, as  
 “ also of much effusion of blood, of vast  
 “ expences, and many other inconveni-  
 “ ences; we call God to witness, and  
 “ declare and protest by these presents,  
 “ that we are innocent, and are not an-  
 “ swerable for the direful consequences of  
 “ this breach of the truce, which we were  
 “ ready to have punctually observed  
 “ on our side, pursuant to the inten-  
 “ tion

*The Protest sent to the count d’Aveiras.*

\**The Portuguese pretended that the Dutch jurisdiction did not extend without the walls of Gale.*



*Baldæus.* “ tion of our masters, had not your excellency bereaved us of all hopes of adjusting matters by an amicable composition for the recovery of our rights in the country of *Gale*, unjustly detained by your excellency.

Dated in the Castle of Batavia, the 5th of August, 1643.

Signed, *Anthony van Diemen,*  
*Francis Caron,*  
*Justus Schouten,*  
*Cornelius van der Lijn,*  
*John Maatzuyker,*  
*Solomon Sweers.*

Thus matters remained in suspense betwixt the *Portuguese* and us, till the year 1644. when Mr. *Maatzuyker*, being authorized by their high and mightinesses, as also by the general and great council of the *Indies*, to treat with the count *d’Aveiras*, viceroy of *Goa*, concerning a firm truce, and to adjust the remaining differences for that purpose, (yet upon approbation of their respective masters,) the same at last concluded a truce the 10th of November, upon the following conditions.

Truce betwixt the Portuguese and Dutch in the Indies.

The conditions.

I. “ **BOTH** parties declare that this present agreement, intended for the composing of such differences as have hitherto occasioned much bloodshed, and obstructed the so-long-desired peace, shall in no wise be deemed, or be prejudicial to the rights and sovereignties either of the most illustrious king of *Portugal*, or of their high and mightinesses the states-general of the *United Provinces*, as the same are established (by the truce agreed upon betwixt his *Portuguese* majesty, and the said states-general) in their respective cities, castles, fortresses, towns, harbours, and seas in the *Indies*; and that this agreement shall be inviolably observed on both sides immediately after its second publication at *Goa*.

II. “ Since the happy effects of the truce have been obstructed hitherto by certain differences arisen about the just division of the limits in the isle of *Ceylon*, it is agreed that the decision thereof shall be entirely remitted to the respective masters and lords of both nations, and in the mean while a full cessation of arms and all hostilities to be kept inviolably, and all forts, territories, and other matters, to remain in the same state as they were at the day of the publication of these presents at *Goa*; so that not the least alteration or innovation is to be

“ made either in building, rebuilding, or mending any thing, much less in making any preparations either for a defensive or offensive war.

III. “ But that whilst the before-mentioned differences remain undecided, the products of the country may not be neglected or lost by reason of the differences betwixt the possessors, it is agreed that the same shall be divided into two equal shares betwixt the *Portuguese* and the *Dutch*, yet so that the same shall be deposited (remain in custody) with the last, till the decision of these differences by their respective principals in *Europe*: whereby they oblige themselves at the same time to a full restitution in case the same be agreed upon by the said principals. And the said ambassador declares and protests, that the word *deposited*, inserted at the request of the viceroy (for the better adjusting of matters) shall not in any wise be interpreted as prejudicial to the possession and title of the states-general to these lands and their products. And to avoid all contests concerning the gathering of these fruits, it is agreed the *Portuguese* shall have full liberty to gather, without any molestation or hindrance, such fruits as grow in one part of the lands in dispute, *viz.* that part which is next adjacent to their fort; as on the other hand, the *Hollanders* shall enjoy the same freedom in gathering the fruits in that half part adjoining to their fortresses. The same is also to be understood of equally sharing the administration of justice in these parts, lest malefactors may be encouraged, and crimes pass unpunished, by reason of the uncertainty of the administration of justice; publick proclamation hereof being to be made in this isle by the respective governors of both nations.

IV. “ *Raja Singa* the king of *Candy* shall be comprehended in this truce, (according to the third article,) with all his kingdoms, provinces, and possessions.

V. “ All proprietors, owners, or farmers in the villages, shall have full liberty to return to their possessions and farms, of what nature soever, with their families, provided they return within the space of six months, either in person, or send their deputies, and pay the usual taxes and duties to those under whose jurisdiction they live, without any trouble. And that no inconveniencies may arise in point of conscience, it is agreed, That liberty of conscience shall be allowed, and the free exercise of religion in all parishes or villages, except in the fortified places belonging

*Baldæus.* “longing to the *Hollanders*, till the before-mentioned decision be arrived out of *Europe*.

VI. “The labourers of the isle of *Ceylon*, called *Schalias*, employ’d in peeling of the cinnamon, shall have liberty to work with both parties, yet not without the consent of that party under whose jurisdiction they live; and the better to maintain the truce, neither party shall be permitted to entice these labourers of *Ceylon*, or any other of the natives out of one another’s service, without mutual consent, but shall be obliged to send them back to their respective dwelling-places.

VII. “All the goods seized on account of, or during these differences, shall be restored, or else the value thereof paid in money, provided they were actually in the possession of either party, and not otherwise; upon which account the *Dutch* ambassador promises to pay here at *Goa*, or at *Surattè*, in the next following month of *January* at farthest, the sum of one hundred thousand *Spanish* reals, to be accounted for according to the true value thereof they bear at *Batavia*, as the payment of the money shall be made, according to the course of money in those places where these goods were taxed; to be understood of such goods as, notwithstanding the payment of the before-said money, are found to remain as yet unsatisfied for from the 22d day of *February*, 1643. being a twelve-month after the ratification of his *Portuguese* majesty was sent to the *Hague*.

VIII. “In case during this truce any differences should arise betwixt both parties, this agreement shall remain firm and inviolable, and every thing remain in the same state, till the decision of the respective principals; and in case the nature of the matter admits of no delay, the same is to be referred to the determination of certain arbitrators, to be chosen by both parties; and whilst the same is in agitation, the pretended party to remain in possession till the point is decided by the said arbitrators.

IX. “This present agreement is not in the least to be prejudicial to such judgments or decisions as have been made or given betwixt contending parties, or may be given for the future by our respective principals; but the same shall be regarded and taken as valid in all respects by both parties, notwithstanding this agreement, intended only for the removing of differences till the same can be approved of by our respective principals; which agreement for the ceasing of all manner of hostilities, and maintaining a firm truce in the isle of *Ceylon*, is promised by

“both parties to be published immediately, and inviolably observed both in respect of the governors and subjects, as his excellency the viceroy engages the same for himself and his successors, generals, and governors; and my lord ambassador for the states of the *United Provinces*, and the *East India* company, pursuant to the authority granted him by the most noble *Anthony van Diemen*, general-governor of the *Indies*. In confirmation whereof this agreement is authorized and confirmed by a solemn oath taken upon the gospel in the presence of the most reverend archbishop and primate of *Goa*, *Don Frey Francisco de Martyres*, and *Don Alphonso Medis*, patriarch of *Ethiopia*, members of the privy council of his majesty, and in the presence of the other privy counsellors of *Goa*, who have given their full approbation and consent thereunto, as also in the presence of *Wollebrand Gleynz* chief director in *Persia*, *Abraham Fierens*, minister of the gospel, *John Pottey* fiscal, *Andreas Frisius* secretary, *Thomas Kuyk* head factor; who, together with his excellency the viceroy, and his excellency the ambassador, did set their hands to it; *Joseph de Chaves Coto Major*, his excellency the viceroy’s secretary, having taken care to make the draughts thereof.

Signed thus,

*Conde d’Aveiras,*  
*John Maatzuyker,*  
*Fr. Francisco de Martyres,*  
*Alphonso Medis,*  
*Francisco de Melo de Castro,*  
*Don Manoel Pereira,*  
*Antonio Saria Mochado,*  
*Antonio Movis Baretto,*  
*Joseph Pinto Pereira,*  
*Wollebrand Gleynz, jun.*  
*Abraham Fierens,*  
*John Pottey,*  
*Don Bras de Castro,*  
*Louis Mugilbaon,*  
*Andreas Frisius,*  
*Andr. Selem.*

“Several draughts of this agreement having been made both in *Latin* and *Portuguese*, it is agreed betwixt the viceroy and the ambassador, That in case any doubt should arise about the interpretation of certain words, recourse is to be had to the *Latin*, which being the original, is to be interpreted according to the plain signification of the words, without any collateral construction: in confirmation of which this declaration

“ was

*Baldæus.* “ was thought fit to be made. Subscribed  
 “ a second time on the same day by the  
 “ under-written persons.

*Conde d’ Aveiras,*  
*John Maatzuyker,*  
*Fr. Francisco de Martyres Arch-*  
*bishop and Primate,*  
*Alphonso Medis Patriarch of Ethio-*  
*pia,*  
*Francisco de Melo,*  
*Don Manoel Pereira,*  
*Anthony Saria,*  
*Anthony Monis Baretto,*  
*Joseph Pinto Pereira,*  
*Wollebrand Gleyinz, jun.*

In the year 1645. January 10. the division of the limits in the isle of *Ceylon* was agreed upon in the city of *Columbo*, *Don Philippo Mascarenbas*, successor to the count d’ *Aveiras*, being then viceroy of *Goa*.

“ THE countries betwixt *Columbo* and  
 “ *Negumbo* shall be divided into  
 “ two equal shares, according to their several districts, (called *Corles*;) as far as the same can be done, to prevent the confusion which might otherwise arise from the division of the antient jurisdictions: but in such places where the same is not to be done, this division is to be made by sharing the villages; so that considering there are seventeen districts betwixt the two before-mentioned forts, seven thereof are to be annexed to the jurisdiction of *Columbo*, viz. *Herra Corla*, *Omapauduna Corla*, *Quatigora Corla*, *Bigal Corla*, *Galbare Corla*, *Apitigan Corla*, and *Pernacur Corla*, lying altogether towards that side. To the fort of *Negumbo* are to be annexed eight districts, viz. *Pitigal Corla*, *Diomede Corla*, *Urupula Corla*, *Carvagal Corla*, *Vili Corla*, *Madura Corla*, *Hieriela Corla*, and *Mangur Corla*; the rest to be divided into two equal shares, *Alicur Corla* by the river *Dandagan* to be the common boundary of both nations; so that part which lies to the north shall belong to *Negumbo*, and to *Columbo* what lies on this side. The province of *Catugambala Corla* is to be divided by the same river, together with its three lesser districts, *Udacaba Pato*, *Mienda Pato*, and *Jetigala Pato*; so that *Jetigala* shall fall to the share of *Negumbo*, and *Udacaba* to *Columbo*; but *Mienda Pato* shall be divided into two equal parts, in proportion to its villages, such villages as lie next *Jetigala Pato* to be under the jurisdiction of *Negumbo*, and those on the side of *Udacaba* under *Columbo*. The *Portuguese* shall remain in the possession of *Putelaon* and

“ *Calpentyn*; but the river of *Alican* is to  
 “ be the boundary betwixt *Columbo* and  
 “ *Gale*; so that part lying on the other  
 “ side of the river shall remain to the  
 “ *Hollanders*; but the other part on this  
 “ side, together with the river and har-  
 “ bour, to the *Portuguese*, in the same  
 “ manner as they were formerly possessed of  
 “ it; under this condition however, That  
 “ the *Hollanders* living here, or in any other  
 “ parts, shall have the free use of the said  
 “ river in fishing, or exporting and im-  
 “ porting their merchandizes without pay-  
 “ ing any customs. And whereas by the  
 “ seventh article of the agreement made at  
 “ *Goa* it was agreed, that the labourers  
 “ (called *Schalias*) who peel the cinnamon,  
 “ shall be employ’d by both parties, to pre-  
 “ vent all further differences for the future  
 “ upon this head, it is agreed, That the  
 “ *Hollanders* shall every year, in harvest  
 “ time, send one half of these labourers  
 “ out of the villages of *Bili* and *Cosgure*,  
 “ under their jurisdiction on the other side  
 “ of the river *Alican*, to assist, as formerly,  
 “ the *Portuguese* in peeling of cinnamon,  
 “ under condition that the cinnamon thus  
 “ peeled by them in the *Portuguese* territo-  
 “ ries, shall be laid up in a certain place  
 “ upon the river *Dandagan*, to be divided  
 “ once every year in two equal shares be-  
 “ twixt the two parties, provided that each  
 “ party pay the usual price to the *Schalias*  
 “ for the peeling of their share of cinnamon.  
 “ This division is to take place, and to  
 “ stand firm till the same be otherwise de-  
 “ cided by our respective principals in *Eu-*  
 “ rope, with this reserve nevertheless in re-  
 “ gard of the *Hollanders*, who being igno-  
 “ rant hitherto in the true situation of the  
 “ country, may easily be deceived, in this  
 “ point; and therefore ought to have the  
 “ liberty to appeal to better judgment, and  
 “ desire a recompensation of their losses.  
 “ But in case the parties should disagree  
 “ upon this head, this shall not occasion  
 “ any rupture, but the truce shall notwith-  
 “ standing this remain in as full force, ac-  
 “ cording to the intent of the ninth article  
 “ of the before-mentioned agreement. *Don*  
 “ *Philippo Mascarenbas* the present viceroy,  
 “ and *Mr. John Maatzuyker*, do also engage  
 “ to cause this treaty of the division of the  
 “ limits to be published immediately, for  
 “ the general benefit of all such as have any  
 “ concern therein, that the inhabitants of  
 “ this isle may no longer remain in igno-  
 “ rance under whose jurisdiction they live;  
 “ and for the due performance thereof,  
 “ have confirmed the same with their oaths,  
 “ and subscribed the draughts thereof both  
 “ in *Latin* and *Portuguese*; yet so, that  
 “ in case of any doubt, recourse is to be had  
 “ to the *Latin* original.”

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*Baldæus.* In the year 1647. a provisional agreement was made by *Don Philippo Mascarenbas*, the then viceroy, and *Cornelius van Sanen*, head-factor and director of *Wingurla*, for the adjusting of the differences concerning the fortrefs of *Malacca*.

“ the least tend to the prejudice either of *Baldæus.*  
 “ his *Portuguese* majesty, or of the states-  
 “ general, in their respective rights and  
 “ possessions. That his majesty’s ships,  
 “ as well as the *Dutch* merchant-men bound  
 “ to *China*, or any other of the southern  
 “ parts, coming to *Malacca*, shall only be  
 “ obliged to pay six *per Cent.* for such  
 “ goods as they shall actually sell there;  
 “ the same to be paid to the *Dutch* from  
 “ all such goods as they shall sell in any  
 “ of his majesty’s harbours. Pursuant to  
 “ the agreement made at *Batavia* by the  
 “ great council with the merchants of *Ma-*  
 “ *cau*, in the presence of the reverend *Frey*  
 “ *Gonsalvo de S. Joseph*, each vessel, whe-  
 “ ther small or great, bound to *Macau*,  
 “ whether it sells or unloads any goods at  
 “ *Malacca*, or not, shall pay two schutleins  
 “ of gold for its passage thither and back-  
 “ wards; from which duties, however,  
 “ are to be exempted his majesty’s ships,  
 “ provided they may be searched, and an  
 “ oath taken thereupon, that they have no  
 “ merchandizes aboard; and if any are  
 “ found, the owners are to pay four and  
 “ a half *per Cent.* That such ships as pass  
 “ by *Malacca*, and are not bound to *China*,  
 “ shall pay four and a half *per Cent.* whe-  
 “ ther they unload or sell any goods or  
 “ not; then they may proceed in their  
 “ voyage without any molestation. Which  
 “ agreement is to be published and strictly  
 “ observed by both parties, and confirmed  
 “ by oath, till the decision of our both  
 “ sides respective principals.

Agreement  
betwixt  
Philippo  
Mascaren-  
bas and  
Cornelius  
van Sanen.

“ **I**N the name of God, Amen. Be it  
 “ known to all who are concerned in  
 “ this present agreement, That 1647. April  
 “ 18. the following agreement has been  
 “ made in the castle of the city of *Goa*,  
 “ in the presence of his excellency *Don*  
 “ *Philippo Mascarenbas*, viceroy of *Goa*,  
 “ and *Cornelius van Sanen*, head-factor and  
 “ director of *Wingurla*, authorized by the  
 “ governor-general and great council of the  
 “ *Indies*, for the adjusting of the differences  
 “ arising concerning some pretended rights  
 “ of the city and fortrefs of *Malacca*, con-  
 “ cerning the customs and duties to be paid  
 “ at *Malacca*; several conferences having  
 “ been held with the merchants of *Macau*,  
 “ yet could not the same be reduced to any  
 “ just equilibrium, or settled upon a firm  
 “ basis, though we made as reasonable of-  
 “ fers as possibly could be expected: so  
 “ that in case your excellency thinks it con-  
 “ venient to proceed further in this matter,  
 “ you may treat upon this head with *Corne-*  
 “ *lius van Sanen*, our head-factor at *Win-*  
 “ *gurla*. By virtue of this commission, I  
 “ represented to the viceroy, that in point  
 “ of justice such of our ships as pass by  
 “ *Malacca* without unlading or selling  
 “ any of their commodities, ought to pay  
 “ no customs there: unto which his ex-  
 “ cellency having given for answer, That  
 “ it appeared out of the treaties and writ-  
 “ ings agreed upon betwixt both parties,  
 “ that they ought to pay the same, it was  
 “ thought fit, for the preventing of further  
 “ differences, and maintaining a good cor-  
 “ respondence betwixt both nations, to  
 “ agree upon the following provisional  
 “ treaty, till the full decision of our re-  
 “ spective principals; and with this pro-  
 “ viso, That this agreement shall not in

Signed, *Don Philippo Mascarenbas*,  
*Cornelius van Sanen*,  
*Duarti de Fugeredo de Mello*,  
*Frey Gonsalvo de S. Joseph*,  
*Francisco de Melo de Castro*,  
*Antonio Souza Coutinho*,  
*John van Teylingen*, head-factor,  
*Anthony Ondermeulen*,  
*Jacob Roscam*,  
*Leendert Johnson*.

CHAP. XVI.

*A Description of Anchediva, Canara, Onor, Batecalo, Malabar. Cananor built, and besieged by the Malabars; bravely defended by Laurence de Britto; besieged and taken by the Hollanders.*

The isle of  
Anchediva.

**T**HE isle of *Anchediva*, not far from *Goa*, and about fifty leagues from *Calecut*, is almost covered with woods and forests, but well stored with fish: the *Portu-*  
 VOL III.

*guese* had formerly a fort here. *Sebajus*, the father of *Hidulcan*, sent a fleet of sixty ships to *Anchediva*, (whilst *Glineyda* was at *Cananor*;) to chase the *Portuguese* from that island,  
 7 C

*Baldæus*. island, under the command of *Anthony Fernando*, a most impious wretch, who having forsaken both his religion, and the service of his native country, turn'd *Mahometan*, assuming the name of *Abdala*; and being well versed in maritime affairs, was in great favour with *Sebajus*. This renegado having landed a good body of men in this isle, left no stone unturned to make himself master of the fort erected there by the *Portuguese*: but being bravely defended by *Emanuel Passangie*, a native of *Genoa*, descended from a great family, and famous for his brave actions, *Abdala*, hearing of the return of the victorious fleet, was glad to leave both the fort and the isle. The fort was not long after demolished by the *Portuguese* themselves; who had been taught by experience, that too great a number of fortresses consumed all their profit, and exposes them besides to no small danger; like a hen who has more chickens than she can protect with her wings, often loses one by the rapacious kite.

The Portuguese fort besieged.

Is demolished.

The reason thereof.

Canara.

Onor.

Batecalo.

The country of *Canara* is very fertile in rice and other necessaries of human life; its inhabitants, commonly called *Canarins*, are very robust, and fit for all manner of hard labour. The chief cities near the sea-shore, are the city and kingdom of *Onor*, not far distant from *Goa*, where the *Portuguese* had also a fort, it being formerly a place of considerable traffick. Next to *Onor* lies *Batecalo*, about twenty five leagues from *Goa*, the king whereof became tributary to the crown of *Portugal* under the reign of *Emanuel*; but refusing afterwards to pay the usual tribute, *Sequeria* sent *Alphonso Menes* with some ships to block up the harbour, which soon reduced the king to obedience. Afterwards the queen of *Batecalo* entertaining the pirates in her harbours, and refusing likewise to pay the tribute, *Sosa* sailed thither with forty nine ships and one thousand five hundred land-men; and after he had cast anchor in the harbour, sent his messengers into the city to require the payment of the tribute, and the surrendering of the pirates. She being frightened at the sight of so powerful a fleet, surrendered four of the pirates ships; but endeavouring for the rest to detain the *Portuguese* with fair words, these landed their men, not a little incommoded by the arrows shot at them by the inhabitants from the cocoa-trees; but having put themselves in order of battle, they advanced towards the city, where they were (in the absence of the queen) so warmly engaged by the inhabitants, that the combat remained doubtful for some time, till these being worsted, they set the city on fire, with the loss of twelve men only on their side. In this

action one *Almeida*, a brave *Portuguese*, seeing his comrade inclosed on all sides by the enemy, fought his way through them; and having rescued his companion, withstood the whole force of the enemy, till he was relieved by a body of the *Portuguese*. Afterwards they made incursions into the country, which soon obliged the queen to consent to the payment of the tribute.

*Barcelor*, *Baranor*, and *Mangalor*, being places of no great consequence, deserve no particular descriptions; wherefore we will proceed to the country of *Malabar*, which (according to common computation) begins about fifty leagues to the south of *Goa*, and extends to the cape of *Comoryn*, to the utmost borders of *India*, on this side of *Ganges*. This whole country being full of rivers, is consequently of an easy passage; though most of the rivers here are so shallow, that they are not capable of bearing any ships of bulk or burden. The largest rivers are *Bergera*, (a great receptacle for pirates,) *Panane*, and *Cranganor*, the common boundaries of the kingdoms of *Calecut* and *Cochin*: these, as well as the river of *Cochin*, are about eighteen or nineteen foot deep at high-water. The whole country of *Malabar* is divided into five kingdoms, viz. *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Coulang*, unto which some add the kingdom of *Trevancor*, the least fertile of all, and the two petty kingdoms of *Porca* and *Calecoulang*.

In former ages *Malabar* was subject to one sovereign prince, who kept his court at *Calecut*, now the residence of the great *Sammoryn*. This king having, at the persuasion of some of his courtiers, undertaken a voyage over the *Red Sea*, to visit *Mahomet's* tomb, and to be thorowly instructed in that faith, died in his return from thence; and leaving no issue, the whole empire was divided between his esquire, sword-bearer, and sceptre-bearer: the first taking for his share *Cananor*, the second *Calecut*, and the third *Cochin*.

The nights are very cold all along the coast of *Malabar*, with very thick fogs, especially in *January*, *February*, and *March*, when the days are excessive hot. They have every day a sea and land wind; the first begins every morning at nine or ten a clock, and holds till sunset. This coast is scarce navigable from *June* till *November*, the best time here being from *April* till *June*. Their winter begins in *May*, and continues till *November*.

The chief products of *Malabar*, are pepper and cardamum: *Cochin* affords great quantities of pepper; but *Cananor* yields the best, especially in the inland countries, whence

*Baldeus*, whence the *Moors* and other merchants from *Carnatica* and *Vijapour* use to fetch it in considerable quantities. The pepper of *Calecut* is lesser of grain than those of *Cananor* and *Cochin*. This commodity is generally cheaper at one place than another. They buy it by the canda, at the rate of three hundred and ninety or four hundred fanams a canda, a fanam being worth about ten pence of our money. In the year 1640. the price rose to four hundred and fifty fanams. The pepper delights in shady places; the stem is weak like those of the vines, and uses to be upheld by stalks like our hops: each stem bears commonly six bunches, every one a foot long, resembling in colour to our grapes before they are ripe. They are gathered green in *October* and *November*, and dry'd in the sun upon mats, when they turn black. Besides the pepper and cardamum, this country produces also ginger, and borborri of a saffron colour. Formerly these two commodities used to be sold for five fanams a man; it affords also some aloes, but in no great quantity. Besides these, *Malabar* affords very few commodities, ex-

Man is a certain weight.

\* Found in the baboons, and sold at six or seven reals a piece; some are as big as a hen's egg, and sold for twelve reals a piece.

cept a few bezoar-stones, \* found about *Cananor*, salt-petre, gummilacca; (though none of the best, being sold for a fanam the man,) and abundance of wax and honey. The whole country is covered with innumerable cocoa-trees, besides such other trees as generally grow in the *East Indies*. The commodities carried to, and to be sold in *Malabar*, are amfion or opium; much in use here, especially among the *Nairos*, when they are to fight, to intoxicate their brains. Ambergreese is also in great esteem among the *Malabars*, and transported thither from the *Maldive* islands. I have seen an ounce of it sold at *Cananor* for six reals. *Malabar* consumes also abundance of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, as also allom, china-root, lead, tin, brass, copper, brimstone, cinnabar, scarlet and crimson clothes, red damasks, benzorn, and coarie porcellain.

The whole coast of *Malabar* abounds in fishes, and at *Cochin* they have most excellent cods. Belly provisions are also here in great plenty, and bought at an easy rate; for they abound in oxen, swine, and poultry. The cocoa-trees furnish them with drink, which if not used to excess, is tolerable wholesome. Out of this liquor they distil their arrack, much courted by the common soldiers and seamen, to their great detriment.

The first is the king of *Cananor*, not in respect so much of his power, but of

his situation next to *Goa*. His residence *Baldeus* is about three or four leagues in the country from the river of *Balipatan*; the extent of his kingdom is from *Montedely* to *Bergera*; he maintains a considerable number of musketeers and archers, who are very expert in managing their scymetars.

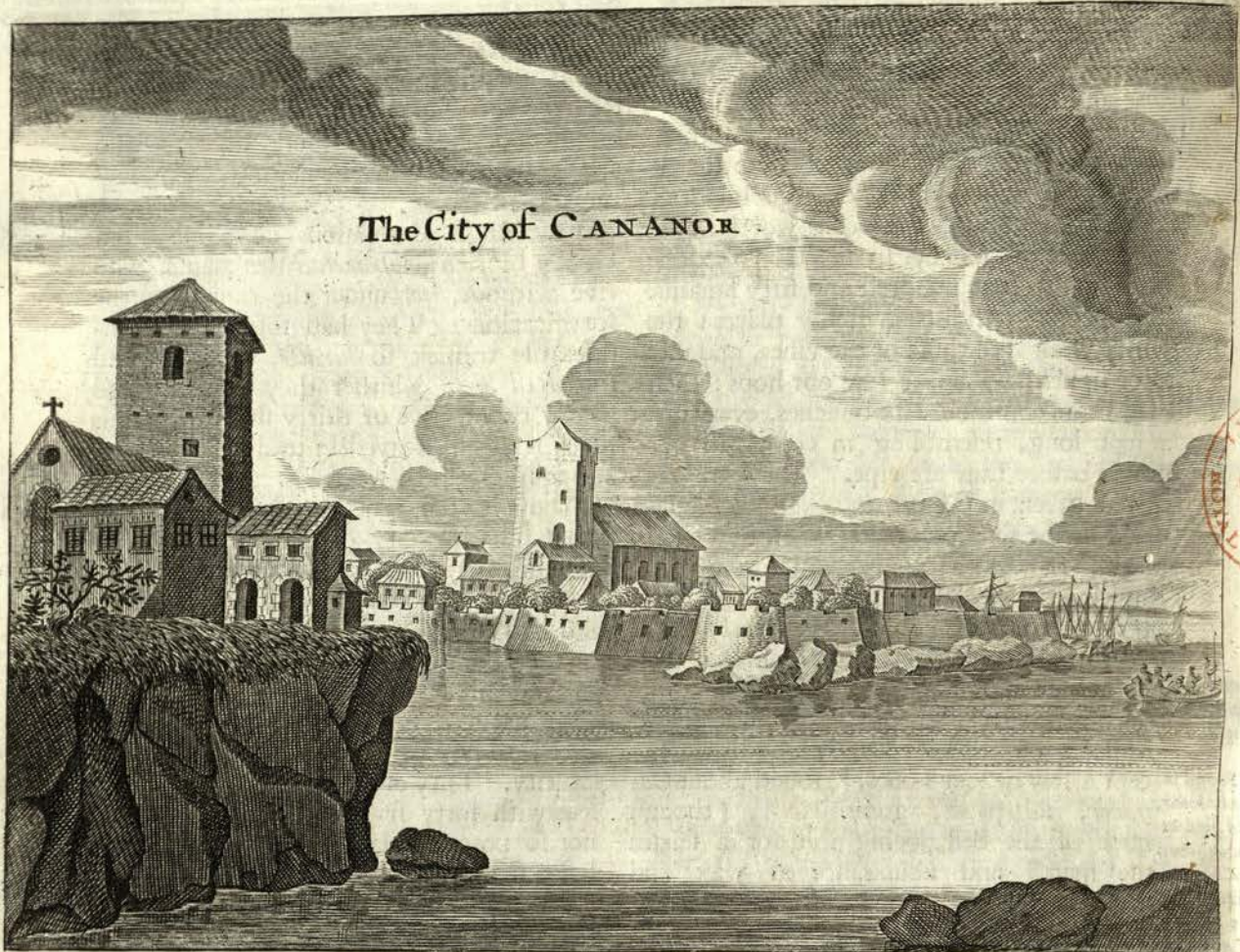
*Cananor* is a populous city, inhabited chiefly by rich *Mabometan* merchants, who live without, yet under the cannon of the fortifications. They had formerly a considerable traffick to *Suratte*, *Cambaja*, and the *Red Sea*, whither they used to send yearly twenty five or thirty ships; but this place is much decayed in trade of late years, and is likely to be worse.

About two leagues to the south of *Cananor* lies the city of *Termapatan*, under the jurisdiction of a *Mabometan*; it is strengthened to the land-side by a good wall. The rebellious pirates of *Bergera* do considerable mischief to the king of *Cananor* and his subjects, who, as well as the other nations trading in these seas, are forced to buy passports of them for their security. They used formerly to infest these seas with forty frigates at a time, but are not so potent of late years, since the *Dutch* have frightened the *Portuguese* out of these parts; since which time they have now and then attempted the *Dutch*, as they did with the ship called the *Dolphin*, but got nothing but blows. Their chiefs are *Mabometans*, and the soldiers partly *Moors*, partly *Pagans*.

Pirates of Malabar.

*Cananor* lies about forty leagues to the north of *Cochin*, having a spacious and secure harbour: the country thereabouts abounding in pepper, cardamum, ginger, mirabolans, tamarinds, &c. *Peter Alvarus Capralis*, commander in chief of the second fleet sent by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* into the *Indies*, after having given a visit to the king of *Cochin*, and the great *Sammoryn*, came also to *Cananor*; where being kindly received, the king sent an ambassador along with him to the king of *Portugal*. *Al-Meyda* did erect here (with the king's consent) a strong fort for the security of their commerce; which being afterwards most vigorously attacked by those of *Calecut* and *Cranganor*, was bravely defended by *Laurence de Britto*, to his immortal honour. And upon this occasion it will not be beyond our purpose, to give you the reasons which induced the *Moors* to enter upon this war, which was accompany'd with many most remarkable actions.

The Portuguese build a fort at Cananor.



*Baldæus.* The Portuguese having made themselves masters at sea, not only on the coast of *Ethiopia*, but also of *India* and *Arabia*, would not permit the inhabitants of these countries to send out their ships without passports obtained from them; for which purpose they kept a strict eye over all the *Malabars*, in a most peculiar manner. A certain Portuguese, captain of a man of war, having attacked a vessel of *Cananor*, which he supposed to have come from *Calecut* without a pass, he caused the master thereof, and another person of note on board her, to be sewed up in a cloth, and so threw them overboard; which being done not far from *Cananor*, the dead carcasses were cast ashore there. The inhabitants knowing the persons, and understanding their fate, were so exasperated at the Portuguese, that they cry'd out for vengeance, and assaulted the fort. *Almeyda* offered them satisfaction, and cashier'd the captain; but in vain, the *Moors* continuing obstinate, and resolving to revenge the death of their countrymen upon the Portuguese in the fort.

*Laurence de Britto* being sensible that he must expect a formal siege, resolved to stand the brunt bravely; and sent his messengers

to *Almeyda*, to desire prompt succours. In the mean time the king of *Cananor* was not idle, but having intrenched himself near the harbour, all along the sea-side he erected certain forts, to cut off the communication betwixt the city and castle. At the same time being reinforced by twenty thousand men, sent from *Calecut*, they now resolved upon a formal siege. There was a certain spring betwixt the city and castle, which being the only one whence the Portuguese garrison could be supplied with fresh-water, this occasioned frequent and bloody skirmishes; so that they were forced to purchase their water with much effusion of blood. *Laurence Britto* had with him in the fort a certain mathematician, named *Thomas Ferdinand*, by whose advice they digged from the fort underground to the spring, and by pipes conveyed it to the place where they had occasion for it; so that after having supplied their own wants, they stopped in the next valley the spring; so that the *Moors* were forced to remove their camp from thence; but they in the fort enjoy'd the benefit thereof. They then began their attack on the other side, and by the help of sacks filled with cotton, advancing to the ditch,

Reasons why the Malabars entered into a war with the Portuguese.

The spring was afterwards enclosed with in the fortifications.

*Baldæus* ditch, filled it with faggots, and made a fierce assault; but being bravely repulsed by the *Portuguese*, and forced to retreat, these fall'y'd. out upon them, and made a great slaughter of the barbarians.

These finding that force was not likely to do their business, resolved to reduce it by famine, knowing that the winter seasons would cut off all hopes of relief to the besieged. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* made many successful sallies upon them; in one of which a *Castilian*, named *Guadalajara*, charged with one hundred and fifty men, a strong body of the enemy, killing above three hundred of them upon the spot, and taking some of their great cannon. Soon after it happened unfortunately for the *Portuguese*, that a fire arising in the fort by the carelessness of a slave, some part of their magazines of provisions was consumed, whereby a great scarcity being occasioned in the fort, many negroes run over to the enemy, and gave them a full account of the condition of the garrison, who were now forced to feed upon cats, rats, mice, &c. At last heaven was pleased to commiserate the miserable state of the *Portuguese*, by sending a prodigious quantity of locusts from the sea, (a thing not unfrequent in those parts,) which served them both for food and refreshment. The spring beginning to approach, when the *Sammoryn* fearing the besieged might be shortly reliev'd by their countrymen, redoubled his fury against the fort; and having sent them divers considerable supplies of men, (which had increased his army to fifty thousand men,) he resolved to try his utmost to reduce them by force, (the *Portuguese* being in the mean while supply'd with provisions

Great distress in the fort.

by a certain prince of the country, an enemy *Baldæus* to the *Sammoryn*.) *De Britto* having received intelligence that the enemy were preparing for a general assault, took care to guard all the avenues both on the sea and land-side. The *Moors* assaulted the *Portuguese* with their utmost fury, promising themselves an assured victory, by reason they continually relieved their men with fresh troops: but the *Portuguese* received them so warmly, that after a smart fight they put them to the rout, and pursuing them with great slaughter, the king of *Cananor* thought it his best way to make peace with the *Portuguese*.

Peace with the king of Cananor.

Thus much of *Cananor*, whilst in the hands of the *Portuguese*: the next thing which falls under our consideration, is how it came to fall into the hands of the *Hollanders*. These having made themselves masters of *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Coulang*, sailed 1663. from *Cochin* with a considerable fleet, and a good number of land forces, under the command of *Jacob Hustar*, *Peter du Pon*, *Henry van Rbede*, and divers other brave officers, for *Cananor*. Having landed their men, and soon made themselves masters of the city, (which was without defence,) they battered the fort with their great cannon, but without any great success, the bastions and ditches on the land-side being cut out of the rocks, and the fortifications to the sea-side impregnable. However, after a siege of few days the *Portuguese* considering, that by the taking of *Cochin* all hopes of relief were banished, they surrendered upon honourable terms; and the *Dutch* having put a garrison of two hundred men in the fort, entered into a strict alliance with the king of *Cananor*, 1664.

How Cananor was reduced by the Dutch.

Cananor surrendered to the Dutch.

C H A P. XVII.

*A Description of Calicut and Panane. The Arrival of Vasco de Gama. His Treaty with the Sammoryn. Panane fortified, besieged, and demolished by the Portuguese. Alliance betwixt the Dutch and the Sammoryn. The Portuguese Fort in Calicut attacked by the Sammoryn, and defended by John de Lima.*

The Kingdom of Calicut.

THE second kingdom of *Malabar* is that of *Calicut*, under the jurisdiction of the *Sammoryn*: it begins about three or four leagues to the south of *Bergera*, and ends at the river *Cranganor*; its whole extent being in length thirty two leagues, and twenty in breadth. This king is the most potent of all the *Malabar* kings, having a considerable number of *Nairos* under his jurisdiction, who are very expert both in handling the bow and fire-arms. He

has made considerable encroachments upon his neighbours of late years, the revenues of his new conquests amounting now to three hundred thousand *Fanams* yearly. The *Sammoryn*, who reigned 1662. was, when I saw him, not above fifty years of age, and yet much impaired in his intellectual parts by the excessive use of *Opium*, a drug much in request among the *Malabars*.

In the kingdom of the *Sammoryn*, and in most others along the coast of *Malabar*,

An. 1502. the *Sammoryn* brought in to the field sixty thousand men; and 1529. one hundred thousand.



*Baldæus.* the crown is not inherited by the son of the king, but by him who is next of kin to his mother or sister; for they looking upon that as the surer side, they have introduced this custom to prevent the bastardizing of the crown. Thus the king who reigned 1642. was succeeded by his uncle on the mother's side, and he was to be succeeded by his sister's son. The *Sammoryn* monopolizes all the pepper of the growth of his country, none of his subjects being allowed to sell it to any but his factors.

*Pananc.* Betwixt *Cananor* and *Calecut* lies the town of *Panane*, seated upon the sea-shore: here the *Dutch* came 1607. to treat with the *Sammoryn*; but he being then in the field against the *Portuguese*, the admiral sent three deputies to him with a letter from prince *Maurice of Nassau*. In this place the *Sammoryn* kept his residence at that time, when *Don Vasco de Gama* came into these parts. He having cast anchor before *Calecut*, dispatched immediately a messenger to the *Sammoryn*, to give notice of his arrival, and to let the king know that the renown of his great name having reached the ears of the king of *Portugal*, his majesty had entrusted him with a letter, which he being desirous to deliver in person, therefore desired leave to wait on his majesty.

The *Sammoryn* being extremely pleased with the compliment, sent immediately certain pilots to conduct the *Portuguese* fleet into the harbour of *Capocate*, where there was much better and safer anchorage; from whence he was conducted with extraordinary pomp to the *Sammoryn*.

For *Don Gama* being got ashore, attended by eight gentlemen richly attired, was received in the *Sammoryn's* name by the *Catual*, (or he that manages all foreign affairs,) accompanied with a vast number of guards, hautboys, drums, and litters, and thence carried through *Calecut* to *Panane* (where the *Sammoryn* then resided) under such a vast concourse of spectators, that several were crowded to death. At court *Gama* was welcomed by the *Caimales*, (or chief courtiers,) and afterwards by the high priest of the *Brabmans* dressed in white callico, who taking *Gama* by the hand, conducted him to many spacious apartments (at the door of each whereof stood about ten sentinels) into a spacious hall, the walls and floor whereof were covered with rich tapestry, and carpets of silk and gold; the chief men of the kingdom sitting round the hall upon wooden seats, artificially wrought one above another, like the seats in an amphitheatre. The *Sammoryn* himself was



*Baldæus.* seated (according to the custom of the country) upon an *Alkatyf*, or carpet, dressed in white fine callico, brocado'd with flowers of gold, adorned with divers rows of diamonds of great value: in his ears he had stately pendants of precious stones, and on his head a cap (after their country fashion) covered with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; his bare feet being likewise adorned with rings set with all sorts of precious stones.

The Sam-  
moryn's  
dress.

One of the king's attendants offered his majesty a golden vessel with arrack and betel, which the *Indians* chew almost continually to preserve their teeth and gums, and treat their guests with it as we do with wine, strong liquors being not much in use here. *Gama*, after having paid his obeisance to the king, began thus:

Gama's  
speech to  
the Sam-  
moryn.

“**E**manuel, the present king of *Portugal*, my master, moved by the renown of the greatness of your majesty among the kings of *Malabar*, has sent me with credentials, to enter into a strict league with you, in order to settle a firm correspondence and commerce betwixt both nations; which my master would have been willing to have performed in person, had not the vast distance of your majesty's dominions prov'd an invincible obstacle to his generous intentions”.

After which having delivered his presents, the king answered by his interpreter:

The king's  
answer.

“**T**HAT he had not the least doubt of the good intentions of his brother *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, having such convincing proofs thereof before his eyes, by honouring him with so splendid a legation, notwithstanding the vast distance of their countries; that he was willing to enter with them into a strict league and amity; and that they should enjoy the benefit of a free commerce in his territories.”

Then the king having asked them several particulars concerning their voyage, shipping, and traffick, order'd *Gama* to be conducted to the lodgings prepared for his reception.

The Moors  
endeavour  
to obstruct  
the design  
of the Por-  
tuguese.

The news of this embassy soon came to the ears of the *Moorish* merchants in those parts; who fearing, not without reason, that the *Portuguese* would do them considerable mischief in their traffick, joined with the *Arabians* trading in those parts to hinder the consummation of this treaty; for which purpose having purchased the favour of many of the courtiers by money, they insinuated into the king, that *Gama* was no more than a great pirate, who endeavoured to get a footing in the king's dominions, which in time might prove his

ruin; whereas he might rest secure in his dominions by encouraging his subjects in their traffick with the exclusion of foreigners. These insinuations proved so effectual, that the *Sammoryn* began to give a favourable ear to them, and had, perhaps, proved of very ill consequence to *Gama*, had not a certain *African*, a native of *Tunis*, who understood *Portuguese*, and had formerly conversed with them, discovered the danger to him; who thereupon, without further delay, got aboard his own ships with his attendants, and having weighed his anchors, kept at a greater distance from the shore; whence he writ to the *Sammoryn*.

*Baldæus*

*Gama gets  
privately  
aboard.*

“**T**HAT the ill designs of the *Moors* against his person being discovered him, he had thought fit to retire aboard, to and to desire his majesty not to be diverted from his promise by their false insinuations, assuring him that he would reap much more benefit by the friendship of the king of *Portugal*, than by the *Moors* and *Arabians*.”

*His letter.*

The *Sammoryn* promised the messenger to make a strict enquiry after, and to punish severely these offenders, who had infringed the law of nations; and in his letter to the king of *Portugal* assures him,

“**T**HAT the arrival of the *Portuguese* in his dominions was very acceptable to him, provided they might regulate themselves so, as not to give any occasion of disturbance there; and that the league he was entering upon with his majesty, might not prove prejudicial to the good correspondence he had hitherto entertained with divers other nations.”

*The king's  
answer to  
it.*

*Gama* having received this letter, set sail for the isle of *Anchedrova*, where having furnished himself with fresh provisions, he returned to *Portugal*, to give an account of his transactions to king *Emanuel*. The famous *Vasco de Gama* died 1524. being the first who discovered the passage into the *East Indies* by the cape of *Good Hope*.

And upon this occasion I cannot pass by in silence what is mentioned by *Ferdinand Lopez de Castanbeda*\*, viz. That *Gama*, with some of his retinue, being at *Calecut*, and entering into one of the pagan temples, paid their reverence to the images, as taking them for the same they had left in their own churches in *Portugal*; a convincing proof that superstition and idolatry very near resemble one another.

\* *Hist. In 2.  
l. 1. c. 16.*

*Panane* being well fortified by the *Sammoryn* with two forts, erected on both sides of the entrance of the harbour, the *Portuguese* notwithstanding this resolve to attempt it. They no sooner appeared in sight of the harbour, but a certain number of the *Mahometans*

*Panane.*

*Baldæus*. *Mabometans* associated themselves in one of the pagodes, and with direful execrations engaged to one another to defend the city, or die in the attempt. *Tristan d'Acunba*, the *Portuguese* general, detached a certain body of his best troops, under the command of *Laurence* and *Nonnius*, in small galleys, to lead the van, being to be followed by the great ships: these entered the harbour with unspeakable bravery, notwithstanding the enemy's fire, who sent their great and small shot very thick upon them from both sides of the shore, but without any considerable effect, most of their bullets passing over their heads, because the soldiers kept close, lying upon their bellies in the galleys. The enemy seeing them, enter'd the harbour, leap'd in whole troops into the water, attacking them with incredible fury, in hopes of boarding them: but the *Portuguese* stood to it with so much resolution, that at last they forced the *Indians* to give way; and pursuing them to the shore, made themselves masters of the two forts, and set fire to all the ships in the harbour, which were richly loaden, as also to the city. In this action a certain *Portuguese* ensign, with his soldiers, did wonders, and the *Mabometans* fought like lions; but one of their commanders, a fel-

low of a huge bulk, being slain by *Laurence*, the rest betook themselves to their heels. The *Indians* lost five hundred men in this engagement, and the *Portuguese* about twenty two. After which *Almeyda* and *Acunba* failed to *Cananor*, from whence the first steered his course to *Cochin*, and the second for *Portugal*. About *Panane* grows, besides cardamum, the best pepper, and is sold here at a very reasonable rate.

Thus much of *Panane*: we will now proceed to give you an account of *Calicut*, the capital city of *Malabar*, and the residence of the *Sammoryn*, where *Steven van der Hagen*, the then *Dutch* admiral, in 1604, entered into a strict league with that king, who granted a free commerce to the *Dutch* throughout all his dominions. Many years before the *Portuguese* had obtained the same liberty of the *Sammoryn*, who had assigned them certain habitations in that city; so that they began to flourish in their commerce, and the *Portuguese* priests were very successful in the conversion of many of the pagans. This exasperated the *Moors* and *Arabians*, who inticed the *Nairos* (always greedy after prey) to fall, to the number of four thousand, upon the

The forts taken.

The Factor of the Provinces of Calicut assaulted by the Indians.



*Baldæus*. Portuguese (not above seventy strong) in their factory, who were almost all massacred by them.

Portuguese massacred.

*Pedro Alvarez Capral*, the Portuguese general in those parts, being informed of this barbarous attempt, and finding that the *Sammoryn* had not been altogether ignorant of the matter, to revenge the death of his countrymen, burnt ten of their merchant ships richly loaden, battered the city with his great guns, and killed them above six hundred men. The same treatment these barbarians received afterwards from *Meneses*. We will not in this place pretend to give a particular account of all the differences and warlike exploits of the Portuguese here, and of the famous actions of *Albuquerque*, *Henry Meneses*, *James Sylveria*, *Capral*, &c. we will only mention in this place, that the Portuguese having found means to erect a fort at *Calecut*, by the connivance of *Nanbeadar*, the old *Sammoryn*'s sister's son, (who favoured the Portuguese,) the kings of *Cannor* and *Cochin* were so nettled thereat, that they did not desist till they had engaged the *Sammoryn* to attack it.

Their death revenged.

The Portuguese fort besieged.

It being then in the winter season, when the Portuguese could scarce expect any relief, and the fort provided with a garrison of three hundred men only, they were driven to great distress. A certain renegado, a native of *Sicily*, who had served as an engineer in the siege of *Rhodes*, directing the *Moors* in their attack. Hereupon *John de Lima*, governor of the fort, did all he could to defend himself, in hopes of the approaching spring; and having extended his fortifications (by means of great casks filled with sand) to the shore, sent notice of his distressed state to *Henry de Meneses*, who without delay sent one hundred and forty land soldiers aboard two ships, commanded by *Christopher Jusart* and *Edward Fonseca*, to his relief; but the last being becalmed near the shore of *Calecut*, and the other not having above eighty men aboard, *John Lima* did not think it advisable to land with so small a number, as being not sufficient to break through the enemies works into the fort. However *Jusart* being resolved to venture at all, landed in a boat with thirty volunteers, who fought their way through the enemy, and with the loss of four of their men reached the fort, which in the mean while was assaulted by the barbarians, who were so warmly received by the Portuguese grenadeers, that they were glad to retire in great confusion to their works.

Bravery of the Portuguese.

Soon after *Fonseca* arriving with his ship, convey'd a letter, fastened to an arrow into the fort, intimating his arrival, and desiring his instructions how to serve him. *Lima* sent an answer, That he thought it not advisable to expose himself and his

men to the same danger as *Jusart* had done, but that he should return with all speed to *Meneses*, and solicit a succour of five hundred men, with a good quantity of ammunition, wherewith he did not question but to defend the place. *Fonseca* being returned to *Cochin*, and having delivered his message to *Meneses*, he dispatched immediately *Anthony de Sylva*, with some ships for the relief of the besieged, whilst he was making all necessary preparations to follow with a much greater force in the spring.

*Baldæus*. *Fonseca* ordered not to land.

The *Sammoryn* fearing the worst, left no stone unturned to oblige the besieged to a surrender before that time; and the before-mentioned *Sicilian* having done his utmost endeavours with mines, mortars, and battering pieces, but in vain, he resolved to reduce them by famine, which he might questionless have effected, had he had only a small squadron of ships to block up the harbour. But the besieged being from time to time supplied with provisions and refreshments by small boats, which entered in the night time, they held it out bravely till spring; when *Meneses* arriving with fifteen hundred Portuguese, landed his men, and having put the *Malabars* to the rout, with the loss of three thousand men on their side, (among whom was also the *Sicilian*,) the *Sammoryn* was so terrified thereat, that to prevent his country from being ravaged by the Portuguese, he clapped up a sudden peace; and the Portuguese judging the fort too chargeable to keep, did afterwards demolish it of their own accord; in the springing up of which many *Malabars* (greedy after prey) were blown up into the air.

The fort relieved.

And demolished.

Notwithstanding this peace, the *Sammoryn* let slip no opportunity of doing mischief to the Portuguese, being encouraged thereunto by the differences arisen betwixt the Portuguese generals, as betwixt *Meneses* and *Gama*, and *Sampajo* and *Mascarenbas*, about the viceroyship, which had almost proved fatal to the Portuguese affairs in the *Indies*. This is evident from a letter writ by *Christopher de Sousa* to the said *Sampajo*; in which he represents to him the danger unto which the Portuguese (a small number in comparison of their enemies) were exposed daily in the *Indies*, by his difference with *Mascarenbas* about the viceroyalty, exhorting him not to have recourse to violence, but the arbitration of such persons as were competent judges; telling him, That in case of refusal he must not expect to be obey'd by him. Which coming from a person noted for his courage, liberality, and generosity in these parts, did not a little abate the haughtiness of *Sampajo*; and *Mascarenbas* returning into *Portugal*, was favourably received by the king, who having recalled *Sampajo*, obliged him to

Differences among the Portuguese generals.

*Baldæus*. give full satisfaction to *Mascarenbas* for the imprisonments, affronts, and damages, he had sustained upon that account. For the more ample relation of which, we refer ourselves to the *Portuguese* historians. From

*Calecut*, we will turn towards *Cranganor*, *Baldæus*. in order to give you a description of its origin and situation, and by what means it fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*A Description of Cranganor : How it was besieged, and taken by the Dutch : Its Excellencies. The Isle of Vaypin. Cochin fortified ; Its Inhabitants, Buildings, Plenty of Provisions, &c. Is besieged the first Time by the Dutch, who raised the Siege.*

The river and city of Cranganor.

**C**RANGANOR lies five leagues to the north of *Cochin*, and twenty to the south of *Calecut*, upon a sandy hill. On the south side of the entrance of the river, is built a small fort called *Paliport* ; a mile above which, higher up the river, lies the city and fortress of *Cranganor*, a place strongly fortified by the *Portuguese* at divers times ; for in the beginning they had only a tower, which they afterwards strengthened by a wall, and at last enclosed the whole by regular fortifications of earth. The king of *Cranganor* keeps his residence not far from *Cranganor*. He that then reigned was a young, lusty, and tall person, a declared enemy of the *Portuguese*, as well as the *Sammoryn*.

In the year 1661. after the *Dutch* had made themselves masters of *Coulang*, and by strengthening the same with fortifications, and a good garrison, had secured the south side, they thought it expedient (before they attempted the conquest of *Cochin*) to get also a firm footing on the north side at *Cranganor*, especially since they feared they might be obliged to pass the winter thereabouts, it being in *December*. Accordingly we landed our men ; but found (beyond expectation) the fortifications in such a state, as not to be attacked without great cannon. Above fourteen days being spent in raising batteries, making of trenches and breaches, but to no great purpose, and the approaching season obliging us to carry on the siege with all possible expedition, it was resolved (upon intelligence given by a certain person, concerning the condition of the place) to attack the point next to the river on *Sunday, Jan. 15. 1662.* very early in the morning.

Is besieged by the Dutch.

And taken by storm.

The signal being given accordingly by a cannon-shot, our forces advanced under the favour of the smoke of our great artillery to the bulwark, which they took with sword-in-hand, chasing the *Portuguese* thence to the jesuits church. In this action the *Dutch* captains, *Poolmann*, *Schulenburg*, and *Simon Werding*, as also lieutenant *Syl-*

*vester*, acquired 'immortal honour, being slain as they were mounting the breach, with seventy eight common soldiers, and many wounded.

On the *Portuguese* side above two hundred christians were killed, besides a great number of the *Nairos* ; and among the rest, *Urbano Fialbo Ferreira* the governor of the place.

The *Portuguese* then hung out a white flag, desiring a parley upon reasonable conditions, which were granted them ; and by virtue thereof the *Portuguese* soldiers transported into *Europe*. During this siege we found the nights very cold, though the days were almost insupportable by the excessive heat. And after the conquest thereof, being ordered to preach the thanksgiving sermon in one of the parish churches, (of which there were seven,) I pitched upon a text in *Deuteronomy xxiii. 14.*

The *Hollanders* judging it at that time convenient to surrender the place into the king's hands, the same was done accordingly ; but regained and refortified the same afterwards, when they found themselves engaged in a war with the *Sammoryn*, who made frequent excursions as far as *Cochin*, a thing so common among these barbarians, that no settled peace can be expected with so many kings.

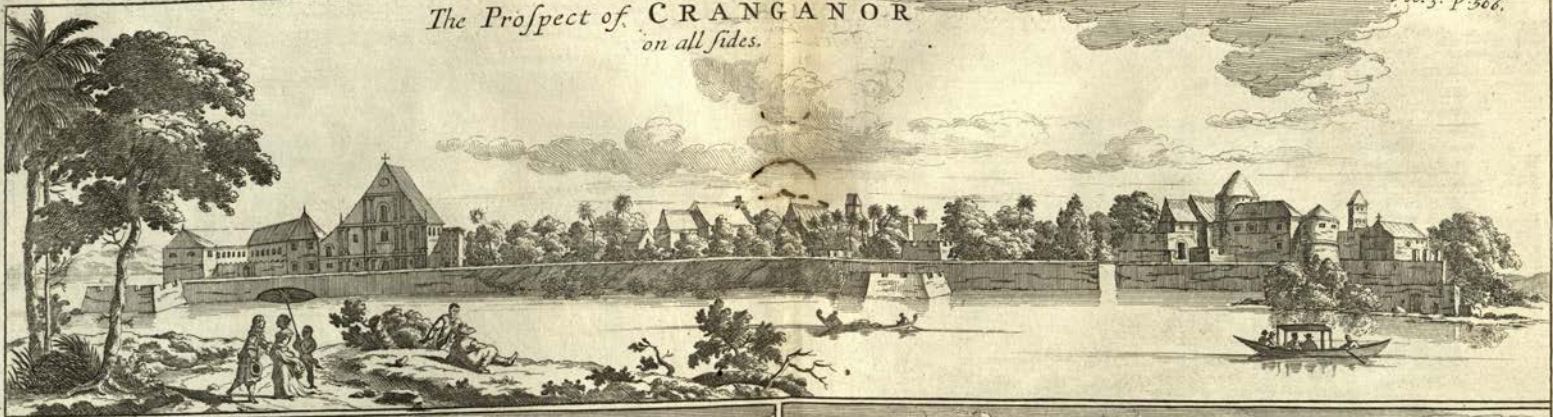
And upon this occasion I cannot sufficiently commiserate the condition of the inhabitants of the countries about *Cranganor* and *Cochin*, who being guided by ignorant *Romish* priests, are in great danger of falling by degrees into paganism again, the district of *Cranganor* having formerly been so considerable for the great numbers of christians of *St. Thomas* (as they are called) inhabiting there, that a *Portuguese* archbishop had his residence in that city. It is the general opinion here, that *St. Thomas* the apostle coming first to *Socotora*, an isle at the entrance into the *Red Sea*, there preached the gospel with good success ; whence coming to *Cranganor* and *Coulang*, he converted a great number to the christian faith.

Cranganor once an archbishoprick.



The Prospect of CRANGANOR  
on all sides.

Vol. 3. p. 568.







*Baldæus*. faith. From hence taking his way through *Coromandel* into *China*, he returned to *Malapour*, where he suffered martyrdom. But of these christians of *St. Thomas* we shall have occasion to say more hereafter, our present purpose being to say something of the state of affairs in the *Portuguese* times.

*The jesuits college.* First then, at our arrival at *Cranganor*, we found there a noble college of the jesuits, with a stately library belonging to it, the structure itself being not inferior to many in *Europe*; besides the church of the *Franciscans*, they had a stately cathedral, adorned with the tombs of the archbishops of this place. Without the wall of *Cranganor*, was the college of *Chanotte*, famous for the resort of the christians of *St. Thomas* hither, who exercised their religious worship here in the *Syriac* language; and having erected a school for the education of their youth, had several masters and priests of their own; of which more in the description of *Cochin*.

*The college of Chanotte.*

This language being in high esteem among the natives here, and used sometimes also by our saviour and his apostles, not only a printing-house, but a seminary has been erected at *Rome* for the cultivating thereof, and propagating the same among the youth.

*The Syriac language propagated at Rome.*

Thus, 1622. a *Syriac* dictionary was published at *Rome* by *John Baptist Ferrarius*, a native of *Siena*; and the *Syriac* grammar of *Georgius Ameira*, a famous divine and philosopher of the college of the *Maronites*, born near the mount *Libanus*. And 1628. *Abrahamus Eccebelensis* obliged the world with his *Introduction to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith* in the same language. Whence it is evident that the *Roman* clergy exceed ours, in their zeal of propagating the *Roman* religion; though on the other hand, it must be allow'd that their plenty furnishes them with sufficient opportunities of performing of those things, which the reformed ministers for want of means are forced to let alone. I have seen divers books printed with the *Portuguese* characters, in the *Malabar* language, for the instruction of the *Paruas*; one whereof I keep by me to this day; though at the same time I must confess, that in case we should follow the same method in printing with our characters, though in their language, it would not have the same effect, they being much bigotted both to the *Roman* clergy, and the *Portuguese* language; so that I have met with some of the *Paruas*, who spoke as good *Portuguese* as they do at *Lisbon*. For the rest, the products of *Cranganor* are the same as in the other parts of *Malabar*, except that now and then they meet with some gold dust, but in no great quantity.

*The isle of Vaypin.*

Betwixt the river of *Cranganor* and that of *Cochin*, lies the isle of *Vaypin*. When the

*Dutch*, in *February*, 1662. besieged *Cochin* *Baldæus*. the first time, they erected a fort upon the bank of the river, from whence they battered the place, the river being there not above a musket-shot over. This fort was called the *New Orange*; and here we found a goodly edifice, formerly belonging to the bishop of the place, as also a very large church, in which I preached the 29th of *Jan.* 1662. The isle itself is tolerably fertile, under the jurisdiction of the king of *Cochin*, whose dominions extend from the river of *Cranganor*, six leagues south of *Cochin*, the whole length being about ten leagues. The kings of *Cochin* have always kept firm to the *Portuguese* interest, ever since *Triumpara*, being conquered by the king of *Calecut*, sought for refuge among the *Portuguese*, who restored him to his kingdom, though he afterward preferred a private life before his crown.

*Cochin* is a very antient city; but was not fortified till 1504. in the time of the two *Albuquerque*s, who set sail 1503. from *Belem* in *Portugal*; and after many smart engagements with the *Sammoryn*, *Alphonfus* returned into *Portugal*, where he obtained the surname of *The Great*, his actions being described in a peculiar treatise published at *Lisbon* 1576. by *John Batreira*. Soon after the *Portuguese* built a church there, and entered into a league with the *Sammoryn*, and the fortifications were considerably augmented by *Edward Patioco*, and a wall erected by *L. Vasco* towards the sea-side. In some years after this city began to increase so considerably, that it might compare with some of the best in *Europe*, its length being near two *English* miles.

At first the christians and mahometans lived promiscuously in the city, which occasioning frequent disturbances, *Albuquerque* obtained from the king *Naubeadora*, that each should have their peculiar quarters assigned them to live in. In and about the city of *Cochin* lived also formerly some *Jews*, who even now have a synagogue allowed them without the fortifications; they are neither white nor brown, but quite black. The *Portuguese* histories mention, that at a certain time certain blasphemous papers against our saviour, with some severe reflections against the jesuit *Gonsalvus Pereira* (who afterwards suffered martyrdom at *Monopatapa*;) being found in a box set in the great church for the gathering of alms, and the same being supposed to be laid there by some *European Jews*, who now and then used to resort thither privately, this gave occasion to introduce the inquisition into *Goa*.

*Cochin* may for its bigness justly challenge the second place after *Goa* among the *Indian* cities formerly in the possession of the *Portuguese*, though at present it is not near

*Baldæus.* so big as the city of *Batavia*. Its situation lies at ten degrees of north latitude, bordering to the west upon the sea, and the river has about seventeen or eighteen fathom water at high tide; but its entrance is very difficult in the winter-time, being commonly choaked up by the sands which are carried thither by the stream in the winter-season; which, however, are again removed by the violence of the current in the summer-time.

About *Cochin*, as well as all along the coast of *Malabar*, they have every day two sorts of winds, viz. the land-wind, beginning in the evening; and the sea-wind, at ten in the morning. *Cochin* is not accounted so wholesome as most of the other places seated on the coast of *Malabar*, by reason of its situation in low and marshy grounds, but abounds both in fish and flesh; and its situation is extremely delightful, by reason of the many brooks and adjacent little islands in the river, wherein many of the *Portuguese* have built themselves very pleasant summer-seats.

The river runs on the back-side of the best houses of the city, where they catch fish with casting-nets, at which the *Chinese*, inhabiting here, are very dexterous. Formerly this city could boast of divers stately churches, since demolished by the *Dutch*. The jesuits church and college facing the sea-shore, had a lofty steeple, and a most excellent set of bells: the college, which was three stories high, and contained about twenty or thirty apartments, being surrounded with a strong wall. The cathedral was also a noble piece of architecture, adorned with two rows of pillars, and a lofty steeple.

*Antient churches and convents of Cochin.*

The church and convent of the *Austin* friers stood upon the bank of the river; and the church of the *Dominicans*, with their convents, were two rare pieces of workmanship, beautified with a double row of pillars of most excellent stone. The church and monastery of the *Franciscans* is the only that remains standing as yet, but has no more than two brothers left, who are allow'd the free exercise of their religion.

The best houses of *Cochin* have their court-yards and gardens belonging to them, enclosed with very thin, yet strong and high walls, so that the neighbours cannot overlook one another. The situation of the city is much more in length than breadth, without any channels in the streets; however, that end towards the sea-side is much broader than the other, as may be seen by the annexed draught; which also representing an exact view of its fortifications, we will refer the reader to it.

*The Malabar Cochin.*

The *Malabar Cochin* is seated somewhat lower, and built after the *Indian* fashion, with very broad streets: it is very populous,

and the royal palace is built with bricks *Baldæus.* and mortar after the *European* way, with apartments very spacious and lofty; near which stands the *Pagode*, with a very large cistern adjoining to it.

*Anno* 1662. in *February*, at the time of our first landing before *Cochin*, the *Nairos* inhabiting hereabouts (notwithstanding we positively declared we were no enemies of the king, but only of the *Portuguese*) assembled in great numbers in this palace and the *Pagode*, and from thence assaulted our forces; which obliged us to drive them from thence, with the slaughter of four hundred on their side, they fighting very desperately, by reason they had beforehand intoxicated their brains with very large doses of *Opium*. The old queen of *Cochin* being taken prisoner in the fray, by *Henry van Rbede* an ensign, was kept in safe custody for some time after.

*Four hundred Nairos slain.*

*The queen of Cochin taken prisoner.*

Afterwards we began to form our attacks against the *Portuguese Cochin* in three several places; that on the land-side near the church of *St. Thomas*, (which served us for a chapel and hospital,) being commanded by the general in person; that along the sea-side, by *Isbrand Gotsken*; and the third, near the river by the commodore *Rootbaus*. After some time spent in making of trenches, and raising of batteries, it was thought expedient to surprize the enemy on that side near the river. The first *Sunday* in *February* being appointed for that purpose, captain *Peter Wash* was ordered to begin the assault with a certain detachment at four a clock in the morning: but it being after sun-rising before they could reach the place, the *Portuguese* took the alarm; and being timely sustained by fresh troops drawn thither by the ringing of the bells, gave such a warm reception to the *Hollanders*, that after a most obstinate engagement, they were forced to found the retreat, with the loss of divers of their best men, and among them the beforementioned captain, who was killed by two musket-bullets. The general *Ryctos van Goens* and the commodore *Rootbaus* were also both in great danger, the first receiving several shots through his hair, the last being likely to have been cast into a deep well.

*An unsuccessful assault upon Cochin.*

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the trenches were carried on with all imaginable speed, though not without great difficulty, by reason of the marshy grounds, which cost us a good number of men, more than we could conveniently spare at that time, when our forces were not a little weakened before, we having left at least three hundred sick and wounded at *Coulang*, and a considerable garrison at *Cranganor*, and in the fort of *New-Orange* on the point of the isle of *Vaypin*. We continued, however, to batter the town incessantly with our

*Baldaus.* our great artillery, and to omit nothing we thought might annoy the enemy; till a whole month being spent in this siege, and the number of our men reduced to fourteen hundred, we began to consider of the approaching winter, the uncertainty of the event, and the want of several things necessary to carry on a long siege; so that after mature deliberation, it was judged necessary to raise the siege, and delay the execution thereof to a more convenient time.

*The siege raised.*

Accordingly our cannon, ammunition, and other moveables, being sent aboard upon floats, the general made a safe retreat in the night-time, without beat of drum; and the better to cover his design, had gained a certain Jew by money to make the clock of *St. Thomas* church strike as usually: to which also contributed not a little the ingenious invention of a certain gunner, named *Henry Boerdorp*; who went the rounds all night long, and calling, *Who is there? Stand,* and that in a different tone, deceived the enemies centinels, that they had not the least suspicion of our retreat; so that all the *Dutch* forces got safely aboard, without the loss of as much as

*The retreat of the Dutch.*

one man, except a negro slave. When the *Baldaus.* *Dutch* soldiers saw the artillery and baggage going on board, they were not a little dissatisfied thereat; but being appeased by commodore *Roothaus*, who told them that it was done only to secure them against the enemy, who intended to make a general salley, they were afterwards glad to follow their officers directions in the retreat.

It was almost noon before the *Portuguese* were convinced of our retreat, as suspecting the same to be only a stratagem to draw them into an ambush; but when they saw us weigh our anchors, they expressed their joy with the discharge of their cannon round the walls. The *Dutch* general having left a sufficient garrison for the guard of the fort of *New-Orange*, another at *Cranganor* under the command of captain *Verspreet*, and constituted *Peter du Pon*, a brave soldier, commander in chief of all the forces in those parts, sailed to *Coulang*; which place being likewise provided with all necessaries, he took his course towards *Batavia*, with an intention to give *Cochin* a second visit in the spring; which he did accordingly with better success.

CHAP. XIX.

*The Isle of Formosa surprized by the Chinese. Cochin besieged a second Time by the Dutch, is forced to surrender; the chief Articles of the Capitulation, The City made more compact, and strengthened with regular Fortifications. The Roman Catholick Bishop of the Christians of St. Thomas comes to Cochin. His Original Bull of Indulgence.*

BY this time we were sufficiently inform'd of the miserable state of our countrymen in the isle of *Formosa*; (which the *Portuguese* would often upbraid us with during the siege.) A compleat account whereof would be perhaps too tedious, and looked upon as beyond our purpose; therefore I will only for the satisfaction of the reader, insert a letter written by the reverend Mr. *John Kruyf*, minister of the gospel there in the fort of *Zealand*, and afterwards at *Negapatan* on the coast of *Coromandel*, (where he died,) and directed to me and Mr. *A. Breyl* my fellow-minister in these parts.

AFTER my arrival here the 6th of *October* with my family, I was seized with so violent a fever, as disabled me to write to you, yet did not hinder me to remember my hearty service to you by Mr. *Roos*, captain of our ship, and the factor Mr. *Reuf*. Whether the same was brought to you, or not, I am

ignorant as yet, having for some time after been so dangerously ill with my distemper, that my recovery was almost despaired of; but am now by God's peculiar mercy so far recovered, that I went first to church on *Thursday* last, and preached twice the *Sunday* following, and intend to visit the sick to morrow, and to administer the holy sacrament on *Sunday* next. To give you a particular account of the late miserable state of the isle of *Formosa*, is both beyond the compass of a letter, and my present strength; and though I tremble at the very thoughts of it, yet will I mention the chiefest transactions: The first assault of the furious *Chinese* was made against the castle of *Sacam*, whereabouts, after they had cut some of our soldiers in pieces, they took my eldest son and my wife's brother, who, though very young, had one of his arms cut off. The next day our ship, called the *Hector*, being engaged

*Miserable condition of Formosa.*

*Baldæus.* “ engaged with a vast number of *Chinese* *Joncks*, was blown up, and in her some of our best foldiers, among whom was also my father-in-law *Thomas Pedel*. The fort of *Sacam* being, after a defence of a few days, forced to surrender for want of fresh water and other necessaries, the ministers, officers, schoolmasters, foldiers, and in general all the inhabitants of the flat country, were forced to make the best terms they could for themselves. The squadron of ships commanded by Mr. *Kauw*, (after it had for a small time rejoiced our drooping spirits,) being dispersed by tempests, and the ship the *Urk* forced upon the sands, and taken by the enemy, the same was neither seen nor heard of in five or six weeks after. To be short, the whole country being over-run by the *Chinese*, our foldiers every where routed, *Koukerken* laid in ashes in sight of our fort; such of our countrymen as had not secured themselves by a timely flight, fell into the hands of the merciless enemies, who sacrificed the reverend Mr. *Hambroek*, with his son, and divers others in *Tilocen*, to their fury; as also Mr. *Peter Mts* minister of *Favourlang*, and Mr. *Arnold Winsheim* minister of *Sinkan*, who had their heads cut off, and their wives, with many others, carried into slavery. By this there being great want of necessaries in the fortrefs, the foldiers died daily of the bloody-flux, scurvy, and dropfy; so that in nine months time, having lost above one thousand six hundred men, both by famine and the sword, we were forced (for the preservation of our lives) to capitulate. Who can without tears remember the unexpected destruction and ruin of so many families, and of near thirty ministers, partly in their lives, partly in their fortunes, (among whom I had my share, having lost all that I had gathered in fifteen years time,) the loss and dishonour of the company, with the unspeakable miseries, among which I reckon mine none of the least, as the loss of three parts of my library? all which we ought to look upon as the effects of God’s just indignation, on account of our manifold sins. I have no more to add, than that it is none of the least among my other afflictions, that matters are both so ill represented, and worse taken at *Batavia*.”

Subscribed,

Your affectionate colleague,  
Negapatnam 13.  
Octob. 1662.

to serve you,  
*Joannes Kruyf.*

But it is time to leave the miserable in the isle of *Formosa*, and to come to the second siege of *Cochin*. Anno 1662, in September, *Jacob Hustart*, late governor, of the *Moluques* and *Amboyna*, and afterwards residing in the same quality in *Ceylon* and *Malabar*, set sail from *Batavia* with a good squadron of ships; *Ysbrand Gaske* commodore, for *Cochin*, leaving Mr. *Ryloff Van Goens* at *Batavia*, by reason of his sickness, but followed soon after. In November we began to batter the place most furiously, being willing to reduce it before we could receive the news of a peace concluded betwixt us and the *Portuguese*, (which we expected every day,) and having the last year received certain instructions from the governours of our company to allow free commerce and liberty of religion to all such *Portuguese* as would submit to us, we proposed to the besieged, That they should be left in full possession of their churches, (except one,) provided they would receive a *Dutch* garrison. This was not ill relished by some; but *Ignatio Sermento* the governor refusing to comply with it, we resolved to lose no time to reduce the place by force.

Accordingly it was resolved in a council of war to assault it on the river side at low tide; and to render the passage the less difficult, a great number of sacks filled with sand were prepared to be thrown into the river. But this attempt proved unsuccessful, our people meeting with so hot a reception there, that they were glad to think of retreating. But as we had no time to lose, so we soon pitched upon another, which was carried on with better success: for that brave commander *Peter du Pon* being ordered to assault the bastion on the bank of the river, he executed his commission so successfully, that (though not without great resistance) he broke through the enemy, and maintained himself in some of the adjacent houses against the whole force of the enemy, till being seconded by fresh troops of his own, they put out the white flag, and sent their deputies to capitulate upon the following conditions.

THE *Franciscans* to enjoy the free exercise of their religion under the protection of the states. The clergy to have free liberty to carry away all their images, church-ornaments, relicks, &c. and what else belonged to them. The governor *Ignatio Sermento* and his family, together with all the officers, to be received civilly by the *Dutch*. The garrison to march out with ensigns displayed, drums beating, with bag and baggage; and to be conducted in *Dutch* vessels to *Goa*, except such of the foldiers as were in immediate pay of his majesty, who were to be transported to *Portugal*.

Several  
Ministers  
beheaded  
by the  
Chinese.

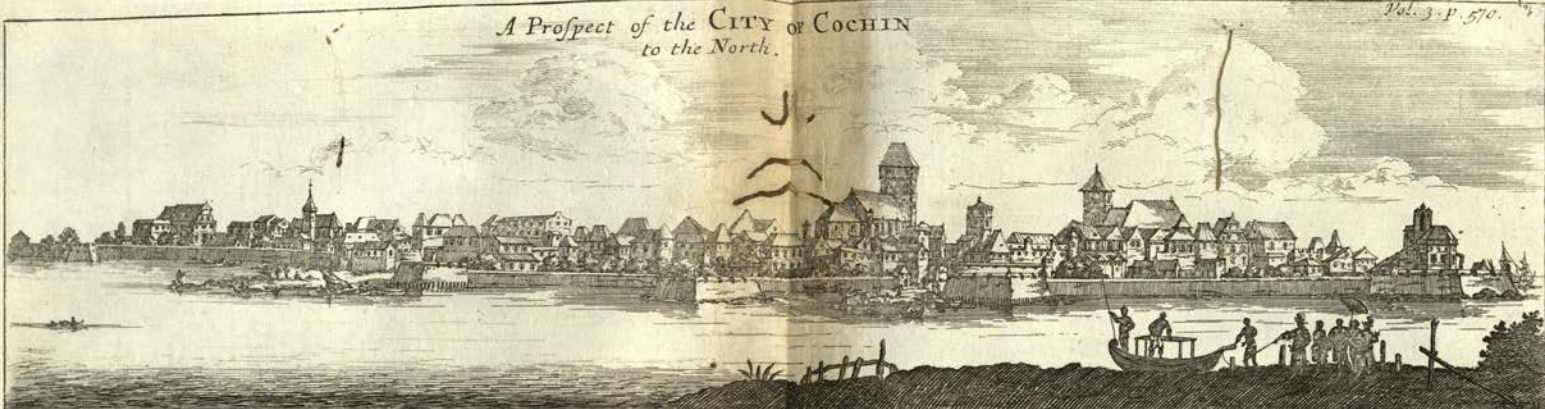
Proposals  
made to  
the besieged.

Unsuccessful  
attempt  
of the  
Dutch.

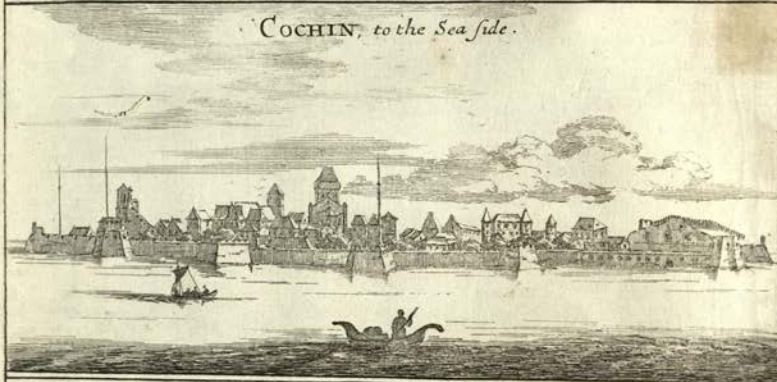
Articles of  
surrender  
of Cochin.



A Prospect of the CITY OF COCHIN  
to the North.



COCHIN, to the Sea side.



COCHIN, on the Land side.



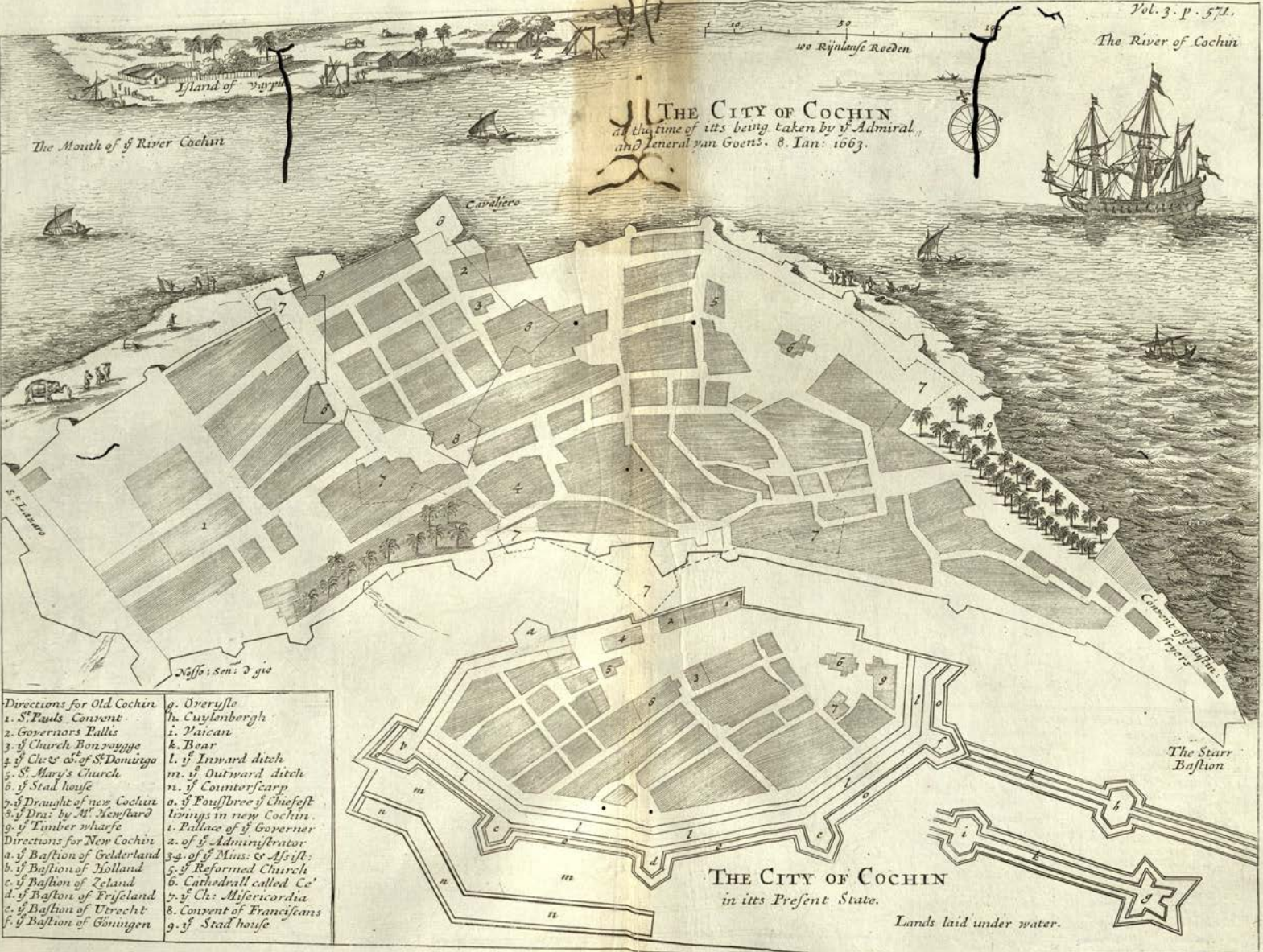
Intire COCHIN, on the Land side.



100 Rijnlandse Roden

The Mouth of y<sup>e</sup> River Cochin

THE CITY OF COCHIN  
at the time of its being taken by y<sup>e</sup> Admiral  
and General van Goens. 8. Jan: 1663.



- Directions for Old Cochin
1. St. Pauls Convent
  2. Governors Pallis
  3. y<sup>e</sup> Church Bon voyage
  4. y<sup>e</sup> Ch: & os: of St. Domingo
  5. St. Mary's Church
  6. y<sup>e</sup> Stad house
  7. y<sup>e</sup> Draught of new Cochin
  8. y<sup>e</sup> Dra: by M. Newstead
  9. y<sup>e</sup> Timber wharfe
- Directions for New Cochin
- a. y<sup>e</sup> Bastion of Gelderland
  - b. y<sup>e</sup> Bastion of Holland
  - c. y<sup>e</sup> Bastion of Zealand
  - d. y<sup>e</sup> Bastion of Friseland
  - e. y<sup>e</sup> Bastion of Utrecht
  - f. y<sup>e</sup> Bastion of Gouygen
  - g. Overyste
  - h. Cuylenbergh
  - i. Vaican
  - k. Bear
  - l. y<sup>e</sup> Inward ditch
  - m. y<sup>e</sup> Outward ditch
  - n. y<sup>e</sup> Counterscarp
  - o. y<sup>e</sup> Foyssbroe of Chiefst
  - livings in new Cochin.
  - p. Pallace of y<sup>e</sup> Governor
  - q. of y<sup>e</sup> Administrator
  - r. of y<sup>e</sup> Mus: & Mist:
  - s. y<sup>e</sup> Reformed Church
  - t. Cathedrall called Ce'
  - u. y<sup>e</sup> Ch: Misericordia
  - v. Convent of Franciscans
  - w. y<sup>e</sup> Stad house

THE CITY OF COCHIN  
in its Present State.

Lands laid under water.





The Entry of a Dutch General into Cochin



*Baldæus.* Such of the inhabitants as were willing to stay behind under the jurisdiction of the Dutch company, to have free liberty to remain in their full possessions. And that care should be taken of the sick and wounded.

All which was punctually performed, and the keys of the city delivered to our general, who soon after entered victorious on horseback in great pomp, and ordered a solemn thanksgiving to be made in the great church lately belonging to the jesuits for the conquest of so important a place; which was done accordingly.

Orders given by the Dutch general.

Being thus become entirely masters of Cochin, after it had been one hundred and fifty years in the possession of the Portuguese, the Dutch general made it his chiefest care to issue his orders not to molest the Portuguese, but to observe punctually the articles of the capitulation. The next was to demolish a certain part of the houses and churches of the city, in order to draw it into a more narrow compass, and to render the fortifications the more regular, the former requiring too great a number of men to defend them. The king of Cochin being crowned, and divers of the neighbouring petty princes obliged to become his tributaries, several strict alliances were made with the neighbouring kings to the south of the river of Cochin.

About the same time *Joseph de Sancta Maria*, of the order of the *Discalceated Carmelites*, sent by the pope in quality as a bishop among the christians of *St. Thomas*, came (in his return into Europe) to Cochin to salute our general, and was very kindly received by his excellency. He had two sorts of enemies to contend with during his stay in these parts: first of all, with the Portuguese, who could not brook that any other but their countrymen should be exalted to that dignity; and that not by the pope, but by their own king; the other was the *Archidabo*, (as the Portuguese stile him,) or chief head of the christians of *St. Thomas* hereabouts, who being a negro, would neither submit himself nor his flock to the *Romish* jurisdiction.

A Roman bishop over the Christians here, comes to Cochin.

Concerning the christians of *St. Thomas*, we shall speak more at large anon. But to return to the bishop, brother *Joseph de Sancta Maria*, he was sent from Rome with a bull of indulgence, granted Jan. 16. 1660. in the fifth year of *Alexander VII.* pope of Rome, subscribed by the cardinal *Barberini*, *Joseph Caetanus*, &c. the true original whereof being in my custody, and containing many things tending to the elucidation of the affairs of the christians of *St. Thomas*, (of whom we are to treat immediately after,) we thought it not beyond our scope to oblige the reader with the translation thereof.

Franciscus

Baldæus.

Franciscus, *Bishop of Portua; Cardinal Barberini, Vice-Chancellor of the holy Roman Church, and Protector of the honourable Fraternity of the Church of St. Jerome.*

Josephus Caetanus, *Keeper of both the Seals of his Holiness, Referendary and Prelate; Carolus Antonius à Puteo, Knight; Franciscus Cinus, Solicitor-General of the Court of Rome; Johannes Baptista Valentis, Abbot; Petrus Bassanus, Carolus de Comitibus, Pompejus Serinus, Marianus Vecchiarellius, and Joh. Bapt. Ciofanus, Commissioners.*

The bull of indulgence.

WISH to our dearly beloved brothers and sisters in Christ, of the most reverend fraternity of the apostle of St. Thomas, of the church dedicated to that saint, without the walls of Cochin, founded by legal authority, eternal salvation in the lord.

The more than ordinary inclination you have shewn to piety, charitable works, and other holy exercises, have induced us, who, according to our duty, are to take care of the salvation of the faithful, and promoting of piety and religious exercises, to receive into and unite with our society your fraternity intended for the exercise of pious and charitable works, and by these presents receive you as such, and thereby make you partakers of all the indulgences, authority, and other spiritual gifts granted us by pope Paul V. of happy memory. And the reverend father, brother Johannes de Sancta Maria, frier of the order of the discalceated Carmelites, president of your fraternity, having in your name earnestly sollicitated for the said reception, and a grant of the indulgences, we the above-mentioned prelates and commissioners, relying upon the authority of pope Clement VIII. of happy memory, and his grant of Nov. 7. 1604. and moved with a holy zeal and christian love for the promoting of the true religious worship, we do, by virtue of these letters, receive your fraternity, founded according to the apostolical and canonical institution, with the approbation of the most reverend

bishop, or the ordinary of that place, into our communion and society, pursuant to the apostolical authority granted us for that purpose; and therefore impart to the said fraternity, and to all its members, all the indulgences and other spiritual gifts, specified and granted to our society by the said papal bull of Paul V. to give encouragement to your fraternity for the performance of all sorts of pious works, and the obtaining of eternal salvation (by God's mercy) after this life.

[N. B. The bull of Paul V. being very long, fulsome, and not material, was not thought fit to be inserted.]

And it being our full intention, that all the indulgences, and other spiritual gifts granted us at large, as before said, should be enjoyed by your fraternity and its members, pursuant to the institution of pope Clement VIII. of happy memory, we will and command, that these our letters shall have the same authority, (when produced,) as if they contained the original itself. For the confirmation whereof, we have ordered this letter to be signed by the secretary of our society, and our seal, together with that of the protector thereof, to be affixed to it. Given in Rome, at the usual place of our assembly, in the year, after the nativity of our saviour Jesus Christ, 1660. of the XIIIth indiction, the 16th of January, in the fifth year of the reign of our holy father Alexander VII."

Subscribed,

Cardinalis Barberinus protector.  
Joseph Caetanus prelate.

Franciscus Cinus,  
Carolus Antonius à Puteo,  
Marianus Vecchiarellius,  
Petrus Bassanus,  
John Bapt. Ciofanus,  
Philippus de Rubeis,

Commissioners.

Andreas Leonius secretary.

CHAP. XX.

*The Voyages, Miracles, and Death of St. Thomas the Apostle. The Doctrine of the Christians of St. Thomas; of the Greek, Syriac, and Georgian Christians; of the Russians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Coptes, Abyssines, Armenians, Maronites. A good Correspondence betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches very necessary.*

*Baldæus.*  
St. Thomas  
his arrival  
in the In-  
dies.

IT is the general opinion, that the apostle St. Thomas did come into the Indies, but especially into these parts: his first coming was in the isle of Socotora, (at the entrance of the Red Sea,) where he converted many to the christian faith; it being certain, that to this day many of the inhabitants stile themselves *Christians of St. Thomas*, which also induced *Xaverius* to touch at that island in his voyage to the Indies, and, if we may credit *John de Lucena*,

His several  
voyages.

would fain have staid there. From Socotora St. Thomas sailed to Cranganor, whence, after he had converted many to the christian faith, he went to Coulang. Upon the rocks near the shea-shore of Coulang stands a stone pillar, \* erected there (as the inhabitants report) by St. Thomas. From Coulang crossing the high and dangerous mountains he travell'd into Coromandel, where having likewise planted the seed of the gospel, he sailed into China; where, after he had preached the gospel to the infidels, he returned to Maliapour to confirm some of the new converted christians in their faith, and there suffer'd martyrdom.

\* I saw this  
pillar 1662.

Maliapour (afterwards called St. Thomas by the Portuguese) was at that time a famous city in Coromandel, where this holy man would fain have built a church, but was prevented by the *Brabmans*, and their king *Sagam*. They relate a very miraculous thing of St. Thomas: The sea having cast up a tree of a vast bulk, the king, who was desirous to use it in the building of a house, had employed a great number of men and elephants to bring it from thence, but in vain, the wood being not to be moved from the place: St. Thomas standing by, told the king, That if he would present him with the piece of wood, he would carry it alone to the city, (then ten leagues from the shore.) The king looking upon him as a mad-man, told him, He should do with it what he pleased. Whereupon St. Thomas tying his girdle to one of the branches, and making the sign of the cross, drew the whole tree after him with a great deal of ease, followed by a vast number of people; and coming to the city, erected a stone cross there, telling the spectators, That whenever the sea should rise up to that

One of St.  
Thomas's  
miracles.

place, God would send certain strangers from far distant places to settle the christian religion here; which the Portuguese would have to be verified at the time of their coming there.

*Baldæus.*

St. Thomas having by this miracle, and the conversion of a vast number of pagans, arrived to a great authority among them, this so incensed the *Brabmans*, that one of them killed him with his lance upon a hill near the city, where he used to perform his devotion. They had before that accused him falsely of a murder; but St. Thomas having resuscitated the child from death, he declared his own father to have been his murderer; which had so powerful an influence upon many of the chief men of the country, and the king himself, that they received baptism. Some say that St. Thomas was killed at Calaminba, by mistaking this word for Calurmina, i. e. upon a stone; Calur signifying in the Malabar language a stone, and mina upon, St. Thomas having been slain upon a rock: whence it is, that if to this day you ask one of the christians of St. Thomas, where St. Thomas suffered martyrdom, they will tell you, Maliapour Calurmina, at Maliapour upon the stone, where he was stoned, and at last run through with a lance.

Another mi-  
racle.

His death.

They tell you of a certain cross made by his blood, and a vast number of miracles wrought by it, for which I will refer myself to *Lucena*, *Oforius*, and *Baronius*. \* \* Tom. I. The christians of St. Thomas teach their children in their very infancy these following heads concerning St. Thomas. St. Thomas was the man who first abolished idolatry; it was he who converted the Chinese and Negroes; it was he that baptized them, and taught them the true faith, and to profess God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost. They also tell you, that he converted the three kings of the east, (one of whom, called *Perumal*, they say was king of Ceylon,) and that St. Thomas's body was transferred from Maliapour to Edessa in Mesopotamia.

1557.

But setting aside all these uncertain relations, the most secure way (founded upon no small probabilities) is, that St. Thomas was actually in these parts, and converted a

*Baldæus*. great number of people to the christian faith: which contradicts that bold assertion of the *Roman* catholicks, that all nations have received the christian faith from *Rome*; it being beyond all question, that at the time of the arrival of the *Portuguese* in those parts under *de Gama*, the inhabitants declared themselves to be christians from most ancient times, desiring the protection of the king of *Portugal* against the pagans, and in token of their obedience presented him with a silver sceptre gilt. Nay, the church of *Rome* cannot boast of that honour, even of all parts of *Europe* itself; since the kings of *England* and *Scotland*, *Lucius* and *Donaldus*, embraced the christian faith one hundred and twenty four years after our saviour's nativity, without having the least communication with the church of *Rome*; whence *Tertullian* rightly says, *Britannorum loca Romanis inaccessa Christo subdita sunt*. And *Cyprianus* says to the same purpose, two hundred and forty years after the birth of Christ, *That the vine-branches of the gospel have spread themselves beyond the extent of the Roman empire*. Thus *Dorotheus*, bishop of *Tyrus*, under the reign of *Constantine the Great*, positively asserts, That the chamberlain of queen *Candace* did introduce the gospel into *Ceylon* and the *Happy Arabia*.

Vain boasts of the church of Rome.

The christians of St. Thomas decay'd, and afterwards restored to their primitive purity.

The christians of *St. Thomas* remained many years in the primitive purity of the christian religion, till in time, for want of good pastors, they began to be infected with some pagan superstitions, and were in most imminent danger of losing the remnants of the truths of the gospel, had not *Martome*, a native of *Syria*, taken care of the decay'd state of christianity in these parts; and being seconded in his endeavours by divers other teachers out of *Syria*, *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and *Egypt*, the *Syriac* language was introduced, and the former purity of religion restored among them, till in time the *Nestorian* heresy got footing in *Syria*, and was from thence transplanted hither, as is sufficiently evident from the records of the *Malabars*.

Had their own bishops.

This *Martome* (signifying in their language as much as lord *Thomas*) being much respected by the kings of *Cranganor* and *Coulang*, and by the christians of *St. Thomas* in general, was declared by them their head: and the bishops of *Cochin*, *Coulang*, and *Cranganor*, being afterwards sent for out of *Syria*, these introduced the *Syriac* language, and acknowledged the patriarch of *Alexandria* or *Babylon* for their metropolitan, till at last they submitted to the pope of *Rome*; for the supreme ecclesiastical head of the *Indians* (at the persuasion of the *Portuguese*) did, 1562. acknowledge the supremacy of the pope of *Rome*, pro-

Acknowledge the jurisdiction of Rome.

vided they might continue in the former *Baldæus*: free exercise of their religion, which was confirmed in the synod of *Goa*, where they would not consent to the least alteration of any of their church-ceremonies. But after the decease of this bishop, his successor, 1599. embraced, with the rest of his clergy, in another synod, the *Roman* faith.

The christians of *St. Thomas* inhabit for the most part on the coast of *Malabar*, about *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, *Coulang*, *Travancor*, and some in *Coromandel*, amounting in all to a considerable number. Before they were united with the church of *Rome*, they were infected with the *Nestorian* heresy, as some are still to this day; whence it is that they deny the two natures in the person of Christ. This *Nestorius* was bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Eutyches* *Archimandrit* was abbot in the same city. His doctrine was received at first in the council of *Ephesus*, by the interest of *Chrysapius*, (to please *Eudoxia* the empress,) lord-chamberlain to *Theodosius* the emperor; but *Chrysapius* being slain at the instigation of *Pulcheria*, the sister of the emperor, the same was afterwards condemned in another synod of *Ephesus*, held in the year 431. two years after the death of *St. Austin*, wherein *Cyril* bishop of *Alexandria* presided, as the before-mentioned council of *Ephesus*, and the doctrine of *Eutyches* was condemned in the council of *Chalcedon*, 451.

Where the christians of St. Thomas inhabit.

For the rest, the ancient christians of *St. Thomas* did administer the holy sacrament in both kinds, using salt, bread, and the juice of raisins instead of wine. It was a very ancient custom among them, not to baptize their children till they were forty days old, except in case of imminent danger of life. They used no unction, neither any images, except that they had crosses in their churches. Their priests were forbid to marry a second time. They were declared enemies of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, a great antagonist of the *Nestorians*, but revered *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus* as saints. They did not acknowledge the superiority of the pope of *Rome*, and used the *Syriac* New Testament in their churches.

As divers religions have been broached of late years in *Europe*, so there are many of late years in *Europe*, so there are many in the *East*. The chiefest of these are the *Greeks*, who acknowledge the patriarch of *Constantinople* for their head, viz. those of *Natolia*, (except *Armenia* and *Silicia*.) *Grecia*, *Russia*, *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, and *Muscovia*.

The next are the *Melchites*, the most numerous of all the sects in the *East*: they are called *Syrians* from *Syria*, and *Melchites* by their enemies, because they conformed themselves

2. The Melchites.

*Baldæus*. selves in their religious worship, according to the emperor's orders. \* They acknowledge for their head the archbishop of *Damascus*, who anciently had his residence at *Antioch*.

3. The *Georgians*. The third sect is that of the *Georgians*, inhabiting the ancient *Iberia* between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas. Some would have them to be called *Georgians*, because, as they say, they reverence *St. George* as their patron; but erroneously, the *Georgians* having been mentioned both by *Pliny* and *Mela*, long before *St. George* was known. They are of the same religion with the *Greeks*, and have eighteen bishops of their own, besides a metropolitan.

4. The *Russians*. The fourth sect is the *Russians*, who likewise profess the *Greek* religion, denying with them the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son, the main point in question betwixt the eastern and western churches.

5. The *Nestorians*. The fifth sect of the *Nestorians* follow the heretical doctrine of *Nestorius*, and live for the most part among the *Pagans* and *Mabometans* in *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Parthia*, *Media*, &c. Nay, *Paulus Venetus* affirms, that they are found from the north side of *Cataja* to the most southerly parts of the *Indies*; so that on the east side beyond the river *Tigris* scarce any other christian sect is to be met with: the reason whereof they alledge to be, that *Cosroes* king of *Persia*, a declared enemy of the emperor *Heraclius*, forced all his subjects to embrace this doctrine. The patriarchal seat of the *Nestorians* is at *Muzal*, a city of *Mesopotamia* upon the river *Tigris*, now subject to the *Turks*; notwithstanding which it has forty thousand christians, and fifteen churches. Some of the *Nestorians* did submit to the *Roman* jurisdiction under Pope *Julius III.* who was created pope 1550. and reigned five years. And the patriarch *Abdiesu*, who was invested with the episcopal dignity by pope *Pius IV.* was present at the council of *Trent*.

6. The *Jacobites*. The sixth is that of the *Jacobites*, having got their name from one *Jacob*, a native of *Syria*, and a follower of the doctrine of *Eutyches* 530. according to *Nicephorus* and *Damascenus*. They inhabit for the most part in *Syria*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, *Mesopotamia*, *Babylon*, and *Palestina*, whence the patriarch of *Jerusalem* is also a *Jacobite*; but the patriarch of the *Jacobites* resides at *Caranut*, an ancient noted city in *Mesopotamia*. They acknowledge but one nature in *Christ*, make the sign of the cross with one finger only; they mark their young children with the sign of the cross by means of an hot iron; use both baptism and circumcision, and reject the purgatory, it being their opinion that the soul remains with the body

under-ground till the day of judgment; and *Baldæus*. that the angels are composed of a fiery and lucid substance.

The seventh are the *Coptes*, or *Egyptian* christians, being rather the name of a nation, than belonging to any peculiar religion: they are the same with the *Jacobites*, the word *Copti* being the same with *Egopti*; for notwithstanding the doctrine of *Eutyches* was condemned in the council of *Chalcedon*, and *Dioscorus* patriarch of *Alexandria* deposed upon that score, the same took deep root in the eastern parts, and more especially in *Egypt*. These *Egyptians* (according to *Tecla Maria*, an *Abyssine* priest) agree in point of doctrine with the *Abyssines*, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Alexandria*, whose residence is now at *Cairo*.

The eighth sect is that of the *Abyssines*, or *Mediterranean Ethiopians*, being generally *Jacobites*, whence their king (called erroneously by some \* *Prestor John*) is stiled *Prince of the Jacobites*. They reject abolutely the council of *Chalcedon*, and will allow it no place in their writings. To their patriarch they give the name of *Albuna*, i. e. *our father*, who must be a native out of the territories of *Alexandria*, and of *St. Anthony's* order; for it is observable, that all the patriarchs and bishops in the *East*, are either of the order of *St. Basil* bishop of *Cesaria* and *Cappadocia*, or else of the order of *St. Anthony*. The patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Antiochia*, and *Armenia*, are of the order of *St. Basil*; those of *Alexandria* and *Ethiopia*, as also those of the *Jacobites* and *Maronites*, of *St. Anthony's* order; but the patriarchs of the *Nestorians* are promiscuously of either of these two orders. The *Abyssines* have for their head the patriarch of *Ethiopia*: they are rebaptized once every year, on the 12th day, as indeed are most of the other eastern christians. They follow the rules of the *Old Testament* in reference to clean and unclean things. It is observable that, contrary to the custom of all the other eastern christians, (except the *Armenians*,) they use unleavened bread in the holy sacrament: though some affirm, that this is only done on *Thursday* in the holy week, and that at other times they use leavened bread. All persons, both ecclesiastical and civil, take and receive the sacrament standing; and that always in the church, the king himself not being dispensed with in this point: the priest gives the bread, and the deacons the wine; and that day the sacrament is received (which is generally once a week) they are forbidden to spit. They baptize both with fire and water; besides which, they circumcise their children on the eighth day; and that both sexes, not according to the manner of the *Jews*, but

*Baldæus*. but after the mahometan way; whence it seems as if it were rather a custom than a point of religion. And if we deduce their original from the antient *Ethiopeans*, *Herodotus* tells us, that they used to practise the same in very antient times; if from the *Arabians*, the matter is sufficiently evident, the *Arabians* being descended from *Abmael*, though they are generally ambitious to trace their origin rather from *Sarab* than *Hagar*. For the rest, they reject purgatory, and prayers for the dead; as also all traditions, looking upon the word of God as the only rule of faith; but, with the *Jacobites*, allow no more than one nature in Christ. Of the religion of the *Abyssines*, *Damian a Goes*, *Athanasius Kircher*, *Alvarius*, and others, have given a more ample account.

9. The Armenians.

The ninth sect is that of the *Armenians*, in great esteem among the *Mahometans*, by reason of their traffick and riches; though some alledge another reason, viz. That an *Armenian* did foretel *Mahomet's* future greatness. In the year 1656. a certain *Armenian* merchant, named *Goja Salomon*, a very grave and sober person, travelled in our company to *Macassar*, where we were to treat about a peace with the king, and he to fetch some money due to him from the *Danish* company, who gave us several needful instructions concerning both the ecclesiastical and political affairs of the *Armenians*. They antiently belonged to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Constantinople*, pursuant to a decree of the council of *Chalcedon*; but afterwards having withdrawn themselves from the *Greek* church, set up two patriarchs of their own, viz. one in the *Greater*, the other in the *Lesser Armenia*. We were told that they administer the sacrament to the very infants; whereas the *Russians* don't allow it to children under seven years of age. They declare positively against the purgatory and transubstantiation. They rebaptize such as turn to their religion from the western churches: they don't allow any happiness to the souls of the deceased till after the day of judgment.

10. Maronites.

The tenth sect is that of the *Maronites*, having got their name, not from the famous heretick *Maron*, (as *William Tyrius* and *Præteolus* falsely imagine,) but from a certain holy man, in certain antient records, mention being made of the convent of *St. Maron*, the friers whereof were called *Maronites*: some of them inhabit in *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Tripolis*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*; but their chief seat is the mount *Libanus*, whose whole compass being computed of seven hundred leagues, but in most places rocky and barren, is inhabited by about twelve thousand families of the *Maronites*, who pay to the grand seignior seventeen crowns *per annum*

The mount Libanus inhabited by the Maronites.

apiece for every head that is above twelve years old; and a crown a-year for each piece of ground of sixteen spans in the square. The mountain is of such a height, that it may be discovered at forty leagues distance. The patriarch of the *Maronites* has eight or nine suffraganean bishops, he himself being always a frier of the order of *St. Anthony*, and resides sometimes near the mount *Libanus*, in a convent of *St. Anthony*, sometimes at *Tripolis*. The *Maronites* are at present under the jurisdiction of the see of *Rome*; and pope *Gregory XIII.* (the same who caused the alteration of the new stile to be inserted in the almanack) erected a college of the *Maronites* at *Rome*. The *Maronites* agree with the *Greek* church in this opinion, That the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, that every soul was created in the beginning. They look upon a female infant as unclean for eighty days after its birth, and the males for forty, which is the reason they don't baptize them before that time; and administer the sacrament to the children soon after they are baptiz'd. They don't carry the sacrament in procession, and allow not of a fourth marriage; but don't ordain any priests or deacons without they are married before; and allow a parent the power of annulling the marriage of his son or daughter, if the same be done without his consent. Beatitude they do not believe till after the day of judgment. For the rest, they follow the opinion of the *Monotheites*, that there is but one nature in Christ. The *Maronites* had united themselves four hundred years ago with the see of *Rome*; but when *Saladyn*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, did conquer those parts, the *Maronites* relinquished the *Roman* communion, till they were reunited to them a second time under *Gregory XIII.* and *Clement VIII.* Of the *St. Thomas* christians we have spoken before.

Among all these eastern sects, there are few who teach any points contrary to salvation, except those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*; for they execrate the adoration of images, reject purgatory, allow marriage to the clergy, administer the sacrament to the laity in both kinds, deny transubstantiation, and do not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the see of *Roome*.

*Maffæus* relates, that the patriarch of the *Abyssines* being desired by their king to dispute with the jesuit *Roterigio*, told the king, That he would not enter into dispute with an heretick, and charged the king, under pain of eternal damnation, not to read their writings. It is beyond all dispute, that the *Coptes* avoid the *Latin* church as much as the *Jews*. Cardinal *Baronius* tells us indeed, that *Marcus*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, did send his deputies to pope *Clement VIII.*

*Baldæus*.

See Will. Tyrius de Bel. Sacr. l. xxii. c. 8.

The eastern churches deny the supremacy of the Roman church.

The Greeks used always five days before Easter to excommunicate the in Pope.

*Baldæus*. in order to subject himself and all *Egypt* to the papal chair; but the same proved abortive, and proved no more than a complement in the end. See *Thomas a Jesuit*, l. vii. c. 6. Whence it is evident, that setting aside the doctrine of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the father only, they are subject to not near so many errors as the Roman catholicks.

In what language the christians worship God.

The eastern christians exercise their religious worship in different languages. Some are of opinion that all the primitive christians, for one hundred and twenty years after Christ's nativity, viz. till the reign of *Hadrianus* the emperor, used only one language, viz. the *Hebrew*, but without any certainty. Certain it is, that the *Armenians* have a translation of the bible into their own language; which by some is attributed to *Chrysoptom* while in exile. *Alvares* affirms, that the *Abyssines* have translated the bible in their own language, and so have the *Russians*, or *Muscovites*, contrary to what is practised by the *Romans*; for pope *Pius IV.* put the bible among the prohibited books. And *Erasmus*, in his letter to *Charles Utenbofer*, tells him, that *Lewis Berquin* was, 1529. burnt at *Paris*, for no other reason, but his having asserted, That the bible might be translated into the vulgar tongue, and read by the common people; notwithstanding *St. Jerom* and *Chrysoptom* had employ'd themselves in the work.

A correspondence with the eastern christians necessary.

The other eastern christians perform their religious service in the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Chaldean* languages; and use divers liturgies, as those composed by *Petrus*, *Jacobus*, *Sixtus*, &c. Whence it is evident that it would be no very difficult task to settle a good mutual correspondence betwixt them and the protestant churches of *Europe*, which has been too much neglected hitherto, though we have had several opportunities given us by the eastern christians to embrace so useful a design. Thus (as *Camerarius* tells us) the *Greeks* of *Constantinople* did encourage the *Bobemians* and *Hussites* against the *Roman Catholicks*. *Joseph*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, sent one *Demetrius* a deacon, to *Wittemburgh*, to confer with the divines there concerning an union, who carried a *Greek* copy of the *Augustan* confession back with him to *Constantinople*. At the synod of *Thorn* in *Poland*, 1595. certain deputies sent by the *Greek* christians appeared to exhort to a unity, and endeavour a reconciliation betwixt the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*. And in the year 1616. *Cybil*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, sent one of his priests to *George Abbot*, the famous archbishop of *Canterbury*, in order to have him instructed in the university of *Oxford* in the true principles of the protestant churches. Neither ought we to pass by in silence the confession of *Cybil*,

patriarch of *Constantinople*, of his adhering to the doctrine of *Calvin*, which drew upon him the hatred of the jesuits, who could not rest satisfied till they had underhand procured his death, 1638.

His Letter writ upon that Subject to a certain Friend of his, and preserved by the learned *Andrew Rivet*, is as follows:

“ PERCIO ho voluto scriver a V. R. e protestarvi che mi siate testimonio se jo more, que jo more *Catholico* *Orthodoxo*, nella fede del N. S. *Jesu Christo* nella dottrina Evangelica conforme la *Confessione Belgica* la confessione mia e le altra delle chiefe Evangelice che soni tutti conformi. Abhorrifco li errori delli *Papisti*, e le superstitione delli *Greci*, provo e abbraccio la dottrina del dottore meritissimo *Giovanni Calvino* e de tutti che sentono con lui; in questo voglio che mi siate testimonio, per che con sincera conscienza cosi tengo, cosi professo e confessò como anco la mia confessione mostra, e recommando a vos questo deposito, caso che morssi, di farne participi Tutti li fratelli Christiani *Orthodoxi*: e mi recommando alle preghiere di V. R.”

Alli 15-25. Marzo.

*Cyrillo Patriarcha di Constantinopoli.*

Which translated into English runs thus:

“ Therefore I was willing to declare to you, and desire you to be my witness, that in case I die an *Orthodox Catholic*, and in the purity of the faith taught by *Jesus Christ*, agreeable to the Confession of faith of the church of the *United Provinces*, mine being altogether the same with theirs, and with the other evangelical churches. I abhor the errors of the *Roman* church, and the superstitions of the *Greek*, but approve and embrace the doctrine of the most worthy *John Calvin*, and of all those that have the same sentiments with him. I call you to witness, that I believe, confess, and attest the same by these presents, recommending this my confession to your care, in order to communicate the same (in case of my death) to all truly-believing brethren, and myself to your prayers.”

March 15-25.

*Cybil*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*.

*Baldæus.* As the preceding letter is a convincing proof of the stedfastness of *Cyril*, in his adhering to the doctrine of *Calvin*, so out of what hath been said before, it is evident that most of the eastern christians have an aversion to the *Roman* religion. And I remember that *Benjamin* the Jew, in his travels, makes the same observation, in particular, in respect of the patriarch of *Constantinople*. In the year 1664. being at *Cochin*, I address'd myself to Mr. *Jacob Hustart*, our general, to grant leave to the archdeacon, or chief of the christians of *St. Thomas* in ecclesiastical affairs, to come thither, in order to have a free conference with him: which being readily granted, he sent his letter to the archdeacon for that purpose;

but he excused himself, alledging, (and not *Baldæus* without reason,) That we having given so extraordinary a reception to the *Roman* bishop, *Joseph de Sancta Maria*, he could not appear in person among us, without his prejudice, to my great dissatisfaction, being extremely sorry it was not in my power to perform my promise made in my letters to the states-general 1662. And upon this occasion I cannot, without praise, mention the generous zeal of the states-general, who at their own charge did order to have the New Testament and our Catechism translated in the tongue used among the modern *Greek* christians, the same being very different from the antient *Greek* language.

## C H A P. XXI.

*A Description of the Kingdom of Percatti, and Calecoulang. Coulang twice taken by the Hollanders. The Nature and Manner of living of the Nairos. The Paruas made Christians. Extraordinary Zeal of Don John King of Portugal.*

*The kingdom of Porca.*

THE kingdom of *Percatti* (called by some *Porca*) begins about four or five leagues to the south of *Cochin*, and extends to *Coulang*, its whole length being about twelve leagues.

*The Dutch treat with that king.*

In the year 1642. the *Dutch* appeared the first time in this place, and treated with the then king of *Siam*, *Baatchery Vaubaar*, (who was not above twenty three years of age,) concerning a free trade with pepper: Which the king was very glad to accept of, being three years past engaged in a war with the *Portuguese*, who had seized upon part of his dominions, and would have erected some fortifications there. He delivered to our deputies a sealed letter, directed to the general and great council of the *Indies*, in which he requested, that we would at least once a year send thither a ship freighted with such commodites, as before that time used to be carried to *Cannor* and *Calecut*: whereupon an interpreter was sent aboard the next day, to desire a passport from his majesty for such of our ships as passed that way, which was granted.

The king who reigned here 1664. of whom Mr. *Jacob Hustart* and I had audience at that time, was about twenty four years old, a very active and well-limbed person, his hands, feet, and ears adorn'd with jewels of a great value. Formerly they used to transport their pepper from hence to *Mocha*; but since that time the *English* have trafficked there in that commodity, who had their factory just upon the sea-shore. The great-

*Factory of the English.*

est strength of this king consists in about five hundred small galleys, wherewith in the rainy season, when the rice-fields lie under water, he used to make his excursions from the utmost point of the cape of *Comoryn* as far as *Panane*, and especially to annoy the king of *Cochin*. He proved a troublesome neighbour to the *Dutch* company, till by the terror of their arms they brought him to submission, having in the siege of *Cochin* sided with the *Portuguese* against us.

Deeper into the country live abundance of christians converted by the *Portuguese*: they get their livelihood by managing and gathering the pepper; which they are obliged to sell to the king's factor, a *Brabman*.

The air of this country being accounted *The air unwholesome.* extremely unwholesome, hence it is, that most of the inhabitants are troubled with swelled legs; the cause whereof they attribute to the nitrous water, which they use for their common drink: blindness is also an ordinary distemper here. For the rest, the ground is exceeding fertile, and very fit for tillage; so that most of the inhabitants live upon husbandry, especially of rice.

The next adjoining kingdom is that of *Calecoulang*, of no great extent: here the *Dutch* company has had their factory many years ago, which used to buy up a great quantity of pepper in these parts.

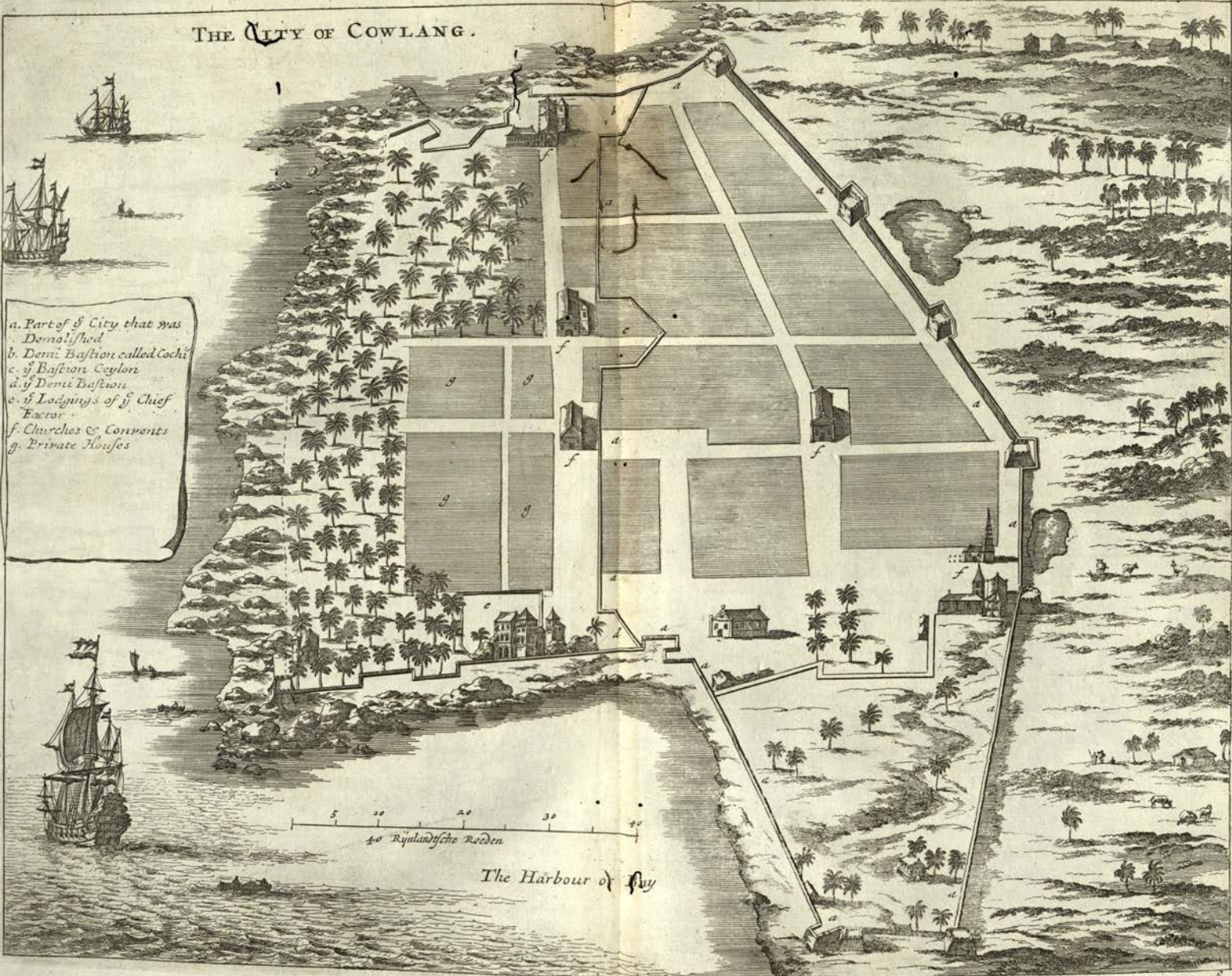
The least among the *Malabar* kingdoms is that of *Coulang*, extending to the utmost point of the cape *Comoryn*, about fifteen or sixteen





# THE CITY OF COWLANG.

*a. Part of City that was Demolished*  
*b. Demi Bastion called Cochis*  
*c. of Bastion Ceylon*  
*d. of Demi Bastion*  
*e. of Lodgings of y<sup>e</sup> Chief Factor*  
*f. Churches & Convents*  
*g. Private Houses*



5      10      20      30      40  
 40 Rijnlandfche Roden

The Harbour of *Suy*



*Baldæus*, sixteen leagues in length. The city of *Coulang* was first built by the *Portuguese*, being much of the same bigness as *Puntegale* in the isle of *Ceylon*, having no less than seven churches, some very good houses, and many thousands of trees, especially towards the sea-side. This city is reckoned one of the wholesomest on the whole coast of *Malabar*, by reason of its pure air, and most excellent springs. The *Portuguese* at their first coming erected only a strong house, to defend themselves in case of necessity against the inhabitants; notwithstanding which, they were at a certain time surprized by them, and all cut to pieces; which barbarity was afterwards revenged by *Laurence Almeyda*, son to *Francis Almeyda*, who burnt twenty of their ships richly laden.

The air  
very whole-  
some.

In the year 1503. one brother *Rboteric*, a *Dominican* frier, coming into these parts to propagate the gospel, did convert many of the pagans, and encouraged the christians of *St. Thomas* inhabiting here to persevere in their faith.

The inhabi-  
tants  
treache-  
rous.

The inhabitants are generally very barbarous and treacherous, of which they have given several times sufficient proofs to the *Dutch*. At a certain time they assaulted the city by night, and had almost carried it by surprize; and at another time captain *Henry Gluwing* taking the fresh air with some officers without the gate, were treacherously murdered by them.

In the time of the *Portuguese* there stood a certain *Pagode* about four leagues without the city, famous for its riches throughout the *Indies*, which induced *Sofa* to plunder it, notwithstanding there was then a peace betwixt them and the *Portuguese*. The *Nairos* revenged the loss by killing about thirty of the *Portuguese*; and *Sofa* having sent a large vessel full of fanams (their coin) to *John* king of *Portugal*, the same was by the advice of the pope sent back to the king of *Coulang*, by whom it was placed again in the said *Pagode*.

A pagan  
temple  
plundered  
by the Por-  
tuguese in  
time of  
peace.

In the year 1661. when the *Hollanders* came to these parts to besiege the city of *Coulang*, they were forced to have three smart engagements with the *Nairos*, who, to the number of seven or eight thousand men, armed with scymetars and muskets, and being intoxicated with opium, fell upon them like desperate men; in which action *Mr. Dublet*, our under-factor, lost his life.

And upon this occasion we ought not to pass by the *Nairos*. These are the gentlemen of *Malabar*, descended for the most part either from royal families, or *Brabmans*, and are for that reason exceedingly haughty, proud, and bold: if they meet any of the common people in the streets, they cry out, *Po, Po*, i. e. *Give way, Give way*. They seldom appear without their scymetars and

The Nairos.

shields, which they leave at the door when *Baldæus* (by a peculiar privilege) they go to give a private visit to one of their neighbours wives, as a sign that no body must enter there in the mean while to disturb them. They are all bred to the war, even from the seventh year of age, when they begin to anoint their limbs with certain ointments, to render the nerves pliable, which makes them very active and nimble, and the best wrestlers in the world. They are not only well acquainted with the use of bows and arrows, but also with muskets and great cannon; for I have seen them give a salvo with the same order and dexterity as our best-disciplined troops in *Europe*; and they are of late years arrived to that perfection, that they make their own gun-barrels, gun-powder, and matches. They commonly engage naked, having only a piece of stuff wrapp'd about the middle: being very nimble they often turn their backs, but soon return to the charge, when they find the least opportunity of having an advantage against their enemies. On the hilts of their swords they wear certain pieces of metal, which making a noise as they move, serves them for a certain musick: they are very dextrous in defending their bodies with their shields; and consequently are better at handy blows than at firing, for they commonly fire too high. Among the *Nairos*, those who call themselves *Amok* are the worst, being a company of desperadoes, who engage themselves and their families by oaths, to revenge such injuries as are done them. They are often seen at *Batavia*. The power of the kings of *Malabar* is generally esteemed by the number of the *Nairos* under their jurisdiction. If any of their kings should be murdered, they would sacrifice all to revenge his death. As they are naturally fierce, and addicted to all manner of lust and pride, so they are declared enemies of the christians.

The Amok!

Scarce were the *Dutch* masters of *Coulang*, but their fleet, consisting of twenty three ships, great and small, were surprized by so violent a tempest, (which lasted three days,) that they thought to have been all lost, lying at anchor under a low shore, and therefore exposed to the utmost fury of the winds. The ships names were, the *Ulieland*, *Sea-horse*, *Haddock*, *Bantam*, *Flushing*, *Marygold-flower*, *Cat*, *Tertolen*, *Red-Lion*, *Erafmus*, *Sluyce*, *Achilles*, the *Romer*, *Flower-Valley*, *Walnut-tree*, the *House of Swieten*, the *Elburgh*, *Stadthouse of Amsterdam*, and the *Exchange of Amsterdam*; the four last being lately come from *Holland* freighted with provisions, such as meal, bacon, cheese, wine, oil, and mum, besides a good number of land-men, many whereof were ill of the bloody flux. During this storm we sent

The Dutch  
fleet in  
great dan-  
ger of being  
lost.

*Baldæus*. our fervent and constant prayers up to heaven for the delivery of our fleet, on which depended all our safety; for the *Stadthouse* of *Amsterdam* was in such distress, that she gave one signal after another for relief, having above six foot water; the *Erasmus* had lost all her anchors, but by good fortune got clear of the sands; the *Sea-horse* had taken fire, but was soon extinguished; so that we came off with the loss of three sloops only. The fury of the tempest beginning to allay on the third day, just at the very time when we were coming from prayers out of the church, and by midnight the same being quite ceased, a solemn thanksgiving was ordered to be kept the 23d of *November*, 1661. when I preached upon the text of *Psal. lxxvi. 12.* By this time it being judged fit for our fleet to depart, a convenient garrison was left in the place under captain *Kocks* and Mr. *Nybof*, for the defence of the fortifications of the city, which were lately made of earth.

The fleet sails for Cochin.

The kingdom of Trevancor.

The kingdom of *Trevancor* borders upon that of *Coulang*: all along the sea-shore inhabit the *Paruas*, who being for the most part christians, you see the shore all along as far as *Comoryn*, and even beyond it to *Tutecoryn*, full of little churches, some of wood, others of stone. These people owe their conversion to *Franciscus Xaverius*, he being the first who planted the principles of christianity among them; they being so much taken with the reasonableness of the ten commandments, that they received baptism in great numbers, though an accidental quarrel betwixt a *Paruas* and a *Mahometan* proved a strong motive to their conversion: whence it is that *John de Lucena* says, *As the differences arisen betwixt the Jews and the Egyptians, proved the means of the delivery of the people of God, and of the recovery of their spiritual and temporal liberty; so by God's direction, a quarrel which happened betwixt a Paruas and a Mahometan, proved the delivery of the first from their spiritual and temporal slavery.*

Conversion of the Paruas.

The *Paruas* being sorely oppressed by the *Mahometans*, one *John de Crus*, a native of *Malabar*, but who had been in *Portugal*, and honourably treated by *John* the then king of *Portugal*, advised them to seek for aid at *Cochin* against the *Moors*, and to receive baptism. Accordingly some of the chief men among them (called *Patangatys* in their language) were sent upon that errand to *Cochin*; where being kindly receiv'd, they (in honour of him who had given this advice) took upon them the surname of *Crus*; a name still retained by most persons of note among the *Paruas*. In short, being delivered from the *Moorish* yoke, and the pearl-fishery (which formerly belonged to them) restored to the right

owners, above twenty thousand of them received baptism.

*Baldæus*.

But though they were baptized, most of them being deficient in the knowledge of the true fundamentals of the christian religion for want of teachers, they had in a little time scarce any marks of christianity left among them, except the ceremony of baptism; as *Maffæus*, *John de Lucena*, and *Michael Vas* in his speech to *Franciscus Xaverius* sufficiently testify. For the *Portuguese* being too eager in baptizing these people; provided they could say by heart the *Creed*, *Our Father*, and *Avenary*, and being unprovided with teachers to instruct them, they soon returned to paganism; so that upon this score the *Romish* priests need not talk so big as they often do.

*John* the then king of *Portugal* being sensible of this defect, did all that in him lay to remedy this evil, by sending divers young scholars to the universities of *Salamanca*, *Paris*, and *Conimbrina*, to be educated and fitted for the missions into the *Indies*. About the same time *Ignatius Loyola*, the founder of the jesuits order, began to be famous at *Rome*, for having with his society made a vow to preach the gospel throughout the world: whereupon the king of *Portugal* ordered *Peter Mascarenhas*, his ambassador there, to confer upon that head with *Ignatius*, and to desire six *Missionaries* for the *East Indies*; two being only granted, *Simon Roterigijs*, a *Portuguese*, (who had studied at *Paris* at the king's charge,) and *Franciscus Affilcota Navarrus*, surnamed *Xaverius*, were selected for that purpose: but the first being seized by a quartan ague, and forced to stay at *Lisbon*, *Xaverius* (after having received pope *Paul's* benediction) set out, 1540. for the *Indies*.

Care of the king of Portugal for their conversions.

Xaverius goes to the Indies.

He was no sooner come thither, but having understood the deplorable state of the *Paruas* from the mouth of *Michael Vas*, he did not rest satisfied till he might deliver them out of their darkness: for this purpose having had several conferences with *John Albuquerque* bishop of *Goa*, and *Martin Alphonso de Sousa* the viceroy, he obtained leave to go among them; for though he appeared there in the quality of the apostolical nuncio, yet would he pay his due respects to the civil government.

He left *Goa* in the beginning of *November*, 1542. in company of *Franciscus du Man-cias*, and two young interpreters educated in the college of *St. Paul*; and coming among the *Paruas*, applied all his care in having the chief fundamentals of the christian religion translated into the *Malabar* language, or in instructing the schoolmasters in the right way of educating their youth. For the rest, with what zeal *John* king of *Portugal* prosecuted the propagation of the christian

Comes among the Paruas.

*Baldæus.* christian religion in the *Indies*, will best appear out of his letter written 1546. to *Don John de Castro*, his viceroy of the *Indies*, as follows :

To John de Castro, Viceroy of India, all Happiness :

John king of Portugal's letter.

YOU knowing what an abominable thing idolatry is in our eyes, the same shall for the future not be tolerated in my dominions. Being informed that in the country about *Goa* the pagan temples are suffered and frequented both in publick and private, as well as divers sorts of pagan diversions, we command you once for all to have the same demolished, burnt, and rooted out ; and that all imaginable care be taken to prevent the importation of idols, either of wood, metal, earth, or any other matter. The heathenish sports shall be abolished, and the *Brabmans* not in the least encouraged, and such as contravene this our mandate shall be severely punished. And considering that the pagans may be brought over to our religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferments, you shall for the future not bestow any offices, or any other places in the custom-house, (as has been practised hitherto,) upon the heathens, but only upon the christians. We understand also, that you commonly press the *Indians* for our sea-service ; in which case we would have you shew as much favour as you can to the christians ; and if necessity will not allow you to excuse them from that service, to encourage them with good pay and rewards : In which point you shall consult with *Michael Vas*, a person well known to us for his piety and zeal in propagating the christian religion. Being further informed, that oftentimes negro slaves, that might be instructed in the principles of our religion, are for filthy lucre sake sold to the *Mabometans*, the same shall be strictly prohibited, and care taken against all manner of usury. In the city of *Bazain* you shall build a church, and dedicate it to *St. Joseph*, and provide for the subsistence of the vicar and his assistants ; to accomplish which you may employ something out of our revenues, and the three thousand pardaus formerly employed to the maintenance of the *Mabometan* mosque and their service, shall for the future be allotted for the subsistence of the priests, and such other persons as give a helping hand towards the conversion of the infidels. Among the new converts, or all such as have

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hitherto, or for the future may be brought over to the christian religion, by the care of *Michael Vas*, you shall distribute yearly nine hundred quarters of rice out of our revenue : it being our will, that all the agreements made with the christians of *St. Thomas*, concerning the weight, measures, and price of their commodities, shall be inviolably observed. And understanding nevertheless that the contrary is practised in and about *Cochin*, in the pepper-trade, we command you to assist these christians, and to take effectual care they may not be damnified, but treated with all mildness, as becomes christians. You shall also sollicite the king of *Cochin*, not to permit any sorcery, or such like things to be transacted, by the sale of pepper ; and being informed that the said king bereaves such of his subjects as embrace christianity of all their means, you shall earnestly intercede with him on their behalf ; and we will also write to him for that purpose. We could wish heartily, that the business of *Socotora* (which you have recommended to our care in your letter) might be settled so as to deliver those miserable people out of their slavery, provided the same could be done without exasperating the *Grand Seigneur*, under whose jurisdiction they live. You may upon this head consult with *Michael Vas*, and act in the matter according to your discretion. It being also come to our ears, that the *Paruas* are sometimes but very indifferently used by our officers, who force them to sell their pearls (got by fishing or diving) at what rate they please to take them ; this you shall not allow of, but permit them to dispose of their commodities at the best price they can get. You shall make an exact enquiry, whether the inhabitants of the sea-shore might not be protected, and our revenues secured without a fleet ; so that the ships employed in that service might be made use of upon other occasions. You shall consult and debate with *Franciscus Xaverius*, whether it were not practicable, for the better increase of the christians, that the pearl-fishery might not be permitted only to the christians, with exclusion of the *Mabometans* and *Pagans*. And as many among the *Paruas*, who have embraced christianity, meet with very ill treatment from their *Pagan* friends and relations, and are despoiled of all, these you shall assist out of our revenues, according as *Michael Vas* shall judge it convenient.

Extraordinary care of the Paruas.

We have further understood that a certain royal youth has escaped from his father

*Baldæus.* “ father or uncle to *Goa*, in order to be baptised: as his conversion is of great moment, so you shall be very careful of his person, and of his instruction and education in the college of *St. Paul*, and provide for his entertainment in cloaths, attendance, and other matters, suitable to his quality: he having notify'd to us in his letter, that he is the legal heir of the crown of *Ceylon*, you shall make due enquiry after that matter, and write to us your sentiment thereof. The furious attempts of the tyrant of *Ceylon* against such of his subjects as embrace christianity, oblige us to command you to take a slow and secure, but a severe revenge of him, to let the world see, that we are ready to give all imaginable protection to those poor creatures, who have renounced their pagan and diabolical idolatries. It being a general rumour here, that the images of our saviour and the virgin *Mary* are made and sold by the pagans, a thing unseemly, and unbecoming the christian name, the same ought not to be allowed of. The cathedral churches of *Cochin* and *Coulang*, which have been building for a considerable time, being (as we hear) going to decay, we command

“ to be finished, and covered with a good roof, to keep out the rains. It is also our pleasure that a church dedicated to *St. Thomas* shall be built in the street of *Norooa*, and that the church of *St. Cruz*, lately begun to be built at *Calapor*, shall be brought to perfection. In the isle of *Cioran* you shall order a church and some meeting-houses to be built, for the conveniency of the new converts to be catechiz'd in, and to be instructed in the word of God. We could also wish with all our heart, that idolatry might be banished out of *Salfete* and *Bardes*; but in this matter you must proceed with caution, for fear of exasperating the minds of the people; which end may be most conveniently obtained, by shewing them with all imaginable mildness their gross errors, and how, instead of the true God, they pay their devotion to insensible images and idols. For the same reason you shall not neglect to confer with their principal men upon this head, and to encourage such as embrace christianity by your favour, presents, and otherwise. It is our will that a peculiar regard shall be had to this our letter, and the contents thereof punctually observed.”

## C H A P. XXII.

*A Description of Tutecoryn, and the Pearl-Fishery: That City taken by the Hollanders. The Isle of Rammanakoyel. Adam's-Bridge; the Shape of his Foot imprinted in a Stone. Tindi. The taking of Megapatan, which is besieged by the Naike; reduced to great Extremity by Famine: Once more attacked, and maintained.*

*The Paruas are now very obstinate in the Romish superstitions.*

THE *Paruas* ever since this union with the *Romish* church, are such zealots in that religion, that there are scarce any hopes of ever bringing them over to our side; their ignorance in religious concerns being such, that besides the use of their beads, and making the sign of the cross, they know nothing of the true fundamentals of the christian religion they pretend to profess. In the year 1661. I was ordered to take a journey from *Tutecoryn* to *Coulang*, to visit the churches along the sea-shore, and endeavour to introduce a reformation there; but my endeavours proved ineffectual by reason of the great number of popish priests yet remaining in that country; and supposing a reformation could have been introduced, there were no ministers to maintain it in so large a tract of land, where the *Paruas* were for the most part great favourers of the *Portuguese*, and blind zealots in their religion, of which I had

sufficient proofs before at *Tutecoryn*. For the *Dutch* being become masters of that place, 1658. I was soon after employ'd in the business of reformation, but without success; for when I preached in *Portuguese*, scarce any one of the *Paruas* durst enter into the church, but remained in the porch for fear of the *Romish* priests living among them; for though these priests did not then live in the city, nevertheless the inhabitants would carry their children a great way into the country, to be baptiz'd by the priests.

I remember that passing one time through the market-place of *Tutecoryn*, a great number of people, at the accidental ringing of a bell, prostrated themselves upon the ground; whom I asked, whether they thought this a fit place for their devotion, when the church was so near at hand, desiring them to follow me thither. They answered, That since the church was despoiled of the images and other





TUTECORYN.



PEARL

FISHING.



*Baldæus.* other ornaments by us, they must look upon us as enemies to their religion. I replied, That we were no enemies of images, but only of the worshipping of them, as appeared by several histories of the baptism of our saviour, the conversion of *St. Paul* and others, remaining in the churches. To be short, I found that the whole knowledge of the *Paruas* (both young and old) consisted in being able to say by heart the *Creed*, *Our Father*, the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Ave Mary*.

After my departure the reverend Mr. *John Ferreira* employ'd in reforming the *Paruas*. *Ferreira Almeyda*, a native of *Lisbon*, was for a whole year employ'd in the reformation of the *Paruas*, but with less success than myself, they having conceived an *Odium* against him, as one who had quitted that religion, and whose effigies upon that score was burnt at *Goa*.

In the year 1658. in *January*, we set sail from *Negumbo*, and in the beginning of *February* landed near *Tutecoryn*, after some resistance from the natives, who set the city and their small galleys on fire, and so retired deeper into the country. *Tutecoryn* is properly no more than a large village, without walls, ditches, or gates; it has three spacious churches, and abundance of goodly houses built of stone, which afford a good prospect at sea. Hereabouts they make the best lime in *India*. The *Dutch* company has been several times endeavouring to erect some fortifications here; but the *Naike*, or lord of the country, not willing to consent to it, they have hitherto been contented with a factory in one of the three churches; where always resides a factor and under-factor, with three assistants, and six or eight soldiers.

Near this place is the famous pearl-fishery, whereof there are no more than three in the east, viz. one near *Ormus*, the second in the bay of *Ainam*, on the *Chinese* coast, and the third in the bay betwixt cape *Comoryn* and the isle of *Ceylon*, wherein are also comprehended *Manaar* and *Aripou*. The pearls are found in certain oyster shells, (which are not good to eat,) and are taken by diving seven, eight, nine, or ten fathom deep, sometimes not without great danger. The pearl-fishery is not allowed every year, sometimes the oyster-banks being covered with sand, and sometimes the oysters not being come to their full maturity. To make a trial of the last, they take out a few, and by the quantity and quality of the pearls taken in them, judge whether it will quit cost to fish, or not. If the fishing be resolved upon, the inhabitants of the circumjacent parts come in great numbers with their families and boats, and pitch their tents near the sea-side, where they remain until the fishery is over. The *Dutch* com-

pany has a certain share in what is taken for their protection, the rest being sold publickly in the markets of *Tutecoryn* and *Calipatnam*. The *Paruas* also dive sometimes for certain hours for a kind of sea-snails, called *Cbancos*, whereof they make rings, that bear a good price at *Bengale*.

The pearls of *Tutecoryn* and *Manaar* are neither in colour nor brightness comparable to those taken near *Ormus* on the *Persian* coast. The pearls are questionless nourished both by the sea and river water, as being often found at the time of low tides in the rivers. Abundance of pearl dust is from hence transported into *Europe*, where it is used in the cordial medicines. The large pearls are valued according to their bignets, shape, and whiteness. Much cloth is made at *Tutecoryn*, the weaving-trade being very considerable here, which, together with the plenty of eatables, rice, sugar, &c. makes this place to be much regarded by the company.

This tract of land is subject to most furious winds in *October*, *November*, and *December*; and in the winter seasons to heavy rains. It is very sandy near the sea-shore, and has nothing but salt-water, which produces scabs, and other cutaneous distempers, as I can testify by my own experience. During the months of *January*, *February*, and *March*, the nights are extremely cold, by reason of the thick fogs, which fall constantly at that time, the days being at the same time so excessive hot, that there is no touching of the ground without their shoes, called *Seripous* by the inhabitants.

And upon this occasion I cannot pass by without making this observation, That notwithstanding the nearness of *Tutecoryn* and *Comoryn*, they at the same time have very different seasons: for in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*, those inhabiting on the south-side of the said cape, enjoy all the blessings of the summer season, whilst those living on the north-side are at the same time subject to all the inconveniences of the winter; this side being then constantly pestered with tempestuous winds, whilst on the other side the air is serene and calm; the difference of which must needs be looked for among the mountains, the receptacles of winds, rains, and snow, the same being observed in other parts of the *Indies*, as well as in *Africa*. For if *Africa* were not mountainous, it would be altogether barren and uninhabitable, no more than the countries under the *Torrid Zone*, which if they were destitute of mountains, would also want rivers, (the sources of them being all in the mountains,) nor hard rains. Thus it is observable, that about *Columbo*, *Gale*, and *Mature*, abundance of rains fall at different times, because that part of the isle of

*Ceylon*

*The Paruas though christians, never dive before they have made certain conjurations to prevent their being hurt by the sharks.*

*The climate of Tutecoryn.*

*Different Seasons on the north and south side of the mountains.*

*Baldæus*. Ceylon is mountainous; whereas near *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam*, and the other places, where there is a flat country, it rains only in *October*, *November*, and a little in *December*, all the rest of the year being without the least rains; the defect whereof is however supply'd in some measure by the fogs or dew; the south winds which blow then from the cape of *Comoryn*, prevent the rains on that side. The inhabitants of *Peru* are very sensible of this difference; for whilst the inhabitants of the mountains are often rejoiced with sudden showers of rain, those of the flat country, and especially near the sea-side, never feel any rain, but only a thick fog or dew.

The mountains occasion the difference of seasons.

Whence it is evident, that according as the mountains send forth the winds and rains on one side or the other, they produce the difference of seasons in these parts; this is very perspicuous on the cape of *South Point of Africa*, where such violent gushes of wind are sometimes sent forth out of the concavities of the mountains, that they are able to overturn all that meets in their way. I remember that travelling once that way, I had enough to do to keep myself and my horse upright; and at another time a coach belonging to the *Dutch* company there, was overturned by such a gush of wind. They take it for an infallible sign of an approaching tempest on the cape of *Good Hope*, when they see thick clouds appear on the top of *Tablemountain*. The same is observed in most other mountains under the *Torrid Zone*; for the inhabitants near the *Equinoctial Line* have their due rainy seasons twice a-year, viz. in spring and autumn, occasioned by the gathering of the clouds in the mountains, the pinacles of which reaching very high, stop the course of the air, (which in those parts moves constantly from east to west,) which thereby being condensed into clouds, these produce of necessity either sudden winds or rains on one side, and blesses the other side at the same time with a serene air and happy climate, the tops of these mountains being in these parts like a partition-wall to summer and winter: for the further elucidation whereof, I will refer myself to the most ingenious lord *Bacon*, and *des Cartes*.

Isle of Ramma-nakoyel.

From *Tutecoryn* towards the isle of *Rammanakoyel* are to be seen divers churches of the *Paruas*, as at *Baipaar*, *Manapaar*, &c. where *Xaverius* planted the christian doctrine. The isle of *Rammanakoyel* abounds in cattle, having got its name from *Bramma* or *Ramma*, and the *Malabar* word *Koyel*, i. e. *The Temple of Ramma*; for near the sea-side is to be seen the pagode of the *Tewver*, or lord of the isle, which they say contains an incredible treasure. The foundation is strengthened and sup-

ported with stones of a vast bigness towards the sea-side, to break the force of the raging waves, when the south winds blow. The isle is however but indifferently fertile, being in some parts very sandy, which is very troublesome to the eyes when the winds blow very hard. The lord of the isle has built a strong castle opposite to the coast of *Coromandel*, and the country under the jurisdiction of the *Naike*. In the year 1662. I and lieutenant *Herman Egbertsz* travelling that way, were seized upon by the inhabitants, and committed prisoners, being forced to live without victuals or drink for a considerable time, till a certain inhabitant of *Manaar* coming that way, and knowing me, released us out of our captivity. The cannon of the castle commands a certain strait passage, which leading to *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam*, and *Negapatnam*, the same may be stopped at pleasure by the lord of the isle, by sinking only a few stones in the channel, whereby the navigation that way is at his absolute disposal.

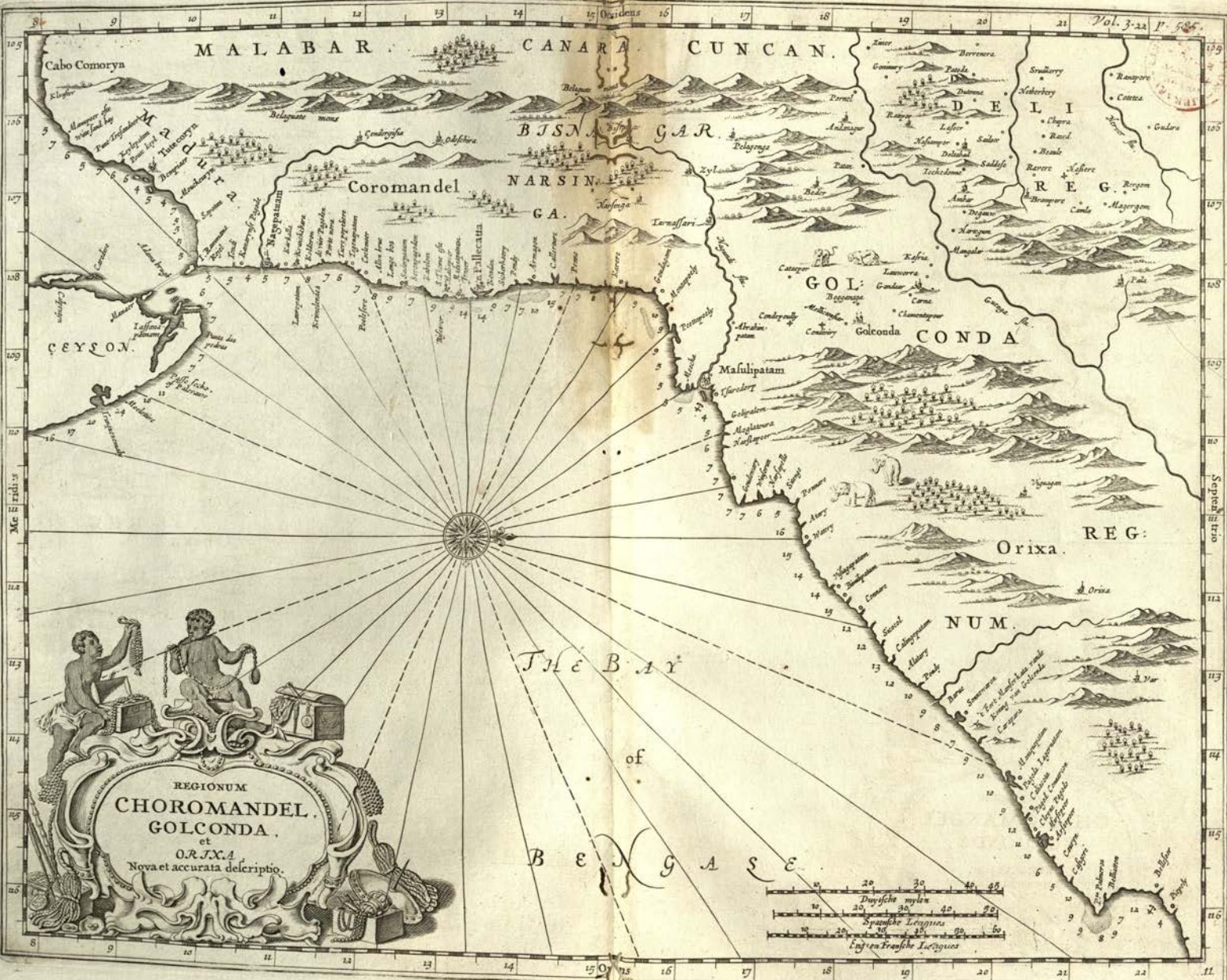
Strait passage under the castle of the isle.

Not far from hence is that they call *Adam's-Bridge*, being a ridge of sands and rocks extending as far as *Manaar*, being sometimes passable in small boats. In the description of *Ceylon*, we shall have occasion to speak something more of this *Adam's-Bridge*, and the *Adam's-Mount*. Certain it is, that the *Cingaleses*, as well as the *Siameses* have some knowledge of *Adam*; for the last shew you the print of a foot (said to belong to the first man) in a rocky mountain of a yard and an half in length, three quarters broad, and a quarter deep, edged round about with silver, near which is built a most magnificent temple, much frequented by the *Siamese* priests, and other inhabitants of the circumjacent country, it being their opinion, that the least drop of the water gathered in this print of the foot, and dropped upon their heads, cleanses them from their sins: for which reason they never use it without a great deal of reverence, no body daring to enter the temple without ten, twelve, or more wax candles lighted, according to their respective abilities; and when they return, they take some of this holy water along with them in bamboe-canes, for the use of their friends, that have not the opportunity of coming thither in person. The king himself goes once every year on pilgrimage, with all his *Mandarines*, (or great courtiers,) to this temple, where they use this water at the time of the full moon, and conclude the night with dancing and drinking. Some of the *Siamese* priests did, by special leave from his majesty, shew to certain *Hollanders*, 1654. in *March*, a plate of gold, of the same length and breadth as the before-mentioned *Adam's-Foot*, with sixty eight figures engraven upon it, which they

Adam's foot shewn by the Siameses.

The holy water.





MALABAR CANARA CUNCAN.

Cabo Comorya

BJSN GAR.

Coromandel NARSIN GA.

GOLCONDA

CEYSON.

Orixia REG.

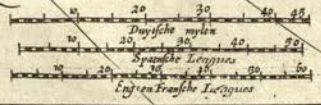
NUM.

The Bay

of

BENGALES

REGIONUM  
CHOROMANDEL  
GOLCONDA.  
et  
O.R.I.X.A  
Nova et accurata descriptio.



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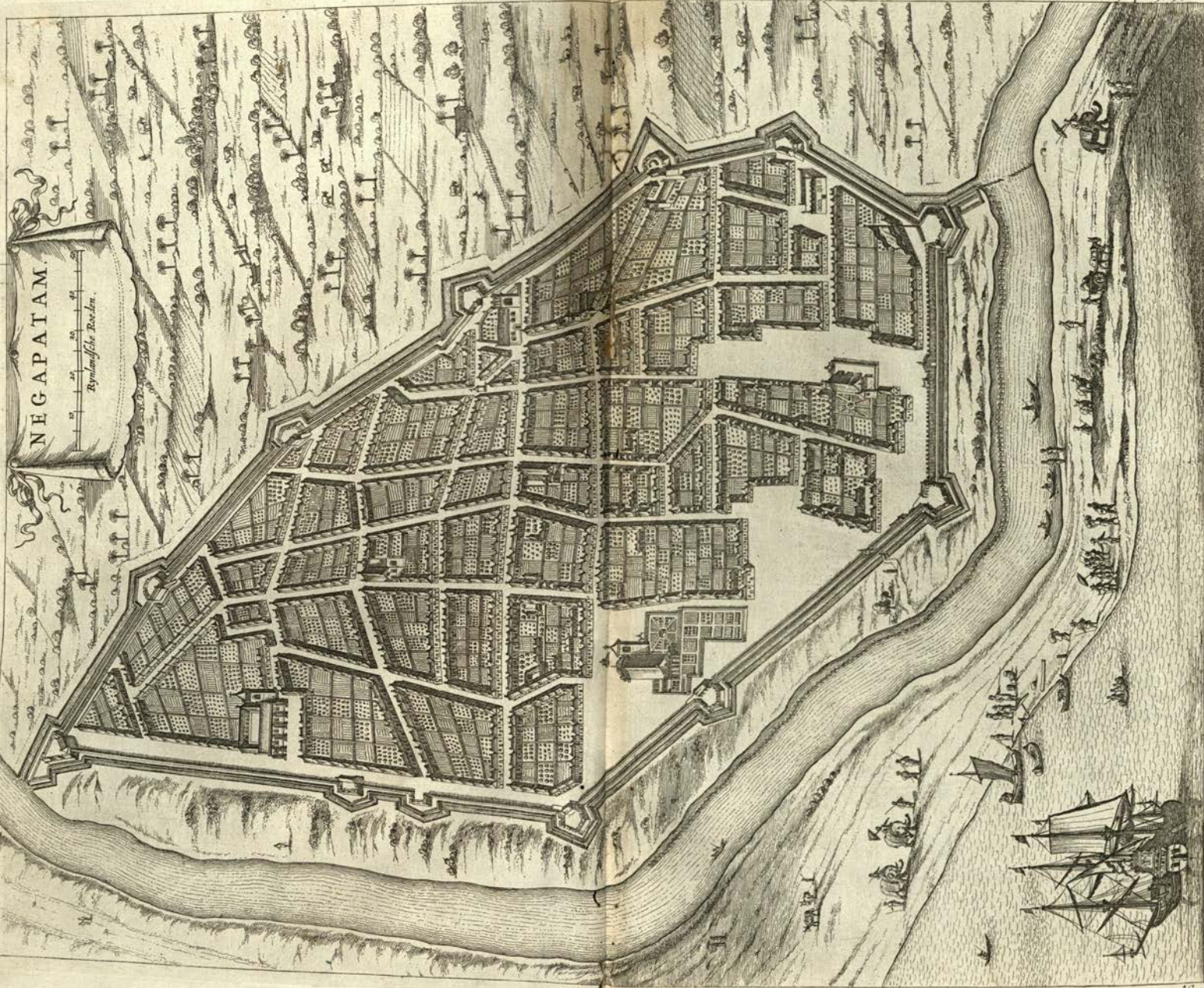
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8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21



NEGAPATAM.

Bynaußliche Weichn.





*Baldens.* they said were formerly to be seen in the print of Adam's foot in the rock; but vanished as soon as they were engraven in this plate, and were the following: *A queen*

*The figures in Adam's foot.*

*with a ring on her finger, divers roses, a chain, an arm, a bed of gold, a chair of the same metal, an elephant's tooth, a royal palace, a golden sword-belt, an umbrella, a royal banger or scymitar, a fan made of the leaves of the terry-tree, a fan made of a peacock's tail, a royal crown, a priest with his mendicant pot of iron, a chain of precious stones, a red coustip-flower, a double one of the same kind, a white one and a double white one of the same kind, a cup full of water, a pot full of water, the sea, the world, a forest beyond the world, the purgatory of the Siamese, the highest mountain of the world, the sun, the moon, the evening-star, the great God of the heavens, the god of the four winds, two thousand servants of the four winds, a sea-snail, two fishes of gold, the seven chief rivers, seven mountains with precious stones, seven royal ladies, the king of beasts, the king of the caimans or crocodiles, an ensign, another of paper, a chair or litter, a fan with a long handle, a mountain in an island, the king of serpents, the king of tygers, a leaping horse, a large elephant, a white one of the same kind, a water-serpent, a caluarius, (a bird like an ostrich,) the king of the white cows, an elephant with three heads and as many tails, a serpent, a ship of gold, an angel, a cow with a sucking calf, a certain bird, half a man and half a bird, a female of the same sort, a singing bird, the king of the peacocks, the king of the cranes, a bird called Krapat, a bird called Kuyhit, six heavens, sixteen sorts of heavens.*

Concerning all which the priests give you their interpretations. The before-mentioned *Adam's-Bridge* extends to *Tellemanaar*, the furthestmost point of the isle of *Mandaa*, of which more anon in the description of *Ceylon*.

We will now take our turn in the southern parts of *Coromandel*, subject for the most part to the *Naike* of *Madure* and *Tanjourwer*. *Tondy* is the first place next to the territories of *Jafnapatnam*; and I remember myself, that setting sail one morning, about eleven of the clock from *Jafnapatnam*, we were within sight of the shore by four in the afternoon, and the same night, at nine of the clock, cast anchor before *Negapatan*. From *Tondy* they transport yearly many hundred heads of cattle to *Jafnapatnam*; near the first stands a certain *Pagode*, called *Kailiemoer*, a very high structure, in the road to *Negapatan*, or *Negapatnam*, i. e. the *City of Serpents*, *Nega* signifying in the *Malabar* language a serpent, and *Patnam* a city; because the country hereabouts abounds with a certain sort of venomous serpents, called by the *Cobres Capellos*, which are in

*Tondy up on the coast of Coromandel.*

such reverence among the *Rajans*, that if *Rabban* they should happen to kill one of them, they will look upon it as an expiable crime, and to forebode some great misfortune.

This city was taken by composition, without striking a stroke, by *John van der Laan*, and *Lucas van der Duffen*, commanders of the *Dutch* forces, 1638. the last of the two being since made governor of *Cochin*, and the other forts on the *Malabar* coast, subject to the *Hollanders*. The *Portuguese* were permitted to depart with their goods, families, church-ornaments, &c. in certain ships appointed for that purpose by the *Dutch* company. The city is seated near the shore, has no convenient harbour, as indeed the whole coast of *Coromandel* is destitute of them; its buildings are very stately, especially the church, which affords a very goodly prospect towards the seaside; the land winds are excessive hot and stifling here, as on the other hand, the sea-winds are refreshing both to men and beasts. It is observable, that whilst the land-wind blows, they gather water in stone vessels, which keeps very cool; the worst is, that these winds prevent people from sweating, which makes the heat the more insupportable. The same is to be observed at *Mafuilipatan*, where they are so stifling, that many people are killed by them.

*The city of Negapatnam.*

*Mastered by the Dutch.*

In the year 1660. July the 14th, I set sail from *Jafnapatnam* to *Negapatnam*, to introduce the reformed religion there; and accordingly preached the first time the 18th, both in *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, and administered the holy sacrament to twenty persons, and baptism to several children. After *Mr. Frederick Frontenius* and myself had spent some time there in settling the protestant religion, *Mr. John Krusf*, formerly minister in the castle, called the *Sealandia* in the isle of *Tajowan*, was constituted minister at *Negapatnam*, who after his death was succeeded by *Mr. Naibaniel de Pape*, a person of indefatigable care, who in a very small time has made considerable advancements in the *Portuguese* and *Malabar* languages, who by the encouragement, and under the protection of *Mr. Cornelius Speelman*, governor of the coast of *Coromandel*, and famous for his late victories obtained against the *Macassars*, and the king of the isle of *Celebes*, has settled and spread the doctrine of the gospel in the circumjacent villages.

*The protestant religion introduced in Negapatnam.*

At the time of our first arrival, we found the affairs of *Negapatnam* in no small confusion; the city having been just before besieged by the *Naike*, who, after a vigorous fallie made by the besieged, had been forced to retreat with the loss of three or four hundred men. Besides this, the king of *Vistapour* had not long before the siege made

*Misery about Negapatnam.*

*Baldæus.* an inroad into the country, and by destroying all the fruits of the earth, and whatever else he met with, occasioned such a famine, that the poor country wretches being forced to fly to the city for want of rice and other eatables, you saw the streets covered with emaciated and half-starved persons, who offered themselves to slavery for a small quantity of bread; and you might have bought as many as you pleased at the rate of ten shillings a head; above five thousand of them were there bought and carried to *Jafnapatnam*, as many to Co-

*lumbo*, besides several thousands that were *Baldæus.* transported to *Batavia*.

In the year 1669. the *Naike* was again embroiled with the *Dutch* company; but being bravely repulsed, was glad to be at quiet. Without the gates, on the north-side of the city, stands a very lofty *Pagode*, called *Cbina*, near which is a summer-seat, with very pleasant gardens and orchards, formerly belonging to *Francisco d'Almeyda*, an antient rich *Portuguese*, now living at *Trangebar*.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*A Description of Carcal, Trangebar, Trinilivaas, Colderon, Porto Novo, Tegnatan, Tirepoplier, Chengier, Sadraspatan, Madraspatan, St. Thomas, Paliacatta, Carnatica, Penna, Caleture, Petapouli, and Mafulipatan.*

*Carcal.* TWO leagues from *Negapatan* lies *Carcal*, where, as well as in most other southern places, *Adrian van der Meyden*, head-factor of our company, did erect a factory some years ago; but since we have been masters of *Negapatan*, the factory of *Carcal* is not regarded. The chief commodities here are certain stuffs, especially those called rambotyns, much in request among the *Japonefe*.

*Trangebar.* From *Carcal* to the *Danish* fort, called *Trangebar*, are about three leagues: it has four bulworks, and the garrison consists for the most part of *Topasses* and *Negros*, under the command of one *Eskel Andres*. The inhabitants consist of *Portuguese*, *Pagans*, and *Mabometans*: their traffick is very inconsiderable, their chiefest advantage arising from the excursions they make upon the neighbouring *Mabometans*, with whom they are in constant enmity, by reason of the ill usage they have ever received from them. About two years before our departure thence, one *Simon van Medenblick* had got a commission from the *Danes*, and took a rich *Moorish* vessel, and killed the whole ship's crew. I have often wondered why the *Danes* should not more encourage their trade in the *Indies* than they do, since they have the same, or rather a better opportunity for so doing than the *English*.

*Colderon.* From *Trangebar* you go by the way of *Trinilivaas* to *Colderon*, where there is a very dangerous sand-bank. From thence you come to the place called the *Four Pagodes*, and so to *Porto Novo*, or *Newhaven*, about four or five leagues from *Trangebar*. *Porto Novo.* At *Porto Novo* inhabit some *Portuguese*: their trade consists chiefly in a certain hard

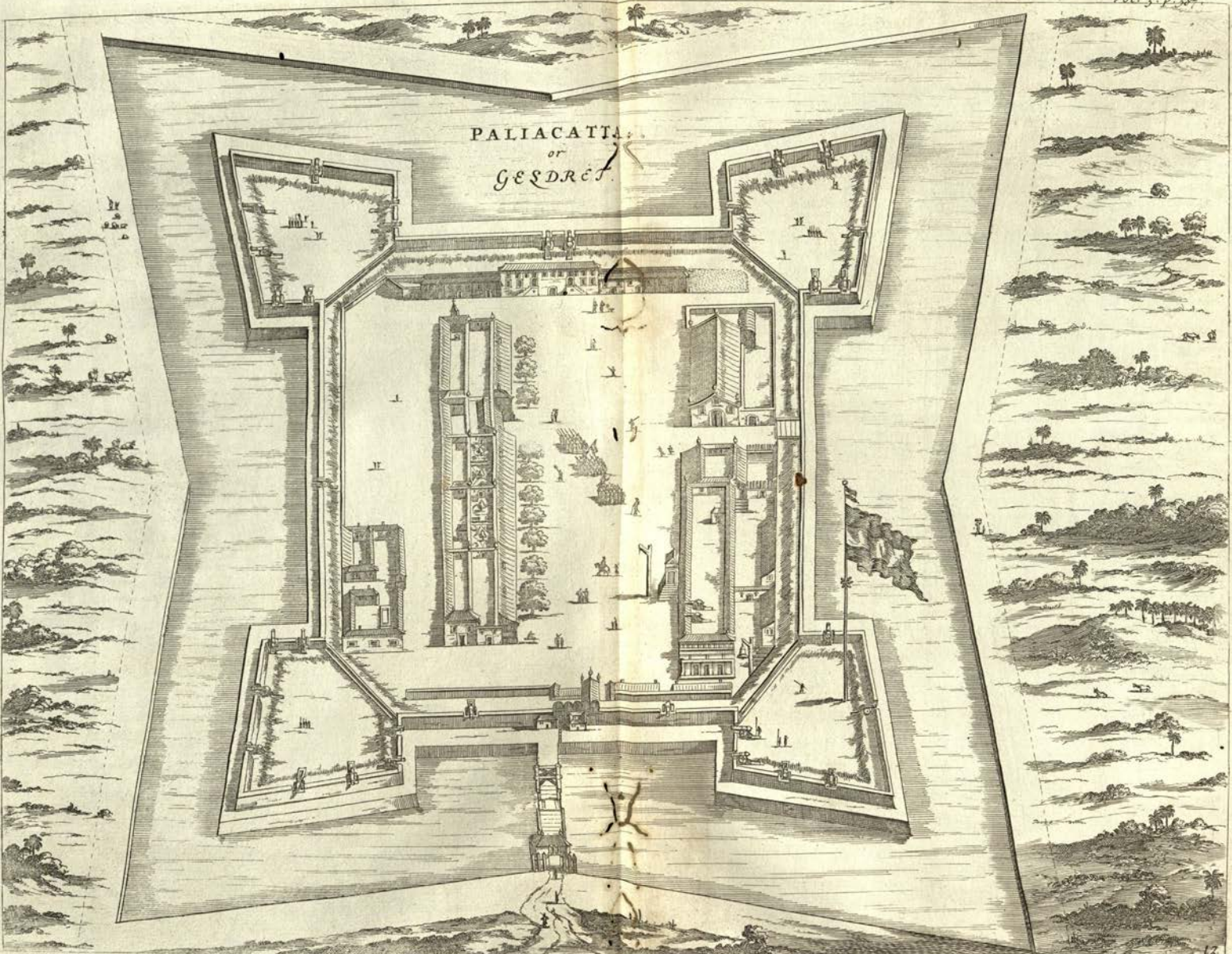
wood called *Hunter's-wood*, *Coco-nuts*, *Arek*, *Cair*, &c.

About a league from *Porto Novo* stands *Tegnapan.* *Tegnapan*, where the *Hollanders* have likewise a factory. Next to this lies *Tirepoplier*, upon a river which is navigable, *Tirepop-* within half a league of the *Dutch* factory. *lier.* The road lies at eleven degrees one fourth of northern latitude, having seventy seven fathom water, with a grey sandy ground, very fit for anchorage, not above a mile from the shore. There is safe riding at anchor here (as all along the coast of *Coromandel*) during the south *Mousson*, but very dangerous in the north *Mousson*. The castle of *Tirepoplier* is tolerably strong, according to the fashion of the *Gentives*. The factory formerly belonging to the *Dutch* was within the castle, where is also a stately large *Pagode*, with a high stone-tower flat at top, which serves the mariners for a guide. The mines of the old castle, belonging formerly to the *Portuguese*, upon an ascent near the sea-shore on the north-side of the river, are also seen a good way at sea. The country hereabouts is generally sandy, and sometimes rocky. *Tirepoplier* is under the jurisdiction of the *Cristappaneyk*, whose residence is at *Chengier*, about two days journey to the south of *Tirepoplier*.

The city of *Chengier* is very populous, *Chengier.* and three times as big as *Rotterdam*, seated in a most pleasant valley, near a delightful river, to the south of it: it is fortified with double stone-walls, and has four high rocks without, upon three of which are as many strong forts, and upon the fourth a *Pagode*. The first of these rocks is inclosed with a very strong wall, the second with four



PALACATTA  
or  
GESDRET





*Baldæus*. four walls, and the third with no less than seven, with as many gates all of stone, and kept by a considerable garrison; the ascents to the forts being cut out of the rock, and scarce accessible by reason of their steepness and straitness. On the top of these rocks are most delicious springs, fresh-water ponds, and gardens. Besides which there is another fortress upon an unaccessible rock without the city, commanding the avenues towards it on that side. The *Naike's* palace stands betwixt two of the before-mentioned rocks, most pleasantly situate, and well fortified. Great cannon are a kind of rarity here, and those few they have, (like those in the siege of *Negapatan*, 1658.) are made of long and broad bars of iron joined together with iron hoops; their bullets are of stone, and cut round.

The *Naike* was, at our first arrival in these parts, very obliging to our deputies, whom he treated very splendidly for fourteen days together: and after he had given them a full view of his prodigious wealth, consisting in most sumptuous apparel, silver, gold, and jewels, as also of his wives, concubines, and forces, both horse and foot, he dismiss'd them very honourably, upon the news of *Iteragio* being on his march against us.

The *Naike* being almost arrived to the age of dotage, one *Trinvingelaya* (who had emasculated himself) was administrator of the kingdom, a cruel and bloody-minded person, very covetous and implacable in his hatred, who, by his severity against criminals, had rendered the country free from robberies and pillages. This *Aya*, or administrator-general, was very urgent with our deputies to agree with him once for all for the yearly sum of one thousand eight hundred rixdollars in lieu of the customs, offering to us the government of *Tegnapatan*, the free exercise of the christian religion, and full power to rebuild the ruined castle of the *Portuguese*.

The country hereabouts abounds in rice, salt, fruits, and other eatables; notwithstanding which, by reason of the vast number of the inhabitants, they must be supply'd with provisions from abroad. Their chief commodities to be exported are linen and woollen stuffs, much in request among those of the *Moluques*, *Amboyna*, *Banda* and other *Malajan* places. But great care must be taken these stuffs agree with their patterns, especially in the goodness of the colour, wherein they are very deceitful. The commodities imported and exchanged here, are nutmegs, mace, pepper, sandalwood, *Chinese* silks, velvets, sattins, embroidered and wrought carpets of all sorts of colours, raw silks, *Patana* girdles, musk, cinnabar, quicksilver, (but no porcellain

or *Chinese* camphire,) brazain, tin, lead, *Baldæus*: copper, &c.

From *Tirepoplier* you go over *Poelezere*, *Poelemer*, and *Alembuc*, to *Sadrâspatan*, *Sadrâspatan* where the *Dutch* have a factory, and from thence to *Madraspatan*, otherwise *Cbinne-Madraspatan*, where the *English* have the fort of *St. George*, garrisoned with *Topatzes* and *Mistices*; and from whence they send their ships every year, as well as from *Surat*. *St. Thomas* is a city belonging to the *Portuguese*; *S. Thomas*; situate in *Maliapour*, at twenty three degrees one half northern latitude, about a days journey from *Paliacatta*; but taken from them about eight or nine years ago by the *Moors*. It is an ancient trading city, their chief traffick consisting in coloured stuffs, their weavers here being famous throughout the *Indies*, as well as their dyers: they are transported to *Malaga*, *Java*, the *Moluques*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, &c. The excellency and lastingness of their dying are attributed to a peculiar quality in their water, the springs whereof arise out of very white sandy ground, without the least mixture of clay.

*Paliacatta*, i. e. the *Old Fort* in the *Malabar* language, is seated at thirteen degrees twenty two minutes of northern latitude, five long leagues from *St. Thomas*. About six leagues into the country, in a direct line from the harbour of *Paliacatta*, you see a ridge of high mountains extending from south to north; on the southern part you see an interstice or valley, where in ancient time stood the castle of *Rama Geridorgon*; in lieu whereof was afterwards built the fort *Geldria*, where the *Dutch* governor keeps his residence. It is not very large, yet fortified with some bulworks, sufficient to resist the power of the neighbouring *Moors*. Mr. *Anthony Pavilion*, counsellor of the *Indies*, had at that time his residence there as governor, after Mr. *Cornelius Speelman*; and the garrison consisted of about eighty or ninety men. The road is very good at half a league from the shore, where you may ride safely at anchor at seven or eight fathom depth during the southern *Mousson*; but not in the northern *Mousson*, when the waves breaking forth with great violence out of the bay of *Bengale* and the *Ganges* against this shore, render anchorage very dangerous.

About three leagues and a half from the road is a certain sand-bank, extending from the river into the sea for a league together, where there is no anchorage within four and a half, or five fathoms water. Two leagues to the north is the point of *Sicerecourdi*; from whence jets out into the sea a sand-ridge for above two leagues and a half, near which there is no safe anchorage within six and a half

*Baldaus*. half or seven fathoms water. Near the bar there is from six to ten fathoms water in the south *Mousson* at high tide; but the boats or lighters that carry the merchandizes must keep under the southern shore, there being abundance of shelves under the northern shore. About a good cannon-shot within the mouth of the river, within reach of the castle is a good winter-road for the *Indian* ships. This river lies at least five leagues to the north-west into the country, by the city of *Armagon* and the forest of *Sicerecourdi*; from whence *Paliacatta* is furnished with wood for building and fuel, whereof there is great scarcity in the barren grounds round that city. A small brook runs also by the fort, where we used often to divert ourselves in boats.

The canal leading to *Paliacatta* is almost dry during the south *Mousson*; but overflows the country for two leagues round in the northern *Mousson*. The grounds about *Paliacatta* are very nitrous, sandy, and unfit to produce any thing in great quantity; which is the reason that they must be supply'd with most sorts of provisions (except fish, whereof they have plenty) from other places. The fortifications being built upon fenny grounds, which reach for four or five leagues round, have been often in danger of being swallowed up by the waters in the rainy season, and were therefore not maintained without vast charges. Under the cannon of the fort of *Geldria* lie two villages, one to the south, called *Diramanzy*, built upon a small isle, the other on the north-side within reach of a musket, called *Coupen*, and inhabited by christian fishermen, being converted to the christian faith in the time of the *Portuguese*.

We will now proceed to the kingdom of *Carnatica*, extending sixty *Badagarian* leagues (one whereof is equivalent to three *Dutch* miles) from south to north, and forty from *Paliacatta* to the coast of *Malabar*. In this country it was that the three *Naikes*, or chief lords of the crown of *Nelour*, keep their residence, who pay a certain yearly tribute to that crown, viz. the vitipanaïke of *Madure*, the king's bason-bearer, two hundred pagodes (each of which is worth six *Holland* guilders) *per annum*; the christapanaike of *Chengier*, the king's betel box-bearer, as many; and the naike of *Tanjouwer*, his umbrella-bearer, (who is lord of *Negapatan*,) four hundred *per annum*. These dignities being hereditary time out of mind, the countries of *Mardere*, *Chengier*, and *Tanjouwer* have been annexed to them, under condition of a yearly tribute, and are besides this obliged to give their personal attendance at the coronation of the lawful successor of the before-mentioned kingdom.

Further to the north (about a day's *Baldaus* voyage) from *Paliacatta*, lie *Penna* and *Caleture*, betwixt which places is found the best essaye-roots, which are also to be found in the isles near *Jafnapatan*: it is a small root no bigger than a little sprig of about a span in length, used by the dyers. The way to try its goodness, is to break it to pieces, and to see whether it be very red within, or else to chew a piece of it; and if you perceive a nitrous taste in it, it is very good. To try the true dye thereof upon callicoe's, you may squeeze some lemmon juice upon it, and let it dry in the sun; if it be not true it will change pale. There is also a five-cornered fruit, called carunbolle, the juice whereof being sharper than that of lemmons, is likewise made use of in trying the true dye of the essaye-colour. For this nation being very cunning in their way of dealing, oftentimes make use of a dye called *sordaco* instead of the essaye, and of the bark of a certain tree growing in *Orixa*; but may easily be distinguished by the colour, being somewhat darker than the true essaye, and if rubbed with water, will tinge it. They have a nice way of refining and trying the gold here; and the *Dutch* company coin abundance of golden pagodes here, with the king's stamp upon them. Abundance of nely, rice, gingely-seeds, oil, butter, coarse cloths, iron, honey, and yellow wax, is brought hither from *Orixa* and *Masulipatan*, the whole voyage thither and back again being commonly performed in four months. From hence to *Arracan*, *Pegu*, and *Tanassery*, you pay eight or ten *per cent.* for freight of pepper, sandalwood, stuffs, steel, and iron, and make your returns in gold, rubies of *Asia*, gummi-lacca, long white-pepper, lead, &c. Betwixt *Tanassery* and *Orceda*, towards *Malacca*, are the harbours of *Tamangan*, *Sencaza*, and *Perach*, opposite to *Achem*, whither they trade with vast profit, and bring back abundance of tin, a commodity much in request with the *Moors*, wherewith they tin their copper vessels.

*Petapouli* is situate at sixteen degrees of north latitude; as you sail east-and-east to the north towards this road, you see an isle at a league and a half distance, made by the north branch of the river covered with coco-trees, an infallible guide to the road, where at a league's distance from the shore, there is good anchorage at six fathom water in a sandy bottom. This is the securest harbour on all this coast during the north *Mousson*, by reason of a point of land jetting out for three leagues in the sea to the north of the isle, and enclosing as it were the road by a demi-circle; whereas in the south *Mousson*, the sea is very boisterous, and the waves very turbulent here.

The

The kingdom of Carnatica.

The three Naikes.





# The City of MASULIPATAM.





*Baldæus.* The bar of *Petapouli* has some shallows scarce passable but by small vessels. The city lies a league within the river, which is pretty large, and runs up into the country till it joins its waters with the river *Meca*.

*Petapouli* is of no great extent, inhabited by some *Moors* and *Persians* of note; but for the most part by *Gentives*, subjects of the king of *Golgonda*. As hereabouts grows a kind of essaye-colour, exceeding all the rest, called *Tambrevelle*, so the painted and dyed stuffs of *Petapouli* exceed even those of *Masulipatan*. The root grows like a small sprig of a foot long, the colour whereof is so deep that they are obliged to mix it with the essaye of *Arrical* and *Ortacour*, to make it the more lively. This essaye-root grows in the isle made by the river over-against the city, whereof the governor has the monopoly, and pays a certain yearly sum for it to the king; which, as it is paid most commonly in dyed stuffs and cloths, so he employs the weavers himself; and for that reason will not easily permit them to be sold to the merchants, (at least not without his consent,) who transport them from thence into *Persia*. Here good indigo is to be bought, but much dearer than at *Masulipatan*: from hence we also transport cotton-yarn, white stuffs, and several other commodities to *Holland*.

*Masulipatan.*

*Masulipatan* is a city seated near a large river, where the *English* and *Dutch* have their factories. It is very populous, and the residence of a governor, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the king of *Gol-*

*condar*, which he squeezes out of the inhabitants, especially the *Gentives*, who are forely oppressed by the *Persians* and *Moors* here, who farm all the weaving trade from the great persons; wherefore there is scarce any trafficking here with profit, unless you have a patent from the king, which is not easy to be obtained, because the governors (who pay one hundred and forty thousand pagodes of annual tribute to the king) constantly oppose it; and it is a difficult matter to approach the king (who keeps his court at a great distance thence,) without purchasing their favour, or some other great mens at court. For the rest, this city is a place of great traffick, where most of our commodities, as also those transported hither from the *Molucca's*, *China*, &c. are sold at a very good rate. Here is also a great concourse of merchants from *Cambaja*, *Suratte*, and other places under the jurisdiction of the *Great Mogul*, as also from *Goa*, *Orixa*, *Bengale*, and *Pegu*. Here is likewise a considerable traffick in diamonds and rubies: the first are digged in the kingdoms of *Golgonda* and *Decam*, near the city of *Bysilaga* beyond *Suratte*, each stone weighing above twenty five mangelies or carats, belonging to the king of *Bysilaga*, the rest to those that have farmed the mines. There is a certain mountain, called *Cotfa Vuyttbia*, in the country of *Decam*, which affords the choicest diamonds. *Borneo*, but especially the city of *Succadana*, are likewise very famous for diamonds.

CHAP. XXIV.

An Account of most Sorts of precious Stones, as Diamonds, Rubies, Smaragds, Saphirs, Amethists, Jaspers, Sardonicks, Agates, Granates, &c.

*The diamond.*

THE most noble of all precious stones is the diamond, called *Adâmas* by the *Greeks*, from *adâmas*  $\Theta$ , i. e. *impregnable*. *Pliny*, and others of the antient naturalists, being of opinion, that it is neither to be broken by the force of the hammer, nor penetrable by the violence of the fire; which however has since been sufficiently contradicted by experience, though the same is several times used in the same sense in the scripture.\* It is likewise called *Adamas* by the *Latins*, *Deamant* by the *Germans*, *Adamanto* by the *Spaniards*, *Almaes* by the *Arabians*, *Jutan* by the *Malajars*, and *Hiera* and *Jua* by the *Indosthans*. The beauty of a diamond consists in its hardness, transparency, and lustre; though to speak the truth, there are but few diamonds without some defects, which however pass current among

those who are no nice judges of it. Lead is reckon'd to be exactly three times as heavy as a polished diamond.

There is a certain kind of diamonds, called *Boschiers*, which are not by a third part so valuable as the rest, though sometimes they exceed for brightness all the other sorts; but if they incline to a reddish or yellow colour, they are not worth half so much, they being only valued according to the weight of the carats, without any multiplication. To try the goodness of a diamond you must cut one diamond with another; and if the powder thereof be of an ash-colour, it is right; but if white, otherwise; for all other precious stones except the diamond afford a white powder; and the more the powder of the diamond approaches to a grey, the more precious

*The goodness and value of the diamonds.*

\* Zech. vii. 12. Ezek. xlii. 9. Isa. xxxii. 13. Jer. vii. 1.

*Baldæus.* it is. They have another way of trying the diamonds, by making them red hot, and afterwards quenching them in cold fresh water; and if they do not crack, they are true and good. The true value of the best diamonds (provided they are clean, and of a just thickness) is computed thus: The just value of a good diamond, weighing a carat, (each whereof is equivalent to four grains,) is eighty gilders, or thirty two rix-dollars. Now to know the just value of one or two carats, you must multiply two with two, the product whereof being four, this must be multiplied with the value of a diamond of one carat, viz. eighty gilders, the product whereof amounts to three hundred and twenty gilders; so that according to this computation, a diamond of twenty carats is worth thirty two thousand gilders; and, according to the same proportion, one of an hundred carats, no less than eight hundred thousand gilders.

*The ruby.* The ruby, called *Rubinus*, or *Carbunculus* by the *Latins*, *Mamwikam* by the *Malayans*, *Battamora* by the *Siamese*, and *Laal* by the *Indosthans*: it will endure the fire for a considerable time. There are three several sorts of rubies; some are of a high-red and brilliant colour: those of a dark-red colour, though they carry a very fine lustre, yet are not so much valued as the former. The oriental rubies are called *Espinelles*; those of *Germany* are very hard, but inclining to a dark-brown, and therefore of less value, notwithstanding which they are true rubies. They seldom exceed the bigness of a good pea, and are very thin, and the stone-polishers make them thinner still, to increase their lustre. The *Espinelles* are of much brighter colour, but not so hard, and consequently of less or more value, in proportion to their hardness, some being as hard as a saphir.

*Their different kinds, daracha, but these false colours are soon discovered in the corners of the polished stones, which do not receive these colours. The oriental carbuncles are likewise of two different kinds; some are of a dark-brown colour, the others are bright, and carry lustre like fire; and these are the most precious. The rubies are appraised like the diamonds by carats, one, two, three, or more; with this difference, that the rubies, though of the same weight, are somewhat bigger in proportion than the diamonds, and without the least clouds, or other defects.*

*The emerald.* The smaragd, or emerald, called *Tamarul* by the *Arabians*, and *Fasche* by the *Indians*, is one of the precious stones, called *Σμαράγδος* by the *Greeks*, and *Esmarande* by the *French*. They are of three different kinds. *Scythia* and *Egypt* produce these

stones, as well as the *East Indies*. They endeavour to imitate them at *Paliacatta* and *Bisnagar* in glass. Those of *Scythia* are accounted the best; those of *Peru* are the next in goodness, of a dark-green colour, very hard, and more transparent than those of the *East Indies*. These last are harder than those of *Peru*, but much less regarded. Those of *Peru* are of a pale colour, and brittle. The general opinion is, That in case an emerald should be found excellent in all its parts, viz. in colour, shape, and transparency, it would be comparable to a diamond of the same bigness, nay, would even surpass it in value, by reason of its rarity.

The saphir is called *Mila* by the *Arabians*, and *Millam* by the *Malayans*. They are of two sorts: those of a dark-blue colour are the best; those of a pale colour resembling the diamonds, the worst. They are found in *Malabar*, *Calecut*, *Cananor*, in the kingdom of *Bisnagar*, in the isle of *Ceylon*; but *Siam* and *Pegu* produce the best.

The hyacinth, called *ῥάκινθος* by the *Greeks*, is a red stone, not unlike the carbuncle, but does not endure the fire. It is found in *Spain*. The jewellers sell sometimes the stone called *Ethiopsis* for a hyacinth: they are of two kinds; one red, the other inclining to a yellow.

The amethyst, called *ἀμέθυστος* by the *Greeks*, is of a purple colour; those that are found in the *East Indies* are preferred before the rest.

The *Jaspir*, so called by the *Latins*, and *ἰάσπις* by the *Greeks*, is of two different kinds; some being of a lovely green colour, like the emeralds, and of such a bigness, as to serve for materials for drinking-cups; some have the green mixed with white; some are of purple, others of a rose colour, with variety of flowers in them; others are dark-brown and blew, with white veins; some are marble on one, and jasper on the other side.

The sardis has got its name from *Sardia*, where it is frequently found, as well as in *Epirus*. There are three several kinds, and were by the antients distinguished into the male and female. That the sardis is different from the sardonick, is evident out of the holy scripture.\*

The *Sardonick*, called *Σαρδόνικος* by the *Greeks*, has got its name from *Sarda* and *Onyx*, or its resemblance to a human navel.

The *Agate* is found about *Suratte*, but is of no great value, unless it be curiously chequered with figures.

*Amber*, called *Succinum* by the *Latins*, *ἄμβρα* by the *Greeks*, and *Alambre* by the *Portugueses*, is a kind of a gum or resinous substance, found near *Koningsberg*, and some other places in *Prussia*; in great esteem among

*Their value.*

*The saphir.*

*The hyacinth.*

*The amethyst.*

*The jaspir found in China.*

*The sardis.*

\* Apoc. xxii. 20. Exod. xxviii. 17.

20. The sardonick.

The agate.

Amber.

*Baldæus.* and *September*, the ordinary rainy months here, which, together with the heat of the sun-beams, brings it to maturity, it being certain, that too much rain is pernicious to this shrub. Great care is to be taken that the grounds be well cleared from thorns and thistles. The buyers of indigo ought to be cautious how they buy it; for if it happen to be not very dry, they may lose three pound weight in ten in eight days time.

*The Indigo Laura.* The *Indigo Laura*, or *Indigo de Bayana*, is of three different sorts; the first crop is called *Voutby* by those of *Gufuratte*, the second *Gerry*, and the third *Catteel*. The first is cut in *October*, the second about the middle of *November*, and the third in *January*. The first is of a light blue colour, and held against the sun, and squeezed with the nail of the thumb, shews a violet colour. The second, called *Gerry*, the nearer it approaches to a violet colour, the more valuable it is. The third, called *Catteel*, is the worst of all, of a ruddy colour, and so hard as scarce to be broken to pieces.

*Tryal of the Indigo.* The goodness of the indigo is tried in the following manner; about nine or ten a-clock, in a clear sun-shiny morning, they take a piece or two, and after they have broken it in pieces, hold it against the sun, to see whether they can discover any sand in it: they also squeeze with their nails some of the colour out, which the nearer it comes to a violet, the better it is. They also try

it with water and fire: They throw a piece of indigo forty or fifty times successively into a cask filled with water; and the longer it swims upon the surface, the better it is deemed. They also cast a piece of indigo upon burning coals; and if the smoke or flame appear of a high violet colour, the indigo is good.

It is sowed in several places: the *Indigo Laura* about *Agra*; in *Fettapour*, twelve *Cos* from *Agra*; near the city of *Byana*, thirty *Cos* from *Agra*, (where is the best;) near the city of *Bassaune*, thirty eight *Cos* from *Agra*; near the city of *Kindowen*, forty *Cos* from *Agra*. The country people are obliged to carry their indigo into the next adjacent city.

Next to *Masulipatan* we must also say something of *Bimilipatan*, where the *Dutch* have had a factory a considerable time ago; and from thence, as well as most other parts of *Orisa*, transport abundance of rice, pease, and other provisions, into other parts. The whole country hereabouts enjoys a wholesome air, though in one place more than in the other: for though the heats are excessive, nay, almost intolerable, yet are the same in a great measure qualified by the cool sea-winds; so that the reason of the many distempers and pale countenances, which often attend the *Europeans* in those parts, is not so much to be attributed to the unhappiness of the climate, as to their own intemperance and debaucheries.

CHAP. XXV.

*The Manner of Living of the Hollanders in the East Indies: Their Use of Tea and Chocolate: Their ordinary Drink; Manner of Sleeping. A Description of the two Rivers, the Ganges and the Nile.*

*Manner of living of the Dutch.* AS the manner of living of the vulgar sort among the *Dutch* in the *East Indies* is none of the best, so we will be satisfied with giving an account of those of the better sort. They commonly rise with the sun, sleep after sun-rising being accounted very unwholesome here in the morning. Some have a custom of washing their heads, nay, the whole body with cold water, immediately after their coming out of bed; others do it with lake-warm water, three or four times a-week; the last of which I have found the best by experience. They commonly shift their linnen every day. Brandy, or any other strong liquors are not much used by the wiser sort in the morning, unless it be a spoonful just before dinner, and a little at night before they go to bed.

*The use of tea.* The tea (always used fasting by the *Chinese*) has got a mighty ascendant over the *Hollanders* of late years. The best grows in *China*, being a shrub, rising not very high

above-ground, especially in the province of *Kiangnan*, near the city of *Hocichieu*: the leaves are dried, rolled up, and preserved for use. Father *Martinus Martini*, in his *Chinese Atlas*, gives us the following account of the tea. The leaves are very like those of the *Rhus Coriaria*, called *Sumach* by the *Arabians*, and *ῥῖς* by the *Greeks*, of which it seems to be a species, though it does not grow wild, but is planted, being a shrub with small twigs. In the beginning of the summer it buds out a light-coloured blossom of an agreeable scent; after which come green buds that turn black at last. They take a leaf, and after they have warmed it in an iron pot with a gentle heat, they lay it upon a clean mat; and having well rolled it, put it again over the fire, till it be thoroughly dried, and twisted together; when they put it up in tin or leaden vessels, to preserve it from the moist air, which would soon corrupt it. The tea being of different sorts,

*Baldæus*, consequently bears a lower or higher price, according to its goodness. Its chief virtues are to disperse the gross vapours of the head and stomach, and consequently to exhilarate our spirits. The *Chineses*, as they are never troubled with the gout; so they attribute the same to the tea; and *Kircher* ascribes to it a diuretick quality. Its taste is somewhat bitterish, and not very agreeable at first; but well enough afterwards. The *Turks* tell us wonders of their *Cauwa*, or coffee, and the *Spaniards* of their chocolate; but it has been found by experience, that the first increases the gall, and the last inflames the blood; and nourishes too fast; whereas the tea is much more moderate in its nature; notwithstanding which its immoderate use hinders the concoction of the stomach, (especially if taken after dinner,) and too much dries up the moistures of the body; which is the reason the *Chineses* never take it after meals. The *Chinese* tea is, both in goodness and price, much superior to the *Japonesse*. I have found by experience that four or five cups of the extraction of the fresh leaves of the tea makes one light-headed; and I remember, when the best tea was sold at the rate of twenty four gilders per pound in *Holland*.

The ordinary drink of the *Hollanders* is a mixture of water and sugar boiled together. Some fill certain earthen vessels overnight with water, and add to it three or four glasses of *Spanish* wine, which, exposed together all night in the dew, turns white, and affords a pleasant liquor: but is a little too cool; for which reason some put a certain quantity of mum in the vessel. The *Brunswick* mum is both more pleasant and wholesome here than in *Europe*; the worst is, that it is excessive dear, a cask being sometimes sold from forty to one hundred rix-dollars. Among the wines, those of *Spain* are most in request: its true, they sometimes inflame the gall; but against that they make use of *Rubarb* and *Cremor* of *Tartar*. The *French* and *Rhenish* wines are not strong enough in these hot countries, where the stomach requires more lively cordials, as a little brandy, or a moderate share of canary. Their ordinary food is goats, sheep, fowl, hares, peacocks, and such like.

The *Hollanders* most generally take their afternoons sleep here, as the *Italians* and some other *Europeans* do in hot countries; a thing sufficiently commendable in the *Indies*, where the heat of the sun beams invites the inhabitants to pass away the middle of the day (when they are unfit for business) at their ease. They have also a constant custom of washing their mouths after dinner. About three or four a clock in the afternoon they take their tea, and after that a walk; the evenings and nights being pretty cool and very pleasant here, especially when the moon shines. They

sup commonly about seven or eight a clock, *Baldæus*: but very moderately, and go to sleep about ten or eleven upon quilts, feather-beds being not used in the *Indies*: but care must be taken to cover well your belly, hips and legs, for fear of the cramp, especially if you lie exposed to the open air in moon-shiny nights, the neglect of which often proves fatal to the soldiers and seamen, after they have heated themselves with arrak, or other strong liquors.

Thus much of the manner of living of the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*: concerning the different clans or families of the *Indians*, the manner of living; austerity and prerogatives of the *Brabmans*, their *Vedam* fasts, marriages, feasts, burials, Mr. *Abraham Rogerius* has given so exact an account, that it would be needless to repeat them here. The foundation, strength, and magnificence of their *Pagodés*, especially of those dedicated to *Wishnou* and *Eswara*, with their revenues and idols, are likewise most exactly described by the same author: and among other things, that their *Pagodés* have no other light but what they receive through a hole on the top; that they are divided into three several vaults, supported by stone pillars; the first whereof stands open to all goers and comers; the second has two strong doors, which are kept open in the day-time, and guarded by a certain number of *Brabmans*; the third part is always kept close, being the residence of the idol, before which hang lamps, which never cease to burn. But of the religious worship of the inhabitants of *Coromandel*, *Malabar*, and *Ceylon*, we shall treat more at large in the third part of this treatise.

And since we have had occasion to speak so much of the places between the rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, commonly known by the name of *India* on this side the *Ganges*, we must also say something concerning these two rivers. The *Ganges* exonerates it self into the sea of *Bengale*, called otherwise *Sinus Gangeticus* and *Sinus Argaricus* by *Ptolemy*, dividing the most easterly part of the *Indies* from the western parts; the first whereof comprehend *Bengale*, *Aracan*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, &c. According to the opinion of *St. Austin*, *St. Jerom*, *Ambrose*, and many others of the ancient fathers, the *Ganges* is the same which is in the holy scripture called *Pison*; but *Cornelius a Lapide* has sufficiently demonstrated that *Pison* cannot be the river *Ganges*, no more than *Gibon* the *Nilus*. The general opinion is, That the source of the *Ganges* is in the mount *Caucasus*, as those of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are in the *Armenian* mountains; and that of the *Nile* among the *Mountains of the Moon*, near the cape of *Good Hope*, on the *African* coast; though father *Kircher* puts the original rise of the *Nile* in the country of *Agæos* near *Sagetz*

Feather-beds not use in the Indies.

What sort of drink is most proper for the Indies.

The river Ganges.

*Baldæus*. *Sagela*, bordering upon the kingdom of *Gojam*. The source arises in a plain on the very top of the mountain, surrounded with delightful trees; but does not gather into a rivulet till at the foot of the said mountain; and being augmented by the accession of divers other brooks, gathers into a lake of thirty leagues in length, and fourteen in breadth. From hence it pursues its course, and by various turnings and windings returns near the place of its source, whence passing through the rocks and precipices, it continues its course into the middle of *Ethiopia*. \* *Isaac Vossius* derives the rise of the *Nile* out of *Goyome*, a province of the *Abyssines*, and says, that among other titles that king makes use of this, *King of Goyome, where the Nile has its rise*. The ancient *Egyptians* had so great a veneration for the *Nile*, that they bestowed the title of the arm of *Osiris* upon it: for as the pagans numbered the rest of the elements among the gods, so they had no less opinion of the waters, especially in the great rivers. Hence it is that the inhabitants near the *Ganges* call it the heavenly river; and are of opinion, that the waters of that river cleanse them from their sins; nay, those of *Bengale* are so superstitious in this point, as to carry their sick and dying friends to this river, where they lay them up to the middle in water: and for such as have no opportunity or strength to be carry'd thither, they are persuaded, that if they wash themselves with any other water, and at the same time think upon the said river, saying, *Ganges, purify me*, they shall be cleansed from their sins. † *Servius* observes, that it was the general opinion of the heathens, that the water would cleanse them from their sins: which seems to agree with what is related of *Pilate* \*, and of the *Pharisees* and *Jews* in general. The *Mabometans* are, to this day, not free from that superstition; the water of the *Ganges* being sold among them in bottles at a very good price, as we do our spaw-waters; and they pay a considerable custom for it.

\* L. ii. c. 7. *Egyptii habent O- fia Nili Ethiopes autem ejus montes.*

† Annot. in lib. vi. *Ercid.*

\* Mat. xxvii. 24. xxv. 26. Mark. vii. 3.

Hence it is, that the *Persians* look upon it as a crime to do one's need into the river, or to throw carrion into it, nay, even to spit into it; and that they have attributed such

surprising qualities to the waters of many rivers. When the water of the *Nile* is carried, in order to be sacrificed upon the altar, the people pay their reverence to the vessel that contains it, by prostrating themselves upon the ground in the same manner as the *Malabars* do to the water of *Rameswara*, near the *Pagode*, called *Ramanakoyel*, to which they attribute likewise a peculiar virtue of purging them from their sins.

*Kircher* puts the source of the river *Ganges* in the mount *Thebeth*, where, he says, is a large sea, whence arise the four capital rivers of *India*, viz. the *Indus*, *Ganges*, *Ravi*, and *Atbec*. The *Indian* pagans deduce its origin from *Dewendre*, or the heavens; from whence it descends into the *Dewendre Locon*, or sublunary world; and thence into the earth, as may be seen in the before-said *Abraham Rogerius*. They farther believe, that if they cast the bones of their deceased friends into the *Ganges*, their souls will enjoy the bliss of *Dewendre* for as many thousand years as the bones remain single years in that river; it being their opinion, That though this water has not the power to introduce them to future bliss, yet it is a guide to heaven through the seven sublunary worlds, which they believe every one must pass through before he can enter the heavens. They have each its proper name, but are comprehended under one general name, viz. *Dewendre Locon*; and among them, that of *Bramma Locon*, or the place where *Bramma* governs, is next to heaven; and none are suffered to enter there, except such as are passed from heaven to the earth; and thence again through the before-mentioned sublunary worlds. It is beyond all doubt, that many, both among the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, have assigned certain places for the souls to dwell in, besides heaven and hell; in which they are imitated by the purgatory-mongers, and such as believe a separate place for the antient fathers and innocent children.

Before the river *Ganges* puts a stop to our voyage, and the description of the places mentioned in this treatise, we must add something concerning the *Malabar* language.

A S H O R T  
 I N T R O D U C T I O N  
 T O T H E  
 M A L A B A R Language.

*Baldæus.* **T**HE *Malabars* write upon the leaves of the wild palm-trees with iron pencils; their letters are very ancient, and distinguished into, (1.) *Short or running letters*; (2.) *Long ones*; (3.) *Vowels*; (4.) *Consonants*; (5.) *Diphthongs*; (6.) *Letters used only in the beginning of a word*; (7.) *Such as are used only in the middle*; and (8.) *Such as are used only in the end*; as will more clearly appear out of the annexed cuts. And seeing that the *Malabar* letters have hitherto not appeared in publick print, either in *Holland* or *Germany*, it will not be amiss to alledge the reasons thereof, and to shew that this language is no less worth our care now-a-days, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldean*, *Arabian*, *Persian*, *Samaritan*, and other languages.

The main reason why the *Malabar* language has remained so long unknown to us, is, because that country was not conquered by the *Dutch* company till in the years 1661, 1662, 1663. from the *Portuguese*; and it is not their custom to send any ministers into those places, where they are not sovereign masters. 'Tis true, I assisted at the sieges of *Coulang*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, &c. and, 1658. at the sieges of *Tutecoryn*, *Manaar*, *Jasnapatnam*, and *Negapatan*; but was immediately after ordered to *Psepbina* in the kingdom of *Jasnapatnam*, where I had the oversight over twenty four churches. During the space of near four years, that I staid here alone, I was sensible what obstacle the ignorance of the native language was to my good intentions; for though many of the christians here were well enough versed in the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* languages, yet some belonging to the more remote churches, who had been but slenderly instructed in the principles of the christian religion by the *Roman*

missionaries were strangely at a loss till I *Baldæus.* got a good interpreter, who being well skilled, both in his mother-tongue, the *Malabar*, and the *Portuguese* languages, did me great services for eight years together. His name was *Francis*; and it was chiefly with his assistance; that the fundamental points of our religion, being comprehended in a small treatise, were translated out of the *Portuguese* into the *Malabar* language, which has been since printed, 1671. at *Rotterdam*, by *John Borstius*. The multiplicity of business in so weighty a concern as the salvation of souls, having been no small hindrance in encompassing so difficult a language as the *Malabar*, I was forced to be contented with what part thereof I could attain, and those few intervals of time I had left, whereof I have given some specimens in the following pages and cuts. I cannot upon this occasion pass by in silence the considerations which might induce us to propagate the *Malabar* language with more care, than has been done hitherto; it being certain, that if our religious worship could be firmly established in those parts, (whereof the knowledge of the language is one of the chief means,) it would be very instrumental to reconcile not only many of the inhabitants, but also even of the *Indian* princes themselves to our interest; a piece of policy well understood by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, when he introduced the *Roman* catholic religion by the help of the jesuits in the *Indies*.

*I rest your Servant and Friend in  
 Jesus Christ,*

*Geervliet, July 21.  
 1671.*

PHILIP BALDÆUS.





# A Short Orthography of the MALABAR LANGUAGE.

The Malabars Commonly write upon the Leaves of Palm trees, with Iron Pencils, Their Letters are distinguished thus (1) some are accounted short (2) others long. (3) some are Vowels which they call Letters of life, because they give life to the Consonants. (4) some Consonants which they call Deadly letters, because the vowels are their sound and life. (5) others they call Mixed Letters, the same with our Diphthongs, composed of two Vowels, (6) some are called Initiall letters, used in the beginning of a word (7) some only in the middle, (8) and some in the end of a word.

The following are the Vowels

|    |        |              |    |
|----|--------|--------------|----|
| അ  | ana    | a short      | a  |
| അറ | arana  | a long       | á  |
| ഇ  | ina    | a short      | i  |
| ഇറ | yana   | a long       | í  |
| ഉ  | una    | a short      | u  |
| ഉറ | urana  | a long       | ú  |
| എ  | ena    | a short      | e  |
| എറ | cana   | a long       | é  |
| ഈ  | ayana  | a diphthong  | ay |
| ഊ  | ona    | a short      | o  |
| ഊറ | orana  | a long       | ó  |
| ഋ  | urana  | a diphthong  | au |
| ഠ  | aquana | ae           | ae |
| ഡ  | ai     | ai diphthong | ei |

Consonants, united with the Vowels, make a Syllable short.

|     |          |      |           |      |
|-----|----------|------|-----------|------|
| ക   | cana     | ca   | short     | ca   |
| കറ  | carana   | ca   | long      | ca   |
| കി  | quina    | qui  | short     | qui  |
| കിറ | quyana   | qui  | long      | qui  |
| കു  | cuna     | cu   | short     | cu   |
| കുറ | cuvana   | cu   | long      | cu   |
| കേ  | quena    | que  | short     | que  |
| കേറ | qucana   | que  | long      | que  |
| കൈ  | cayana   | cay  | diphthong | cay  |
| കോ  | cena     | co   | short     | co   |
| കോറ | corana   | co   | long      | co   |
| കോൺ | cayana   | cay  | diphthong | cay  |
| ക   | iquana   | ig   |           | ig   |
| കറ  | ngana    | ngna | short     | ngna |
| കിറ | ngarana  | ngna | long      | ngna |
| കി  | ngina    | ngni | short     | ngni |
| കിറ | ngiyana  | ngni | long      | ngni |
| കു  | nguna    | ngnu | short     | ngnu |
| കുറ | ngurana  | ngnu | long      | ngnu |
| കു  | ngnena   | ngne | short     | ngne |
| കുറ | ngnana   | ngne | long      | ngne |
| കു  | ngayana  | ngay | diphthong | ngay |
| കോ  | ngona    | ngna | short     | ngna |
| കോറ | ngorana  | ngno | long      | ngno |
| കോൺ | ngaurana | ngau | diphthong | ngau |
| ക   | ingnana  | ngu  |           | ngu  |

|     |          |      |           |      |
|-----|----------|------|-----------|------|
| ച   | chana    | ch   | short     | cha  |
| ചറ  | charana  | cha  | long      | cha  |
| ചി  | china    | chi  | short     | chi  |
| ചിറ | chivana  | chi  | long      | chi  |
| ചു  | chuna    | chu  | short     | chu  |
| ചുറ | churana  | chu  | long      | chu  |
| ചേ  | chena    | che  | short     | che  |
| ചേറ | cheyana  | chey | diphthong | chey |
| ചോ  | chona    | cho  | short     | cho  |
| ചോറ | chorana  | cho  | long      | cho  |
| ചോൺ | chaurana | chau | diphthong | chau |
| ച   | ichana   | ch   |           | ch   |
| ച   | nhana    | nh   | short     | nha  |
| ചറ  | nharana  | nh   | long      | nha  |
| ചി  | nhina    | nhi  | short     | nhi  |
| ചിറ | nhivana  | nhi  | long      | nhi  |
| ചു  | nhuna    | nhu  | short     | nhu  |
| ചുറ | nhurana  | nhu  | long      | nhu  |
| ചേ  | nhena    | nhe  | short     | nhe  |
| ചേറ | nhayana  | nhey | diphthong | nhey |
| ചോ  | nhona    | nho  | short     | nho  |
| ചോറ | nhorana  | nho  | long      | nho  |
| ചോൺ | nhaurana | nhau | diphthong | nhau |
| ച   | inhana   | nh   |           | nh   |
| ച   | ra       | ra   | short     | ra   |
| ചറ  | rarana   | ra   | long      | ra   |
| ചി  | rina     | ri   | short     | ri   |
| ചിറ | rivana   | ri   | long      | ri   |
| ചു  | runa     | ru   | short     | ru   |
| ചുറ | rurana   | ru   | long      | ru   |
| ചേ  | rena     | re   | short     | re   |
| ചേറ | revana   | re   | long      | re   |

|   |         |     |           |     |
|---|---------|-----|-----------|-----|
| ര | ravana  | ra  | diphthong | rau |
| ര | rona    | ro  | short     | ro  |
| ര | rovana  | ro  | long      | ro  |
| ര | raurana | rau | diphthong | rau |
| ര | irana   | ri  |           | ri  |
| ര | hana    | ha  | short     | ha  |
| ര | harana  | ha  | long      | ha  |
| ര | hina    | hi  | short     | hi  |
| ര | hivana  | hi  | long      | hi  |
| ര | huna    | hu  | short     | hu  |
| ര | hurana  | hu  | long      | hu  |
| ര | hona    | ho  | short     | ho  |
| ര | horana  | ho  | long      | ho  |
| ര | haurana | hau | diphthong | hau |
| ര | havana  | ha  |           | ha  |
| ര | havana  | ha  | short     | ha  |
| ര | harana  | ha  | long      | ha  |
| ര | hivana  | hi  | short     | hi  |
| ര | hivana  | hi  | long      | hi  |
| ര | huna    | hu  | short     | hu  |
| ര | hurana  | hu  | long      | hu  |
| ര | hena    | he  | short     | he  |
| ര | harana  | ha  | diphthong | ha  |
| ര | hona    | ho  | short     | ho  |
| ര | horana  | ho  | long      | ho  |
| ര | haurana | hau | diphthong | hau |
| ര | hana    | ha  |           | ha  |
| ര | tana    | ta  | short     | ta  |
| ര | tarana  | ta  | long      | ta  |
| ര | tina    | ti  | short     | ti  |
| ര | tivana  | ti  | long      | ti  |
| ര | tuna    | tu  | short     | tu  |
| ര | turana  | tu  | long      | tu  |
| ര | tena    | te  | short     | te  |
| ര | teana   | te  | long      | te  |
| ര | terana  | ter | diphthong | ter |
| ര | tona    | to  | short     | to  |
| ര | torana  | to  | long      | to  |
| ര | turana  | tau | diphthong | tau |
| ര | itana   | t   |           | t   |

These are Initial Letters called by them *Keyelutu*.

These are Consonants.

|   |        |    |    |      |    |
|---|--------|----|----|------|----|
| ക | cana   | c  | ka | mana | m  |
| ന | nayana | ng | ya | yana | y  |
| ച | chana  | ch | ra | ra   | rr |
| ന | nhana  | nh | la | la   | l  |
| ര | irana  | ri | ra | ra   | u  |
| ര | hana   | ha | ra | ra   | ra |
| ത | tana   | t  | ra | ra   | f  |
| ന | nana   | n  | ra | ra   | r  |
| ന | pana   | p  | ra | ra   | u  |

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The following are the Vowels

|   |        |              |    |
|---|--------|--------------|----|
| അ | ana    | a short      | a  |
| അ | avana  | a long       | à  |
| ഇ | ina    | a short      | i  |
| ഇ | yana   | a long       | í  |
| ഉ | una    | a short      | u  |
| ഉ | urana  | a long       | ú  |
| എ | ena    | a short      | e  |
| എ | cana   | a long       | é  |
| ഏ | avana  | a diphthong  | av |
| ഐ | ovana  | a long       | ó  |
| ഔ | aurana | au diphthong | au |
| ഓ | ai     | ai diphthong | ai |

These are Initial Letters called by them *Taleyelutu*.

These are Consonants.

|   |        |    |   |      |    |
|---|--------|----|---|------|----|
| ക | cana   | c  | ക | mana | m  |
| ന | nayana | ng | ന | yana | y  |
| ച | chana  | ch | ര | rana | rr |
| ഹ | nhana  | nh | ല | lana | l  |
| റ | rana   | r  | വ | vana | v  |
| ഹ | hnana  | hn | ട | tana | t  |
| ന | nana   | n  | ര | rana | r  |
| പ | yana   | p  | ബ | nana | n  |

Consonants united with the Vowels, make a Syllable short.

|   |           |           |   |          |          |
|---|-----------|-----------|---|----------|----------|
| ക | cana      | ca        | ക | chana    | cha      |
| ക | carana    | ca lang   | ക | churana  | chu      |
| ക | quana     | qui       | ക | chena    | che      |
| ക | quirana   | qui lang  | ക | cheana   | che lang |
| ക | cuna      | cu        | ക | cherana  | cher     |
| ക | curana    | cu lang   | ക | chona    | cho      |
| ക | quena     | que       | ക | chorana  | cho lang |
| ക | quiana    | qui lang  | ക | chaurana | chau     |
| ക | cavana    | cav       | ക | ichana   | ch       |
| ക | cena      | ce        | ക | nhana    | nha      |
| ക | corana    | co lang   | ക | nhirana  | nhá      |
| ക | caurana   | cau       | ക | nhuna    | nhi      |
| ക | iquana    | q         | ക | nhirana  | nhi lang |
| ക | ngana     | nga       | ക | nhuna    | nhi lang |
| ക | ngarana   | nga lang  | ക | nhena    | nhe      |
| ക | ngina     | ngi       | ക | nhiana   | nhe lang |
| ക | ngiana    | ngi lang  | ക | nhayana  | nhay     |
| ക | ngana     | nga       | ക | nhona    | nho      |
| ക | ngurana   | ngur      | ക | nhirana  | nho lang |
| ക | ngnana    | ngn       | ക | nhaurana | nhau     |
| ക | ngnana    | ngne      | ക | inhana   | nh       |
| ക | ngnana    | ngne lang | ക | rana     | ra       |
| ക | ngnavana  | ngnav     | ക | rarana   | ra lang  |
| ക | ngnana    | ngna      | ക | rana     | ri       |
| ക | ngnana    | ngne      | ക | riyana   | ri lang  |
| ക | ngnorana  | ngno      | ക | rana     | ra       |
| ക | ngnaurana | ngnau     | ക | curana   | ru lang  |
| ക | ingnana   | ngu       | ക | rena     | re       |
|   |           |           | ക | riana    | re lang  |

|   |          |                |      |
|---|----------|----------------|------|
| ക | chana    | cha short      | cha  |
| ക | chirana  | cha lang       | chá  |
| ക | china    | chi short      | chi  |
| ക | chirana  | chi lang       | chí  |
| ക | chuna    | chu short      | chu  |
| ക | churana  | chu lang       | chú  |
| ക | chena    | che short      | che  |
| ക | cheana   | che lang       | ché  |
| ക | cherana  | cher diphthong | cher |
| ക | chona    | cho short      | cho  |
| ക | chorana  | cho lang       | chó  |
| ക | chaurana | chau diphthong | chau |
| ക | ichana   | ch             |      |
| ക | nhana    | nha short      | nha  |
| ക | nhirana  | nha lang       | nhá  |
| ക | nhuna    | nhi short      | nhi  |
| ക | nhirana  | nhi lang       | nhi  |
| ക | nhuna    | nhi short      | nhi  |
| ക | nhurana  | nhi lang       | nhi  |
| ക | nhena    | nhe short      | nhe  |
| ക | nhiana   | nhe lang       | nhe  |
| ക | nhayana  | nhay diphthong | nhay |
| ക | nhona    | nho short      | nho  |
| ക | nhirana  | nho lang       | nho  |
| ക | nhaurana | nhau diphthong | nhau |
| ക | inhana   | nh             |      |
| ക | rana     | ra short       | ra   |
| ക | rarana   | ra lang        | râ   |
| ക | rana     | ri short       | ri   |
| ക | riyana   | ri lang        | rî   |
| ക | rana     | ra short       | ra   |
| ക | curana   | ru lang        | rú   |
| ക | rena     | re short       | re   |
| ക | riana    | re lang        | rê   |

|   |          |                 |       |
|---|----------|-----------------|-------|
| ര | avana    | ava diphthong   | av    |
| ര | ovana    | o short         | ó     |
| ര | ovana    | o long          | ó     |
| ര | aurana   | au diphthong    | au    |
| ര | irana    | i               |       |
| ര | hnana    | hn short        | hn    |
| ര | hnirana  | hn lang         | hná   |
| ര | hnina    | hni short       | hni   |
| ര | hnirana  | hni lang        | hní   |
| ര | hnuna    | hnu short       | hnu   |
| ര | hnurana  | hnu lang        | hnú   |
| ര | hncna    | hnc short       | hnc   |
| ര | hncana   | hnc lang        | hncá  |
| ര | hncayana | hncay diphthong | hncay |
| ര | hnona    | hno short       | hno   |
| ര | hnorana  | hno lang        | hnó   |
| ര | hnaurana | hnau diphthong  | hnau  |
| ര | hnana    | hn              |       |
| ര | tana     | ta short        | ta    |
| ര | tavana   | ta lang         | tâ    |
| ര | tina     | ti short        | ti    |
| ര | tirana   | ti lang         | tî    |
| ര | tuna     | tu short        | tu    |
| ര | turana   | tu lang         | tú    |
| ര | tena     | te short        | te    |
| ര | teana    | te lang         | tê    |
| ര | teyana   | tey diphthong   | tey   |
| ര | tena     | te short        | te    |
| ര | teana    | te lang         | tê    |
| ര | taurana  | tau diphthong   | tau   |
| ര | itana    | t               |       |

Our Father in Malabar language & Characters

பாணநக ளீடுருக  
 கீரநக ளீடுருக  
 உணனுடையநாமம்  
 னலொருருகதம  
 ரகஉணனுடைய  
 ராசச்யம்வா. உணம  
 னாதனபடவாண  
 ரகளவாணததசெ  
 யயமாபபொஸ்ய  
 மயிலுமளலொரு

ருசெயய. உணர்ண  
 உளளநக ளீடுருக  
 பமளநக ளீடுருக  
 னவதாநக ளீடுருக  
 னைழகடனகாரருக  
 குநாநக ளீடுருக  
 கருமரபபொஸ்ய  
 யமெநக ளீடுருக  
 னபாஅக  
 னுயிலுமளலொரு

கடனக ளீடுருக  
 உளநக ளீடுருக  
 லிதநக ளீடுருக  
 ளீட்டாகெநக  
 கருப்பொலலாநக  
 வாராமலலிடு  
 உதெணனுடைய  
 யடுராசச்யம்வா.  
 லமமமொககீழம  
 யபபொதமுண  
 லாஅதாச. ஆமெ  
 னுயிலுமளலொரு

the Creed in the Malabar  
 வானமுமபயம்  
 படைததசவதது  
 கருமவலலிதா  
 னாகமலிராணய  
 லிசகவதிககீடுரு  
 உணனுடையமக  
 ருயணநமமுடைய  
 னுயிலுமளலொரு

பாயணடுசெசுககிர  
 சீததையெலிசசு  
 தககீடுருக  
 ததமாணடுசீப  
 ததுலிணலசச  
 துககணலரிப  
 லியிலநநவபிர  
 னாணபொருசு  
 லிளாததனகீ  
 பாடுபடடுகரு  
 லெயுறையண  
 கீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக

வானபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக

பாகதலைடுருக  
 னாஅலிடநத  
 ளீடுருக  
 கருமநடுதத  
 வானசுதமா  
 சீபரிதது  
 யலிசசு  
 ததொலிகக  
 சுததமா  
 சுயருக  
 ரகளக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ககீடுருக  
 பாஅதத  
 தவாகள  
 லுமளலொரு  
 குமள  
 ம  
 சுயதக  
 னாணபாநா  
 ளீடுருக

na na short na  
 návana ná lang ná  
 nina ni short ni  
 nívana ní lang ní  
 nuna nú short nu  
 návana nú lang nú  
 nena ne short ne  
 névana ne lang né  
 neyvana ney diphth: ney  
 nona no short no  
 nóvana nó lang nó  
 nauvana nau diphth: nau  
 inana n.

pa pa short pa  
 pávana pá lang pá  
 pina pi short pi  
 pívana pí lang pí  
 puna pu short pu  
 pavana pu lang pu  
 pena pe short pe  
 pévana pe lang pé  
 peyvana pey diphth: pey  
 pona po short po  
 póvana pó lang pó  
 pauvana pau diphth: pau  
 ipana p.

va va short va  
 vavana va lang va  
 vina vi short vi  
 vívana ví lang ví  
 vuna vu short vu  
 návana vu lang náv  
 vena ve short ve  
 vévana ve lang vé  
 veyvana vey diphth: vey

yona yo short yo  
 yavana yo lang yo  
 yauvana yau diphth: yau  
 yana y.

ra ra short ra  
 rávana rá lang rá  
 rina ri short ri  
 rívana rí lang rí  
 runa ru short ru  
 rúvana rú lang rú  
 rena re short re  
 révana ré lang ré  
 reyvana rey diphth: rey  
 rona ro short ro  
 róvana ró lang ró  
 rauvana rau diphth: rau  
 irana r.

la la short la  
 lávana lá lang lá  
 lina li short li  
 lívana lí lang lí  
 luna lu short lu  
 lúvana lú lang lú  
 lena le short le  
 lévana lé lang lé  
 leyvana ley diphth: ley  
 lona lo short lo  
 lóvana ló lang ló  
 laurana lau diphth: lau  
 ilana l.

va va short va  
 vavana va lang va  
 vina vi short vi  
 vívana ví lang ví

ru ru short ru  
 rúvana rú lang rú  
 rena re short re  
 révana ré lang ré  
 reyvana rey diphth: rey  
 rona ro short ro  
 róvana ró lang ró  
 rauvana rau diphth: rau  
 urana u.

la la short la  
 lávana lá lang lá  
 lina li short li  
 lívana lí lang lí  
 luna lu short lu  
 lúvana lú lang lú  
 lena le short le  
 lévana lé lang lé  
 leyvana ley diphth: ley  
 lona lo short lo  
 lóvana ló lang ló  
 laurana lau diphth: lau  
 ilana l.

la la short la  
 lávana lá lang lá  
 lina li short li  
 lívana lí lang lí  
 luna lu short lu  
 lúvana lú lang lú  
 lena le short le  
 lévana lé lang lé  
 leyvana ley diphth: ley  
 lona lo short lo  
 lóvana ló lang ló  
 laurana lau diphth: lau  
 ilana l.

rana ra short ra  
 rávana rá lang rá  
 rina ri short ri  
 rívana rí lang rí  
 runa ru short ru  
 rúvana rú lang rú  
 rena re short re  
 révana ré lang ré  
 reyvana rey diphth: rey  
 rona ro short ro  
 róvana ró lang ró  
 rauvana rau diphth: rau  
 irana r.

na na short na  
 návana ná lang ná  
 nina ni short ni  
 nívana ní lang ní  
 nuna nu short nu  
 návana nú lang nú  
 nena ne short ne  
 névana ne lang né  
 neyvana ney diphth: ney  
 nona no short no  
 nóvana nó lang nó  
 nauvana nau diphth: nau  
 inana n.

ma ma short ma  
 mávana má lang má  
 mina mi short mi  
 mívana mí lang mí  
 mana mu short mu  
 návana mú lang náv  
 mena me short me  
 mévana mé lang mé  
 meyvana mey diphth: mey  
 mona mo short mo  
 nóvana mó lang nó  
 mauvana mau diphth: mau  
 unana m.



## Some Rules for the attaining the Knowledge of the Malabar Language.

*Baldæus.* **T**HE first declension among the Malabars comprehends the nouns only of the Masculine Gender which terminate in the singular number in *n*, and in the plural in *r*. They have their singular and plural numbers like us, and name their cases as follows.

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| The Nominative | <i>Pradamei,</i> |
| Genitive       | <i>Dutiei,</i>   |
| Dative         | <i>Tritei,</i>   |
| Accusative     | <i>Chadurii,</i> |
| Vocative       | <i>Panchami,</i> |
| Ablative       | <i>Xasti.</i>    |

*An Example of the first Declension.*

|            |                                            |
|------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | <i>Vanar,</i> fullor, the fullor of cloth, |
| Gen.       | <i>Vananureja,</i> the fullor,             |
| Dat.       | <i>Vananucû,</i> to the fullor,            |
| Accus.     | <i>Vananer,</i> the fullor,                |
| Vocat.     | <i>Vanano,</i> O you fullor,               |
| Ablat.     | <i>Vananiratil,</i> of the fullor.         |

It is observed that they have four sorts of ablative cases.

1. The *Localis*, as the last mentioned,
2. *Causalis*, *vananale*, because of the fullor,
3. *Socialis*, *vananore*, with the fullor,
4. *Comparationis*, *vanamil*, in comparison with the fullor.

|            |                                                                    |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Plur. Nom. | <i>Vanar,</i> fullones, the fullors,                               |
| Gen.       | <i>Vananareja,</i> the fullors,                                    |
| Dat.       | <i>Vanarcul,</i> <i>vanaruccu,</i> to the fullors,                 |
| Accu.      | <i>Vanarei,</i> the fullors,                                       |
| Voc.       | <i>Vanare,</i> O ye fullors,                                       |
| Abl.       | 1. <i>Vanar iratil,</i> <i>vanar iratile,</i> of the fullors,      |
|            | 2. <i>Vannaral,</i> <i>vanarale,</i> because of the fullors,       |
|            | 3. <i>Vanarore,</i> <i>vanarorum,</i> with the fullors,            |
|            | 4. <i>Vanaril,</i> <i>vanarilum,</i> in comparison of the fullors. |

*An Example of Conjugation in the Affirmative.*

*Baldæus.*

The Present Singular Tense.

|     |            |                                       |                                                                  |
|-----|------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I   | <i>nan</i> | <i>Vichuvadigirren,</i> I believe,    |                                                                  |
| you | <i>ni</i>  | <i>Vichuvadiguirray,</i> you believe, |                                                                  |
| he  | }          | <i>avan</i> {                         |                                                                  |
| she |            |                                       | <i>Vichuvadiguirran,</i> he believes,                            |
| it  |            |                                       | <i>Vichuvadiguirral,</i> she believes,                           |
|     |            |                                       | <i>Vichuvadiguirradu,</i> it believes, or <i>Vichuvadiguidu.</i> |

The Plural.

|      |               |                                                                         |
|------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| We   | <i>nangal</i> | <i>Vichuvadiguirron,</i> we believe,                                    |
| you  | <i>ningal</i> | <i>Vichuvadiguirgal,</i> you believe,                                   |
| they | }             | <i>adugal</i> {                                                         |
|      |               |                                                                         |
|      |               | <i>N. Vichuvadicradu,</i> or <i>Vichuvadiguidu,</i> the things believe. |

*In the Negative.*

The Present Singular Tense.

|            |             |                                                      |
|------------|-------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| I          | <i>nan,</i> | <i>Vichuvadicren illei,</i> I do not believe,        |
| &c.        |             |                                                      |
| as before: |             | <i>Vichuvadicren illei,</i> you do not believe it,   |
|            |             | <i>Vichuvadiezal illei,</i> he does not believe it,  |
|            |             | <i>Vichuvadiezal illei,</i> they do not believe it,  |
|            |             | <i>Vichuvadicrad' illei,</i> it does not believe it. |

The Plural.

|     |                |                                                                                    |
|-----|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| We  | <i>nangal,</i> | <i>Vichuvadicrem illei,</i> we do not believe it,                                  |
| &c. |                |                                                                                    |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadicringal illei,</i> you do not believe it,                              |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadicrargal illei,</i> they do not believe it, [ <i>Masc. &amp; Fem.</i> ] |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadicrad' illei,</i> they [ <i>Neut.</i> ]                                 |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadiguid illei,</i> do not believe it.                                     |

Baldæus.

The present Tense of Honour, *i. e.* when you speak to persons of quality in the affirmative.

*Vichuvâdicrora*, we (our majesty, highness, &c.) do not believe it.  
*Vichuvâdicrir*, you (your majesty, &c.) do not believe it.  
*Vichuvâdicrare*, they (their majesties) do not believe it.

In the Negative.

*Vichuvidicron illei*, we (our majesty) do not believe it.  
*Vichuvâdicrir illei*, we — do not believe it.  
*Vichuvâdicrar illei*, they — do not believe it.

Whence it is evident that the Malabar language is very difficult to be learned; especially by reason of the vast number of words whereof it consists, one and the same thing being frequently expressed by divers words or names. Thus not only every day in the week, but also throughout the year, has its peculiar name. It is further manifest from hence, that the *Indians* are not so unpolished as some *Europeans* represent them; and that they treat one another (especially persons of quality) with singular civility and respect.

The Imperfect Tense.

*Vichuvâdicrana* *apo* *Vichuvâdieren*, I believed.  
*Vichuvâdicreya* *apo* *Vichuvâdierom*, we did believe it.

The Perfect Tense.

*Vichuvâditen*, I have believed,  
*Vichuvâditom*, we have believed.

The Preterperfect Tense.

*A ducu mune vichuvâditay*, I had believed,  
*A ducu mune vichuvâditom*, we had believed.

The Future Tense.

*Vichuvâdipen*, I will believe,  
*Vichuvâdipon*, we will believe.

Baldæus.

### Our Father in the Malabar Language.

**V** *Anan galil yrucrà engal pidave*,  
 In heaven who art our father,  
*unureya namam ellatcum chutamga*; un-  
 thy name be sanctified; thy  
*reya irakjam vara*; un manadin paryel  
 kingdom come; thy will be done  
*à navargal vanatil*; *cheyuma pelepumy-*  
 in earth as in heaven; give our bread  
*lum elarum cbeya*; and andulla engal piley-  
 to us daily; pardon us our  
*caran, carracucu nângal pava caran-*  
 trespasses, as our trespassers for-  
*galey perru*; *engaley tolxatriu è duvagi*  
 give we; lead not into temptation us,  
*otlâde engalucù polângn varâmal. Vilagù.*  
 but of the evil deliver thou us. So it be.

### The Creed.

**V** *Ananum pumium pareyta*  
 Of the heavens and the earth crea-  
*charvatum vala pidavâgmia, tamby-*  
 tor, omnipotent father,  
*raneye vichuvâdicren. Avanureya maguan*  
 God, I believe. And in son  
*oroven namureya nayan Xezu Christeye*  
 his only Jesus Christ  
*vichuvâdicren. Yven chetamana espi-ritu*  
 I believe. Who was conceived from  
*mâl, chanitù kanni*  
 the Holy Ghost, born from the Virgin  
*Marial: vaitil nindù pirranda Ponxio*  
*Mary, &c.*  
*Pilatin kil parulattu cruxile arraiandù chetù*  
*aracapata padalangalil erri charruvatum*  
*valla pidaguia tambiram balagapatil irucran*  
*avaratil nindu irucra vagalacum chetavarga-*  
*lum narutyiba varovan. Chutamana espi-*  
*ritù veye vichuvâdicren. Chutamana var-*  
*gal cufstanum undanu vichuvâdicren. Pi-*  
*leygal porrutalu chetavargal buirtalum en-*  
*dendeycum ulla aytum vindanum vichuvâdi-*  
*cren.*







Sept. tentorio

Sept. tentorio

Oriens

Occidens



A  
DESCRIPTION

Of the Great and most Famous

ISLE of CEYLON.

CHAPTER I.

*The Situation, Extent, and Discovery of Ceylon.*

*Baldæus.*  
Ceylon.

**T**HE isle of Ceylon (the *Taprobana* of the antients, according to *John de Barros*) has got its name among the *Portuguese*, as well as the other *Europeans*, from its capital city, called *Ceylon*, known among the natives by the name of *Laukauwn*.

This isle extends from the sixth to the tenth degree of northern latitude. Formerly its circumference was reckoned to be about four hundred leagues, though since that time the sea has washed away about forty leagues on the north-side of it. In ancient times it was questionless (as we shall see anon in the description of *Manaar*) annexed to the continent. The figure of this isle represents (according to *Maffæus*) an egg; but in my opinion resembles rather a *Westphalia* ham; whence, without doubt, the *Dutch* fort near *Jafnapatnam*, has got the name of *Hams-Heel*.

*Its Extent.*

The before-mentioned *Maffæus* affirms that its circumference is at this time not above two hundred and forty leagues, its length seventy eight, and the breadth forty four. But the *Dutch*, since they have been masters of it, after the taking of *Columbo* 1656. and of *Manaar*, and *Jafnapatnam* 1658. have more exactly computed its compass to be three hundred and sixty leagues. It has many excellent harbours, cities and fortresses; and is divided into several provinces, as may be seen by the title of the king of that island, who styles himself *Raja Singa*, emperor of *Ceylon*, king of *Candea*, *Cota*, *Ceytavaca*, *Dambadan*, *Amorayapore*, *Jafnapatnam*; prince of *Ouva*, *Mature*, *Dinavaca*, and the four *Corles*; great duke of the seven *Corles*, *Ma-*

*Title of the king of Ceylon.*

*tale*; earl of *Cotiar*, *Trinquenemale*, *Batecalo*, *Velase*, *Vintana*, *Drembra*, *Panciapato*, *Veta*, *Putelaon*, *Valare*, *Gale*, *Belligaon*; marquis of *Duranura*, *Ratienuva*, *Tripiane*, *Acciapato*; lord of the sea-ports of *Alican*, *Columbo*, *Negombo*, *Chilau*, *Madampe*, *Calpentyn*, *Aripiture*, *Manaar*, and of the fishery of precious stones and pearls; lord of the *Golden Sun*. All which places, cities, and fortresses we shall have occasion to treat of hereafter.

The isle *Ceylon* abounds also in excellent rivers, such as *Chilau*, *Matual*, *Alican*, *Mature*, *Batecalo*, *Trinquenemale*, and others. It produces various sorts of precious stones, and is extremely fertile, especially in cinnamon. Here also found the best elephants of the whole *Indies*.

This isle was first discovered by the *Chinese* in the following manner: Certain *Chinese* having suffered shipwreck, were forced ashore on that island, where they professed their king to be the *Son of the Sun*. The inhabitants of *Ceylon* adoring at that time the *Sun*, as the *Malabars* do to this day their *Esvara*, i. e. *the Sun*, they were so well pleased with their new guests, that they elected the captain of the *Chinese* *Jonke*, or vessel, their king; whence the present kings of *Ceylon* trace their origin, and have taken upon them the title of *Lord of the Golden Sun*, this first *Chinese* king having stiled himself, *The much-beloved son of the always-moving Sun*. From this king *Lankauw Pati Mabadascyn* deduced his origin, who took upon him the name of *Well-beloved lord of the whole isle*. His son was *Lankauw Singe Madabascyn*, i. e. *the well-beloved Lion of the isle*; and after him, his son *Marasinge Mabadascyn*, i. e. *The*

*Baldæus.*  
The titles of duke and earl have been introduced by the Portuguese.

*Its discovery by the Chinese.*

*Pedigree of the kings of Ceylon.*

*Baldæus. i. e. The well-beloved conqueror of the lion.*

This king left behind him two sons; the first named *Lankauw Patti Mabastane*, or *the eye-apple of the country*; the second *Radgora Adascyn*, or, *The well-beloved king*. These two quarrelling about the succession, at last divided kingdoms, that of *Candy* falling to the share of *Radgora Adascyn*, and all the rest to the eldest. The posterity of these two kings ruled for a considerable time after, the eldest son always succeeding before the others. Among these *Lankauw Patti Mabastane* dying in the seventieth year of his age, left a son named *Marandonna Madgora*, i. e. *The conqueror of the eye-apple*; who came no sooner to the crown, but he engaged in a heavy war against his uncle by the father's side, which was ended

at last by a marriage betwixt *Marandonna Baldæus. Mabastane*, the son of *Madgora*, and *Malabande Wandige*. They left a numerous issue of sons and daughters, and among the rest one named *Fimala Darma Soria Adascyn*, i. e. *The conqueror of the whole kingdom*, (born after his father's death,) who no sooner came to age of maturity, but he attacked all the neighbouring princes that refused to submit to his jurisdiction; and having by degrees subdued them all, and established himself in the throne, by the death of all such as had opposed him, he married at last *Rokech Wandige*, i. e. *The beautiful queen*, his sister's daughter, by whom he had a numerous issue of sons and daughters, from whom the present kings are descended.

## CHAP. II.

### *The first Arrival of the Portuguese in the Isle of Ceylon, under the Command of Laurence d'Almeyda.*

*Arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon.*

WHILST these intestine wars were carrying on in *Ceylon*, *Laurence d'Almeyda*, by the command of his father, was employ'd in cruising upon the *Mabometans*, who were then transporting their effects from *Malacca* and *Sumatra* over the *Maldivè* islands into *Arabia*. The *Portuguese* being informed of the condition of the island, and knowing that it was best fishing in troubled waters, did turn their arms against it, and after many bloody engagements, made themselves masters of all the places which produce the best cinnamon, which they used to transport in vast quantities into *Europe*.

*Raja Singa Adascyn, an enemy of the Portuguese.*

At that time *Raja Singa Adascyn* reigned in *Ceylon*. The general opinion is, that he was a king's son, and nephew to the king of *Cora*, though I have often heard the *Portuguese*, and some of the *Hollanders*, say, that he was no more than a barber, who being well skilled in divers languages, and of a warlike inclination, aimed at the crown; and, at last, was so fortunate as to reduce the whole island (after he had killed all the great men) to his obedience. This king being a declared enemy of the *Portuguese*, he besieged *Columbo* with a powerful army, and reduced them in a short time to such extremity for want of provisions, that the garrison knowing the governor to be averse to come to a capitulation, they at first broke out into injurious words, and at last resolved (unless they received relief from *Goa* in a week's time) to kill their officers, and to surrender at discretion. But the governor being advertised of their design by one of his pages, did all that lay in his

power to keep the soldiers in obedience with fair promise, till the arrival of *the so Columbo long wished-for succours from Goa*; which having defeated the *Indian* fleet, they forced them to raise the siege.

This *Raja Singa Adascyn* having made himself master of the whole kingdom, except *Gale* and *Columbo*, forced the emperor *Mabadascyn* to fly the country; who in his pursuit scattered his treasure of gold and jewels upon the road, thereby to stop the pursuit of his enemies. *Raja Singa* being thus become master of the empire, constituted *Vinne Lamantia*, one of the late emperor's favourites, governor over the highland countries, whose son, named *Don John*, afterwards obtained the sovereignty. This *Vinne Lamantia* finding himself in a condition to cope with his new pretended master, took up arms against him; and having brought over the greatest part of the country (grown weary of the tyrant) to his side, was proclaimed emperor, under the title of *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, i. e. *The deliverer of the Empire*.

This war being carried on with various success for a considerable time, the *Portuguese* got time to breath, and induced *Raja Singa* to come to a composition with *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, offering him the whole treasure he had taken of *Mabadascyn*, the late emperor, provided he would resign the whole sovereignty into his hands.

Whilst they were treating of the peace, *Vinne Ladarma* had a son born him, (who, bearing his father's name, succeeded him in the empire;) but he was scarce a year old, when *Raja Singa*, not thinking himself se-

cure



*Baldæus.* cure in the late treaty concluded with *Vinne* *Ladarma*, he at last found means to cajole him to his court, (notwithstanding those of *Candy* strongly opposed it,) where he was no sooner arrived, but being seized upon, with all his attendance, *Raja Singa* ordered him to be buried in the ground up to his breast, and so to be killed by the means of certain wooden balls, which were thrown at his head, till his brains were dashed out; the chiefest of his attendants being likewise put to death by the tyrant's orders.

This done, he bent all his force against *Candy*; and having made himself master of the whole country, sold many of the inhabitants for slaves, and disarmed the rest, making the empress his prisoner. The *Cingaleses* being much oppressed by the tyrant, who forced them to carry earth and other materials upon their heads, for the building of fortifications all the way betwixt *Candy* and *Settavaca*, who sought for relief by the *Portuguese*; who, glad of so favourable an opportunity of strengthening their interest in that island, sent *Andrew Furtado*, a great warrior, with a considerable force to *Jafnapatnam*, which he surprized, and having got the king of that place in his power, required his consent and assistance to pass through his country for the relief of *Candy*. The inhabitants of that kingdom being not

as yet entered into any settled treaty with *Baldæus*, the *Portuguese*, were not a little surprized at the sudden arrival of the *Parangys*, (so they call foreigners,) fearing, (which proved true afterwards,) that instead of their pretended delivery, they should only change their slavery; which the cunning *Portuguese* generals having well foreseen, had brought *Don John* and *Don Philip*, the last uncle of *Donna Catharina*, and both educated in the *Romish* religion, to *Candy*; the last of which he constituted king, and *Don John* generalissimo; leaving *Donna Catharina* the daughter of the late emperor *Mahadascyn*, and the sole heirs of the empire, at *Manaar*. He also took care to give notice of his coming to those *Candy*, with full assurances, that he was come for no other end than to deliver them from the usurper's yoke; which had so good an effect upon them, that they entered with him into an offensive and defensive alliance against *Raja Singa Adascyn*.

The usurper got soon scent of this treaty, which made him advance with a potent army towards *Jafnapatnam*, to prevent the *Portuguese* from marching to *Candy*; but these were too nimble for him, and coming to *Candy* before he was arrived in that kingdom, immediately crowned *Don Philip* king, and declared *Don John* generalissimo, under condition

*Baldæus*. condition, that both should marry *Portuguese* ladies, and the inhabitants take an oath of allegiance to the king of *Portugal*.

*Don John* *Don John* in the mean time seeing *Don Philip* preferred before him by the *Portuguese*, conceived a mortal hatred against them, but thought fit to dissemble it, till he should meet with a favourable opportunity of shewing his resentment. With this

intention he took care to have *Candy* fortified so, as not to fear any thing from *Raja Singa*, and the royal palace (lately demolished by that usurper) to be rebuilt with more splendor than before, for the reception of the new king; though at the same time he consulted with a certain famous forcerer, how to remove the said king by poison, which he effected afterwards.

## C H A P. III.

*Don Philip poisoned. Don John succeeds him. He routs Raja Singa; who dies soon after. His Secretary Janiere takes up Arms against Don John.*

THE *Portuguese* fearing, not without reason, the approach of *Raja Singa*, had fortified *Gannoor*, and sent *John de Melo* in company of certain religious men to *Manaar*, to bring them fresh supplies of men, arms, and ammunition to *Candy*, the inhabitants whereof were all disarmed by the usurper, having first introduced *Don Philip* in great pomp, and placed him in the royal palace with the general applause of the inhabitants.

*Don Philip settled at Candy.*

But he scarce tasted the first fruits of his greatness, when *Don John* (taking the opportunity of the absence of the chief of the *Portuguese*) got some poison administered to him, which not having the desired effect, he gave him another dose, which put an end to his life; and by promises of great rewards, and other inticements, brought most of the inhabitants of *Candy* over to his side, who declared him their emperor, and gave him the title of *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, after his father, mentioned before to have been murdered by the command of *Raja Singa*.

*Is poisoned by Don John.*

*Who is made emperor.*

The *Portuguese* foreboding themselves no good from *Don John*, whom they knew to be their enemy, sent messengers after messengers to *John de Mela* at *Manaar*, to represent to him their dangerous state, wherein they found themselves not mistaken: for no sooner was *Don John* seated in the throne, but he sent a herald to the *Portuguese* in garrison at *Gannoor*, who upbraiding them with perjury and perfidious designs, ordered them in the emperor's name, to quit their posts within five or six days, which, if they refused, they must expect no quarter. The *Portuguese* finding themselves unable to resist his power, and despairing of the desired relief, thought it their safest way to come to a capitulation with *Don John*, who granted them a free passage with their swords only, being forc'd

*And forced the Portuguese out of Gannoor.*

not only to leave all their booty, but also their bag and baggage behind them.

The very next day *John de Melo* arrived with succours from *Manaar*, but too late, whilst *Raja Singa* was advancing towards *Candy*, threatening a most severe revenge to the inhabitants of that country. *Don John* finding himself now destitute of the assistance of the *Portuguese*, and understanding that his enemy had pitched his tents near *Walane*, was sorely put to it how to cope with so great a force; but being obliged either to fight or quit his advantage, he resolved to engage the enemy, cost what it would: for which reason, having afresh taken the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and furnished them with arms, (such as they could get in haste,) he advanced towards them in order of battle. *Raja Singa* being not a little surprized at his boldness, sent him word, That he had best take

*Message of Raja to Don John.*

warning by his father *Vinne Ladarma Soria's* death; and that in case he refused to submit to his mercy before it was too late, he must expect no other treatment than to be cut in pieces. Unto whom *Don John* smiling, sent for answer, That he would take care to put it out of his power; and if his father had been as cautious of him as he was resolved to be, he need not have come to so lamentable an end; to revenge which he was come to this place; exhorting him at the same time to implore his mercy before it was too late. *Raja Singa* was so exasperated at his message, and the aversion he found in the inhabitants of the country, that he declared, He would punish with death all that should oppose him; and so ordered his whole army to march to *Donlan*, with an intention to surprize that place before *Don John* could come its relief. *Don John*, though he knew himself much inferior in number, yet resolved to follow him close at the heels; and to put the better countenance on the matter, marched

*Baldæus*. marched in great pomp, with most splendid umbrellos born before him, and such other royal ensigns, as the kings in those countries use in their wars. *Raja Singa* seeing *Don John* thus bravely advancing towards him, resolved either to vanquish or to die gloriously in the enterprize, could not forbear to break out into these words, *Verily Don John is a courageous warrior, and I presage that one day or other he will ascend the throne. O Raja Singa! where is thy noble boldness? where are all thy great and ambitious designs? where thy fortune which nobody could resist! I am afraid of a sudden change: O changeable fortune, why hast thou turned thy back towards Raja Singa, who was once thy favourite!*

Raja's surprise.

Is defeated.

Dies.

The priests of Daldowanse burnt.

Raja's remorse for that action.

Thus the signal being given, the battel begun, wherein *Don John* and his forces gave way at first, the better to bear the first assault of the enemy; but afterwards *Don John* at the head of his guards charged them so furiously, that (notwithstanding *Raja Singa* did all that could be expected from a great captain) they were forced to give way, and at last to seek for their safety in their heels: and so he returned victorious to *Candy*, having lost no more than seven hundred men in the whole engagement; whereas the loss of *Raja Singa* amounted to above three thousand, who was so dejected at this defeat, that he struck voluntarily a thorn into his foot, and refusing to have his wound dressed, it gangrened, and put an end to his days at *Stetevaca*.

He shewed not the least remorse upon his death-bed for his cruelties, except those committed against the priests of *Daldowanse*, whom he caused to be burnt alive; for being asked by the tyrant, whether the murder he had committed upon his uncle, mother-in-law, and brothers, could not be forgiven, they answered No; *Well then* (said the usurper) *I am now at liberty to do what I please*, and so committed them all to the fury of the flames, except the high priest, called *Tireanco*, i. e. *God's vicegerent*, by the *Cingaleses*. The priests of *Paraneydeyo*, being asked the same question, forewarned by the disaster of the others, gave for answer, *That a person guilty of such a sin could not enter into heaven; but if truly repenting, he might by their intercession be brought to remain betwixt heaven and earth, without being sensible of they torments of hell*. This answer was so pleasing to *Raja*, that he dismissed them unmolested, telling them, *That he had ordered the priests of Daldowanse to be burnt, because they would make God delight in evil; but you, who make him a merciful God, I will always look upon as my friends*. Just before his death, he sent for the before-mentioned *Tireanco*, or high-priest, desiring him to forgive the death of his brethren, offering him con-

siderable presents at the same time; he refused the last, but pardoned the crime, and so returned to *Candy*, where he died in the hundred and twentieth year of his age.

*Baldæus*.

*Don John* had no sooner received intelligence of *Raja's* death, but he put himself at the head of his army, to take possession of the whole kingdom. But the chief secretary of *Raja Singa* having got all his master's treasure into his hands, and thinking himself in a capacity to cope with *Don John*, got himself proclaimed king, under the name of *Janiere Wandaar*, and at the same time solicited for succours by the *Portuguese*. Neither was it long before *Pedro Lopes de Sousa* arrived from *Goa* at the head of twelve thousand five hundred *Portuguese*, besides a good number of *Mistices* and *Indians*, which occasioned no small consternation in *Don John's* army, who had been lately spectators of the ravages committed by those of *Gale* and *Columbo* (with the assistance of the new king) in the *Low Lands*, and therefore had all the reason to fear so strong a force of the *Portuguese* ready to join with his enemies. However *Pedro Lopes* finding the *Low Lands* laid desolate, (the best of the country,) and consequently promising himself but small advantages by his stay, was for returning to *Goa*, had he not been opposed by the rest of the officers, who alledged, That the best part of the late king's treasure remained as yet entire at *Candy*; and that in order to make themselves masters of the whole isle, they must take this opportunity of conquering the petty princes one after another, which they put in execution accordingly. For having partly by force, partly by promises, brought the kings of the *Low Lands*, over to their party, it was agreed to assemble a strong army against *Don John*. The *Quota's* of the several princes to be furnished for this expedition was regulated in the following manner.

Janiere usurps the crown.

Seeks for assistance by the Portuguese.

A great army raised against Don John.

The king of *Cota*, six thousand eight hundred men, four war-elephants, fifty other elephants, one thousand eight hundred oxen for carriage, and one thousand *Colys*, or pioneers. King *Janiere Wandaar Ragora* twenty eight thousand nine hundred and eighty men, twenty four war-elephants, two hundred others, five thousand oxen for carriage, three thousand pioneers. The kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* nineteen thousand nine hundred men, ten war-elephants, forty of the common sort, three thousand oxen, and two thousand pioneers. The king of *Cotiar* seven thousand nine hundred and eighty men, six hundred pioneers, one thousand oxen, thirty war-elephants, twenty five others. The king of *Palugan*, five thousand eight hundred and ninety men, one thousand pioneers, three war-elephants, and



*Baldæus*. and twenty five others. The king of *Batecalo* nine thousand eight hundred men, two thousand pioneers, two thousand five hundred oxen, four war-elephants and thirty others. The king of *Panua*, in conjunction with some other princes, fifty nine thousand eight hundred and ninety six men, two thousand one hundred and forty pioneers, six hundred and thirty elephants, and sixteen thousand oxen. So that the whole number of these forces amounted to one hundred fifty one thousand and eighty six heads, among whom were one hundred thirty nine thousand two hundred and forty six fighting men, and eleven thousand seven hundred and forty pioneers, seventy five war-

elephants, one thousand other elephants, *Baldæus*. and twenty nine thousand five hundred oxen for carriage. The quota of the *Portuguese* under *Pedro Lopes* amounted to one thousand four hundred and seventy four *Portuguese*, one thousand two hundred *Mistices*, and one thousand two hundred and twenty four *Indians*, forty seven war-elephants, nine hundred and forty five others, and nineteen thousand nine hundred oxen.

The first thing they took care of was to secure their retreat, by erecting three forts, called *Manikeroweri*, *Mapati*, and *Gannatari*; which done, they directed their march with their joint-forces towards *Candy*.

#### CHAP. IV.

Don John draws out his Forces against Janiere and the Portuguese : Attacks them with Success ; but is routed at last. Donna Catharina declared Empress. Janiere murdered.

**D**ON John having received intelligence of their march, was put to a great nonplus what course to take in this exigency of his affairs, his whole army consisting of no more than betwixt thirty and forty thousand men; but knowing them to be resolute and intirely devoted to his interest, he kept as close to the enemy as possibly he could, and in several engagements got the better of them; till at last being attacked with incredible fury by the *Portuguese*, they put him to the rout, and took the city of *Walane*, with the loss of forty nine men only on their side, killing above fifteen hundred of the inhabitants; which struck such a terror into the rest, that the whole country submitted without the least opposition, except *Dollewagge*, which they were not able to take.

Don John routed.

Retreats into the deserts.

*Don John* not being able to rally his scattered forces, retired with his empress into the woods and deserts, where they were forced to feed upon herbage for some time; and the *Portuguese* being now masters of the country, required the *Cingaleses* to own the king of *Portugal* for their sovereign lord. These on the other hand desired that *Donna Catharina*, the daughter of *Mabadascyn* their legal emperor, might be brought from *Manaar*, and declared their empress. *Don Pedro Lopes* being well enough pleased with this proposition, yet willing to consult with *Janiere* about the matter, he found him not averse to it, his intention being to marry her with the consent of the *Portuguese*, who had underhand promised the same as a reward of his services done to them.

Accordingly a numerous train and splen-

did equipage was sent to bring the new empress to *Candy*; but one of the ships foundering at sea in a storm, one hundred and fifty soldiers, a great number of slaves, and two chests with money were lost with her: one *Portuguese* and two negroes only had the good fortune to escape of the whole ship's crew, who heard the captain of the ship, whose name was *Perere*, take his last farewell in these words, *O brave Perere, is it thus thy fate to be swallowed up by the sea!* *Portuguese* but since it is God's will, patience: *Christ receive my soul.* *Ship lost.*

Donna Catharina brought from Manaar.

A Portuguese ship lost.

In the mean while all imaginable preparations being made for the reception of *Donna Catharina*, she was preparing for her departure from *Manaar*: as she was carried along in her litter, or chair, one of the poles of cane happened to break, which the new empress looking upon as an ill omen, she cried out aloud, *Stop, stop, do not carry me any further.* *Superstition for this portends some great misfortune.* Unto which the governor of *Manaar*, who attended her person, replied, *May it please your majesty, we ought to consider that we are no heathens but christians, and must therefore despise such superstitions; God will be the supporter of you and your cause.* Then the empress bid them take another pole, and soon after embarked with a fair wind, which carried her in eight days to *Candy*.

Superstition of Donna Catharina.

Leaves Manaar

Here she was met by *Pedro Lopes*, the *Portuguese* general, and several of the *Cingalese* kings and princes, attended by a great number of nobles, who paid their reverence (according to the custom of the country) by laying their faces flat upon the ground: this they call *Sambaja*. The empress arising



*Baldæus*, arising out of her litter, returned them hearty thanks; and returning to her litter was accompanied into the city by *Lopes* and the before-mentioned princes with incredible pomp; and under the general acclamations of the people, who were infinitely pleased with the gold and silver that was thrown among them as the cavalcade marched along; which was so splendid, that the whole charge thereof amounted to one million nine hundred thousand livres, the remnants of the treasure of the late deceased usurper, *Raja Singa Adascyn*. *Donna Catharina*, after having rested herself from the fatigues of the voyage for three days, was crowned with the usual solemnities, and put into possession of the empire.

*Is crowned there.*

About that time *Don John* came in the disguise of a beggar into *Candy*, where he set several houses on fire, in hopes of firing the whole city, but was frustrated in his design, the fire being always quenched in good time, though it often broke out in divers places at once.

*The Portuguese offer a good sum for his head.*

The *Portuguese* suspecting the matter, offered a reward of ten thousand *Pagodes* (twenty thousand crowns) to any that could take him dead or alive; which made *Don John* desist from his enterprize, and to return to his desert.

The *Portuguese* finding themselves now

in the quiet possession of the country, were no longer able to disguise their natural vices, their pride, avarice, and insolence; which occasioned frequent complaints to the empress, but without redress; which obliged the inhabitants to enter into an association to deprive them of all subsistence, by cutting off their supplies of provisions. This obliged the *Portuguese* general to send, in conjunction with king *Janiere Wandaar*, two thousand *Cingaleses* and one thousand *Portuguese*, to the dukedom of *Ouve*, and two thousand *Indians*, and two hundred *Portuguese* to *Halalmia* beyond *Candy*, to fetch in rice and other provisions.

*Baldæus*

The *Portuguese* foldiers, though they were very well received by the inhabitants, yet did they commit all manner of insolences in their quarters, even to the ravishing of their wives, killing their children, and setting their houses on fire; so that the *Cingaleses* finding themselves in a worse condition now than they were under their tyrannical emperors, entred into a conjuration to kill the *Portuguese* at a certain appointed time.

*They commit great insolences.*

In the mean while *Janiere* solicited the *Portuguese* general *Lopes*, for leave to marry the empress *Catharina*; which he handsomely denied, alledging, that he could not consent to it, without special order from the king of *Portugal*; but that he would write

*Baldæus*. to the king about it. *Janiere* looking upon this only as an excuse, desired to let him marry his sister's daughter; which being likewise refused by the general, *Janiere* conceived from that moment a mortal hatred against the *Portuguese*, and could not forbear to tell the general, That he did not expect to have met with such a reward for the services he had done them, swearing that they should have occasion to repent it. The *Portuguese* being somewhat exasperated at this unexpected reply, told him, That he ought not to take it amiss, if he denied him what was not in his power to give, viz. *Donna Catharina*, the legal heiress of the empire, to him who had usurped the title of a king, merely by being got into the possession of the treasure of *Raja Singa Adascyn*, but that he should be very ready to serve him upon any other occasion. *Janiere* being put out of all patience by these insulting Words, replied smartly, *I am sensible of your design; you that came here as strangers, now you have got your ends through my means, are the first who would tyrannize over me.* Then recollecting himself, he began to turn the discourse, dissembling his resentment; but the same night dispatched a letter to *Don John* in the desert, wherein he advertis'd him of what had passed betwixt him and the *Portuguese* general, offering him the empire, provided he would receive him as

Difference  
betwixt  
the Portu-  
guese and  
Janiere.

Janiere  
enters into  
a league  
with Don  
John

king of the *Low Lands*; which *Don John Baldæus*, approving of, they entred into a confederacy to rid their hands of the *Portuguese*.

Things being thus settled, *Don John* began to appear among the *Cingaleses* (already much exasperated against the *Portuguese*) representing to them the danger they were in, and how he was resolved, in conjunction with *Janiere*, to drive them out of the island, which they readily accepted of, promising all the assistance they were able to give. But as *Janiere* sent frequent letters to *Don John*, it happened that some of them fell into the hands of the *Portuguese*, who being thereby fully convinc'd of the design carried on against them, begun, not without great reason, to fear, that unless they consented to the marriage of *Janiere* with *Donna Catharina*, they would scarce be able to maintain themselves in the isle.

A council being called for this purpose, The Portuguese consulted about Janiere. they were much divided in their opinions, some being for consenting to the marriage, to prevent farther mischief, and to have *Don John* murdered; whilst others were for hazarding all, rather than to consent to the match, and to have *Janiere* murdered, under pretence that he had laid a design to murder the empress and the general; for which purpose some forged letters were to be produced, to justify their conduct.



*Baldæus.* To encompass this design, they took the opportunity, when *Janiere* was one day in conference with the *Portuguese* general and some other officers: the general seeing him have a scymetar on his side beset with precious stones, he desired to let him see it, feigning that he liked it so well, that he would take it for a pattern to have such another made after it. *Janiere* not suspecting their design, unadvisedly parted with his scymetar, which was no sooner done, but a certain *Portuguese* captain (upon the signal given by the general) did run him through the body with his sword, his attendants undergoing soon after the same fate, his guards being advertised thereof, cryed out, *Haddy, Haddy, Treason, Treason, Radgore Janiere Marupue, King Janiere is murdered*; which being a signal to the rest, all the *Indians* left the *Portuguese* camp, except the king of *Cota* with his forces, who had not immediate notice of this most detestable murder.

*Resolve his death.*

*Is murdered.*

stify their proceedings upon this account to *Baldæus*, the empress, who (though but young) being highly displeas'd thereat, told them, *That supposing he was a traylor, he ought not to have been thus barbarously murdered, but either kept a prisoner, or at least had the benefit of a legal tryal.* Rest assured, added she, *that this treacherous fact will turn to your ruin; for who is it that hears of it, but will curse you, and never trust you in whatever you pretend to?* And, *alas!* said she, *how ill have you served your king and me, who am likely to be involved in your ruin? Be therefore upon your guard, for you will pay dearly for having rewarded thus a man who had done you such signal services.* These words, though coming from a young woman, and scarce well initiated in the fundamentals of christianity, were actually fulfilled afterwards, when the *Portuguese* were driven by our forces out of *Batecalo, Gale, Columbo, Negumbo,* and last of all out of *Jaf-naptanam.*

*Donna Catharina's reflections upon it.*

The *Portuguese* did all they could to ju-

CHAP. V.

*The Portuguese leave Candy; are routed by the Cingaleses. The Empress taken Prisoner. Don John becomes Master of the Empire; Marries Donna Catharina. Jeronimo Oriedo defeated.*

*Don John improves the fact to his advantage.*

**D**ON *John* was not wanting to turn the hatred of the people (which must needs ensue upon so barbarous a fact) to his advantage, and to represent the perfidious designs of the *Portuguese* in the worst colours, offering them his assistance against these foreigners, as he had done before against *Raja Singa*; which succeeded so well, that they resolv'd unanimously to side with him, in order to drive them out of the country.

*The Portuguese leave Candy.*

The *Portuguese* having receiv'd intelligence of the great preparations made against them, and that *Don John* was advancing with his army towards *Candy*, began now, but too late, to repent of the murder of *Janiere*; and seeing their ruin at hand, unless they took timely care of their safety, they retreated from *Candy* to the fort of *Gannoor*, whence they sent to *Columbo* for relief. The *Cingaleses* having got notice of their flight, pursu'd them so closely, that many of them fell into their hands, especially of those detachments sent to *Goa* and *Halalmia* for provisions, fifty whereof they sent back with their ears, noses, and privy parts cut off, in revenge of the ravishments committed upon their wives and daughters.

*Are miserably treated by the Cingaleses.*

The *Portuguese* were so terrify'd thereat, that finding themselves destitute of all hopes of relief, they resolv'd likewise to leave

*Gannoor*, and to retire to *Walane*, which they put in execution in 1590, on a Sunday; and the better to cover their flight, or at least to divert the *Cingaleses* from pursuing them, set the circumjacent country on fire. But these preferring their revenge before all other considerations, followed them at the heels, and attacked them most furiously in four several parts at once. The *Portuguese* defended themselves most courageously; but being over-

1590.

*And routed.*

power'd in number, were forc'd to give way with the loss of many of their best soldiers, either kill'd or taken prisoners, among whom was the *Portuguese* general *Lopes* and *Donna Catharina*. The general died within three days of his wounds, after he had recommended his son to *Don John's* care, who was afterwards by him (pursuant to his promise) sent to *Columbo*.

*Pedro Lopes and D. Catharina taken Prisoners.*

The *Indians* got a considerable booty, besides a vast quantity of arms, cannon and ammunition, in this engagement; and *Don John* pursuing his victory with the utmost vigour, made himself master of all the forts belonging to the *Portuguese*; some by assault, the garrisons whereof he put to the sword; some by composition, which was punctually observ'd. All which struck such an amazement into the circumjacent kings and

*Baldæus*. and princes, that they appear'd in person before him, and asking pardon for their having been engaged with the *Portuguese*, brought him considerable presents, and did him homage with the usual solemnity of prostrating themselves with their faces to the ground.

Don John restored to the King-dom.

Marrries D. Catharina.

Being thus settled a second time in the throne, he thought it the safest way to secure himself of the fidelity of his subjects by marrying *Donna Catharina*, (she being then but twelve years old,) which was celebrated with great solemnity for one hundred and ten days successively; notwithstanding which the charges thereof did not amount to above five thousand *Pagodes*: but the presents bestow'd upon many of the nobility (to reconcile them to his interest) to no less than nine hundred sixty eight thousand seven hundred fifty four *Pagodes*, four million eight hundred fifty nine thousand five hundred thirty eight *Dutch* guilders, making the sum of one million nine hundred forty three thousand eight hundred and fifteen rix-dollars. His next care was to strengthen his frontiers by three strong forts; and he built himself a palace, surrounded with several bulworks, wherein he employ'd the captive *Portuguese*; who, to their great grief, were forc'd to see their ensigns display'd upon the towers of their enemies.

Oriedo a Portuguese General in Ceylon.

*Don John* having for some time enjoy'd the quiet possession of the throne, *Don Jeronimo d'Oriedo* was sent in the quality of *Portuguese* general to *Ceylon*, with a considerable number of land forces, compos'd of *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*s, brought thi-

ther from *Goa* and other places on the *Indian* coast. Having by great presents brought over to his side most of the princes of the *Low Lands*, he order'd several forts to be erected to serve him for a retreat upon occasion. *Don John* was so far from annoying his men in perfecting these fortifications, that he seem'd to despise it, saying, *Let them go on, I will find a way to pull down as fast as they can build*: but understanding that the *Portuguese* were advancing towards *Walane*, in order to surprize *Candy* (where they intended to erect a strong fort betwixt *Triquenam* and *Palugan*, to bridle the country) he attacked them in their march; so that a most furious battle ensu'd, which remain'd dubious for some time, the *Portuguese*s fighting like lions; but at last were forc'd to yield to the number of their enemies, who pursu'd them for five days as far as *Columbo*; they keeping their ranks close, and making good their retreat with unspeakable bravery, though not without considerable loss on their side. Among their wounded was *Oriedo* the general, who was oblig'd to king *Cota* for his liberty, he having concealed him in some retired place, without which he had infallibly fallen into the hands of the *Indians*. These, though not a little tired, with so long and troublesome a pursuit, yet in their return made themselves masters of the new *Portuguese* forts, and cutting the garisons in pieces, laid them level with the ground. This victory prov'd so considerable to *Don John*, that during his life *Oriedo* either durst or could not attempt any thing further against him.

Is routed by D. John.

## CHAP. VI.

*Dominico Corré* goes over to *Don John*: *Besieges Gale*, but is repuls'd. *Simon Corré* returns to *Columbo*. The *Portuguese* miserably massacred. *Joris van Spilbergen* comes to *Ceylon*.

*Dominico Corré* deserts.

ABOUT that time *Dominico Corré*, a renown'd soldier (known by the name of *Goliab*) being disoblig'd by the *Portuguese*, came over to *Don John*, having first cut off the noses and ears of several monks who had offended him. He also enticed *Corke Bandaar*, a revolted prince, into *Don John's* camp, who caus'd him to be torment'd to death, and bestow'd his principality upon *Dominico Corré*, to whom they gave the name of *Idel Soria Bandaar*. Whilst he was doing homage to the emperor, a very large tree that stood hard by, split in two pieces, without being touch'd; which the inhabitants (a superstitious generation) interpreted as an ill omen.

Is made General.

Not long after the emperor sent a considerable army under the command of *Do-*

*minico Corré*, and his brother *Simon Corré*, to besiege *Gale*: but the *Portuguese* defended themselves so well, that the greatest part of this army was ruined, and *Dominico* himself taken prisoner, whom the *Portuguese* (contrary to their promise) carry'd to *Columbo*, where he was privately murdered. This barbarous action so highly exasperated *Don John*, that he ordered some *Portuguese* to be killed by the elephants, others he cut off their noses and ears, and sent them to *Columbo* to tell the general, That in case they did not set all the prisoners at liberty, the *Portuguese* in his hands should receive the same treatment.

Is murdered.

His Death revenged by Don John.

The soldiers in garison at *Columbo* seeing this miserable spectacle in their companions; broke into a mutiny against the general,

*Baldæus*. ral, who by murdering *Corré* against his parole, had given occasion to this disaster. There was nothing to be heard among them but, *Kill the dog, kill him*; whilst *Jeronimo d'Oriedo* cry'd for mercy. Notwithstanding which, a whole troop of them were advancing with their drawn swords against him, and had certainly killed him upon the spot, had not some monks thrown themselves (to their no small danger) betwixt him and them; and speaking to the soldiers, calling them gentlemen, and begging them for the love of christ, not to act against the crown of *Portugal* in the person of their general, appeas'd their wrath; though even then the general was forced to hide himself in a convent, till the tumult could be entirely appeas'd, which was not till sixteen days after.

Notwithstanding the barbarous usage *Dominico Corré* had met with from the *Portuguese*, his brother *Simon Corré* went over to them, pretending to the emperor that he intended to advance towards *Columbo* to revenge his brother's death. He was very honourably received by the *Portuguese*, who not only bestow'd the government of a province upon him, but also marry'd him to a *Portuguese* lady, whom together with his son (begotten in this marriage) they kept as pledges of his fidelity, whilst he was employ'd in carrying on the war against *Don John*. However, having got intelligence that the *Portu-*

*guese* had formed a design against the life of *Baldæus*: the said *Don John*, he gave notice thereof to him, desiring him to be upon his guard.

The emperor being willing to be fully satisfi'd in a matter of such moment, apply'd himself to one *Emanuel Dias*, who being formerly a foot-boy to the *Portuguese* general *Lopes*, was advanced by the said *Don John* to the dignity of one of his gentlemen of the first rank, and had received many other favours at his hands. *Emanuel Dias*, willing to contribute what lay in his power to his master's satisfaction, propos'd to go to *Columbo*, under pretence of having deserted his service, but in truth to dive into the design of the *Portuguese*. Accordingly he arriv'd at *Columbo* on easter-day in the year 1602. where he propos'd to *Don Jeronimo Oriedo* several ways of murdering *Don John*; and that with so much assurance and seeming probability, that he was highly carress'd by that general, who agreed with him concerning the method how the design should be put in execution. For this purpose five *Portuguese* were pitched upon to share the danger and glory of so brave an action, (as they stiled it,) among whom were three captains, viz. *Christian Jacobo*, *Alberto Primero*, and *Caspar Perere*. *Emanuel Dias* being promised no less a reward than the crown of *Candy*, play'd the hypocrite so artificially, that he took a solemn oath up-

Simon Corré goes over to the Portuguese.

1602.

He deceives the Portuguese.



Sebert de Weerts Audience.

*Baldæus*. on the crucifix to be true to his trust; and so he was dismissed to *Walane* with a good sum of money, from whence he returned to *Candy*.

Betrays them.

There he gave an account to the emperor how measures had been concerted betwixt *Don Feronimo* and him; That a certain body of troops should be posted near the fort of *Walane*, to be ready at hand to surprize that place as soon as they should receive the signal of the murder of the emperor being put in execution; for which purpose those who had undertaken that task were within a limited time to appear near *Candy*. Hereupon the emperor advanced secretly in the night time at the head of a good body of troops to *Walane*, where the before-mentioned accomplices appearing according to agreement, well armed with *Japonesse* scymetars, called *Trassados*, they were kindly received by *Emanuel Dias*, and introduced into the emperor's presence; but soon after were seized by his guard, and the signal given at the same time from the fort of *Walane*. So that the *Portuguese* believing every thing to have succeeded according to expectation, advanced with all possible speed towards the fort, where they questionless would have met with so warm a reception, that few of them would

have returned home, had not a certain Ser-*Baldæus*,  
vant, who had deserted from the enemy, discovered the whole matter to them; which made them retreat with all speed towards *Columbo*, leaving all their baggage and some arms a prey to the enemy. *Emanuel Dias* got a vast reputation by this bold enterprize, and was rewarded with vast presents by the emperor; but the five *Portugueses* were after a long captivity put to a most painful death.

Joris Spilbergen comes to Ceylon.

About this time the *Dutch* general, *Joris Spilbergen*, coming with two ships on the coast of *Ceylon*, went to *Candy* on purpose to salute the emperor in the name of the states of the *United Provinces*, and his excellency prince *Maurice of Nassau*; and was favourably received by *Don John*, and dismissed with considerable presents. Having left *Erasmus Martens* and Mr. *Hans Pempel*, two very good musicians, there, he returned highly satisfied, *September 3. 1603.* by the way of *Metecola* to *Achen*. But the *Portuguese* were not a little dissatisfied at his arrival there, as fearing that in case the *Dutch* should enter into a confederacy with the emperor, their stay would not be long in that island; which proved true afterwards, they being quite chased thence in the year 1658.

1603:

## CHAP. VII

*Sebald de Weert comes to Ceylon. Great Dissatisfaction betwixt the Emperor and him. Is murdered. Don John falls sick, and dies: His Qualifications.*

Sebald de Weert comes to Ceylon.

*Sebald de Weert* and *Vibraads van Warwick* came soon after into *Ceylon*, where they entered into agreement with the emperor. Afterwards they sailed to *Achen* to assemble more forces, and landing at *Matecola* with seven ships the 26th of *April, 1603.* *De Weert* gave notice thereof to the emperor, who desired him to come and put an end to the conferences begun before for the consummation of the treaty. *De Weert* coming into the emperor's presence, was asked by him why he had set the *Portuguese* prisoners at liberty; which, as it had been done unadvisedly, so he made the best excuse he could upon that score; which being not satisfactory to the emperor, caused in him no small suspicion; the same was much augmented by what his ambassador (who had been with the vice-admiral *De Weert* at *Achen*) related to him, that during his stay with the *Dutch* he could not observe but that they were friends of the *Portuguese*, whereof they had given sufficient proofs, when they set the *Portuguese* officers, that were their prisoners, above him at the table. He further added, that

Difference betwixt the emperor and him.

Is augmented by the emperor's ambassador.

he had received information from credible hands, That the vice-admiral intended to invite the emperor and the chiefest men of his court, aboard his vessel to a banquet, but in effect, to detain them prisoners, and make themselves masters of the country; That he had thought it his duty to give this caution to his majesty, that he might not trust the *Dutch*, and thereby with the rest of his princes be drawn into the snare, to the irreparable ruin of the whole country.

*Don John* finding the ambassador's reasons not to be ill grounded, and having conceived no small jealousy at the vice-admiral's discharging the *Portuguese* prisoners, contrary to his promise, it was debated in council, whether they ought to treat with him any further, or break off the treaty already begun. After various deliberations, it was agreed to endeavour to persuade the vice-admiral to sail with his fleet to *Gale*, in order (according to mutual agreement) to besiege that place, whereby they would not want opportunity to judge of his conduct in reference to the *Portuguese*.

*Sebald*

*Baldæus.* Sebald de Weert soon after invited the emperor aboard his vessel; which he refused, alledging, That the chief men of the empire did not approve of a thing never known before. *De Weert* seeing the emperor resolute in his refusal, desired him to do him the honour of coming only to the sea-shore to view his ships; and that he had ordered a tent to be pitched there for his reception. The emperor not only refused also this offer, but his suspicion was increased, the before-mentioned ambassador whispering him in the ear, *Are you now sensible, my most gracious Lord, that I was in the right, and that they intend to catch you in the snare?* And the Dutch vice-admiral *De Weert* being not a little disturbed at so flat a denial, told him frankly, *That since his Majesty did not think fit to come either aboard him, or at least to the Shore, he was resolved not to fight for him against the Portuguese.* *Don John*, though not a little exasperated at so bold a reply, yet dissembled his Anger, telling him only, That he should, pursuant to his

*De Weert invites the emperor on board.*

*Which is refused.*

promise, sail to *Gale* with his fleet, whilst he would take a turn to *Candy* to visit the empress who was alone there, his brother-in-law having taken a journey to the frontiers; and that from thence they would hasten with all their forces to the siege. *Sebald de Weert* being somewhat heated with strong liquor, replied undiscreeply, *That certainly the empress could not be in distress for a man; and that he was resolved not to sail to Gale, or to fight against the Portuguese, before the emperor had done him the honour of viewing his ships.* *Don John*, who was naturally a choleric person, was so incensed at this answer, that he left the room, and in going out said, *Bind the dog*: whereupon four of his gentlemen advanced to lay hold of him; but he endeavouring to draw his sword, and making a noise to call his attendants to his assistance, (who were left near the sea-side by the emperor's order,) they laid hold of him from behind, and one of them splitting his head with a scymetar laid him dead upon the ground.

*Baldæus.*

*De Weert speaks with too much boldness.*

*Which proves the occasion of his death.*



The prince of *Ouwe* being the only person who durst give an account to the emperor of what had happened, he appeared somewhat disturbed thereat, asking him, *Why they did not make him a Prisoner, according to his order.* Whereupon the prince telling him, that it was impossible to be

done, because he stood upon his defence, *Don John* replied, *Nay, since he sought for his death, let him have it, and let his attendants follow their Master;* which was put in execution immediately, scarce any one of those that came ashore with him escaping the fury of these barbarians, except a boy, named

*And of his attendants*



*Baldæus*, named *Isaac Plevier*, a native of *Flissingen*, who was still alive, and in the then emperor's service, Nov. 22. 1614. Some few also had the good fortune of escaping by swimming to the ships.

The emperor soon after went to *Candy*, from whence he writ these few lines in *Portuguese* to the commanders of the *Dutch* vessels; *Que bebem vinho, noa be bon. Deos fes justitia; se queşeres pas, pas; sequires guerra, guerra: i. e. Who drinks wine is not good: God shews his justice: If you desire peace, you shall have peace; if war, war.*

Don John falls sick of a burning fever.

However *Don John*, did not survive long this barbarous action, being seized with so violent a burning fever, that to cool himself he was kept in cold water, without any relief: He also drunk frequently of the water of the brook called *Hal Gradoje*, betwixt *Ouve* and *Matarette*; which being so cold, as not to be held in the mouth without shivering, yet could not in the least quench his thirst. He often bewailed the barbarous murder of the *Dutch*, but said that *De Weert* had no more than what he deserved. Thus languishing for some time in continual agonies, he was in no condition to dispose of his affairs, but ended his life in misery, 1604. He left behind him one son, named *Mabaſtanne Adascyn*, and two daughters, one named *Soria Mabadascyn*, i. e. *Beloved Sunlight*, the other *Catben Adascyn*, i. e. *Beloved Peace*; all three born from *Donna Catharina*, called by the *Cingalese* *Mababandige Adascyn*, i. e. *Beloved Empress*.

Dies. His Issue.

*Don John* was a valiant and great captain,

as his whole life sufficiently testifies: He was *Baldæus*, tall of stature, and well-limbed, black, and rustical in his speech. He had gathered a vast treasure of gold and jewels, and had founded many forts, palaces, and publick-inns, called by the *Cingalese* *Ambolan*, i. e. *Resting places*. He kept a strict hand in the government; and as he never pardoned crimes, so he was very liberal to all such as behaved themselves well in their civil or military stations, on whom he conferred honours and riches. He was a compleat statesman, and stood firm to his engagements with all foreign princes, except the *Portuguese*; upon whom looking with a jealous eye, he had conceived a mortal hatred. As he despised all religions, so he allowed the free exercise thereof to all without distinction.

His Character.

The corps of the deceased emperor was no sooner interred with extraordinary magnificence, but the great men of the kingdom began to divide into several factions, every one aiming at the crown: The most potent among them was the prince of *Ouve*, who publicly set up for the empire, but was opposed by *Cenuwieraat*, brother-in-law to the late emperor, who pretended to be regent for his nephew, (his brother's son,) till he should come to age of maturity. *Donna Catharina* well foreseeing the ill consequences that might ensue upon those pretensions, declared herself regent of her young son, and by taking off the heads of some of the most suspected lords, removed the present danger, and appeased the troubles that threatened her ruin for some time.

Divisions among the Great Men.

Appeased by Donna Catharina.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Divisions among the Great Men in Ceylon. The Prince of Ouve murdered by Cenuwieraat, who marries Donna Catharina the Empress.*

The Portuguese offer a Confederacy, which is denied.

THE *Portuguese* rejoiced at the death of *Don John*, sent messengers after messengers to *Goa*, to advertise the viceroy of this welcome news, and to desire his advice in this juncture. The said viceroy being of opinion, that they ought to engage in an alliance with *Donna Catharina*, (as a means to make themselves masters by degrees of the whole isle,) the same was proposed accordingly; but rejected by *Donna Catharina*, who told them, That she would remain sovereign mistress in her territories. However the princes of the *Low Lands* being sorely oppressed by the incursions and ravages committed in their territories both by the prince of *Ouve* and the emperor's brother-in-law, hearkened to the enticements of the *Portuguese*, and entered into a confederacy with them.

The empress being not a little disturbed at these intestine commotions, fearing she should be sacrificed to the prevailing party, called a general assembly of all the lords of the empire; who all appeared accordingly in person, except the prince of *Ouve* and *Cenuwieraat Adascyn*, who thereupon were by proclamation declared rebels by the empress, and their estates confiscated. However *Cenuwieraat* having given sufficient reasons for his absence, and the prince of *Ouve* having, at the intercession of his friends, obtain'd his pardon, they afterwards appeared at court, but well guarded, neither party trusting one another.

Ouve and Cenuwieraat do not appear at court.

Things thus passing on for some time, the prince of *Ouve* resolved, after the conclusion of the assembly of the states, to rid his hands of *Cenuwieraat*, and afterwards to secure to himself the crown by marrying *Donna Catharina*.

Prince Ouve resolves to kill Cenuwieraat.

*Baldeus. Catharina*: but *Cenuwieraat* having got scent of this design, resolved to be beforehand with him; to accomplish which, he disturbed his thoughts, shewing to the prince of *Ouwe* upon all occasions most singular marks of his respect and friendship. But having in the mean while strengthened his interest, by ingaging most of the great men to his side, he took his opportunity, when they were both going to take their leave of the empress: for coming at the outward gate, the prince of *Ouwe* would have given the precedence to prince *Cenuwieraat*, as descended from the imperial blood; which he refusing to accept of, told him, That it was his due, by reason of his age: so that, after some time spent in compliments, prince *Ouwe* went in first, and was instantly run through the back, and laid dead upon the ground by *Cenuwieraat*, who said no more than, *Traitor, thou hast thy reward*; and so retiring to his people, left the city immediately.

*Is murdered by Cenuwieraat.*

Those belonging to the prince of *Ouwe* hearing of the murder of their master, run through the streets, crying out, *Treason, Treason*; which put the city into such an alarm, that the people (believing the empress was killed) cut all to pieces they met with, so that the streets were every where filled with horror and slaughter; which would have continued longer, had not *Donna Catharina*, by shewing herself to the people, somewhat appeased their fury. However, they not ceasing to exclaim, and uttering most horrid threats against the prince of *Cenuwieraat* for the murder of prince *Ouwe*, the empress, to prevent further mischief, thought it her safest way to prohibit, under pain of death, that any injury should be done to prince *Cenuwieraat*, declaring that what had been done was by her own orders; which somewhat settled the minds of the people.

*A commotion in Candy.*

*Is appeased by the empress.*

But her thoughts were very different from what she shewed to the people, having conceived such a horror at the fact, that she resolved not to let it go unrevenged upon the prince *Cenuwieraat*. He being advertised hereof by his friends, kept constantly upon his guard, not neglecting in the mean while

to have it represented to the empress, (not *Baldeus* without good reasons,) that he had been forced to undertake this fact for his self-preservation, and the welfare of the kingdom, her majesty, and his brother's children: which had so good an effect upon the empress, that by the mediation of certain great men, a match was concluded betwixt the empress and him, as the most proper means to restore tranquillity to the empire. At his coronation he took upon him the name *Camapati Mabadascyn*.

*Baldeus.*

*Cenuwieraat clears himself.*

*Marries the empress.*

He no sooner saw himself established in the throne, but he applied himself to the *Hollanders*, in order to enter into an alliance with them against the *Portuguese*, as will appear out of the sequel of this history.

For their high and mightinesses the states-general of the *United Provinces* having, 1609. made a truce for twelve years with archduke *Albert* and *Isabella Clara Eugenia* infanta of *Spain*, by virtue whereof it was among other matters agreed, That the same should take place also in the *East Indies*; the then directors of that company being willing to improve this interval for the better settling their commerce in these parts, did petition their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince, to send their letters to all the *Indian* kings and princes, to enter into a confederacy with them; which being granted accordingly, the said letters, with certain articles and instructions, were by the directors of the said *Dutch East-India* company dispatched immediately to the *Indies* aboard the *Grey-bound yacht*, captain *Wemmer van Berchem* commander: which done, they equipped a squadron of ships, which set sail out of *Holland* the 30th of *January* under the command of *Peter Both*, governor-general of the *Indies*, and arrived safely the 18th of *November* following at *Bantam*, with full power from their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince, to enter into such alliances with all the *Indian* kings and princes, as they thought most expedient for the settling of their commerce, and ruining that of the *Portuguese* in those parts.

*Truce betwixt the Spaniards and Dutch.*

## C H A P. IX.

*Letters from the States-General of the United Provinces and Prince Maurice, sent by Marcellus de Bofchhouwer to the Emperor of Ceylon.*

*Baldæus.* THE letters from their high and mightinesses and his highness the prince of Orange to the emperor of Ceylon, were as followeth.

Most Potent King!

*The Letter of the states-general to the emperor of Ceylon.*

“ IT has pleased the almighty God, through his mercy, so to bless our arms, taken up for the maintaining of the rights and privileges of our native country against the king of *Spain and Portugal*, that after a bloody war carried on forty two years successively both by sea and land, the said king being convinced of our unanimity, power and constancy, supported by the strength of our friends and neighbouring allies, has thought fit to make us the same offers, for which we had been obliged to commence a war, viz. to declare us a free people, independant from his power; and that he was inclined to enter upon a treaty of peace or truce with us for a considerable number of years. Which offers (after mature deliberation) having been accepted by us, a treaty was set on foot accordingly with the said king of *Spain and Portugal*; which being brought to a conclusion the 9th of *April* last past, a truce was agreed upon for twelve years next ensuing; by virtue whereof all the subjects of this state are not only at liberty to carry on their traffick, commerce, or navigation, in all the kingdoms and countries where they used to enjoy the same before the war, but also in all other countries, kingdoms, or princes, and with all other nations or provinces, without exception; and with this proviso, That neither the king of *Spain and Portugal*, nor his officers and subjects, shall, in respect of this traffick hitherto carried on, or to be carried on for the future, molest or be troublesome (either directly or indirectly) to our subjects, or those belonging to any king, prince, or other superior power, with whom we have any commerce; and that your majesty, as well as all other kings, princes, states, and nations, as well in the *Indies* as in other parts, shall be comprehended in the said twelve years truce, and not be molested or attacked on account of their friendship and commerce with us,

“ But if (contrary to our expectation, and the solemn promise made by the king of *Spain and Portugal*, confirmed by his hand and seal) it should happen that your majesty's subjects and countries should be involved in any troubles with the said king, either by sea or land, by reason of their friendship, alliance, or commerce with us, your majesty may rest assured, that we shall want neither will nor power, neither ships, ammunition, nor forces, as well of our own, as of such other kings and princes our allies, as are guarantees of the said treaty, and have engaged to see the same executed in all its particulars, and consequently in respect of your majesty's dominions, as well as of all other countries and dominions, both in the *Indies*, and elsewhere, to protect and defend your majesty's dominions and subjects against all aggressors, who upon that account shall molest them. We do not doubt, but that some of the king of *Spain and Portugal* his creatures and officers, will be apt to insinuate into your majesty, his subjects, and other kings, princes, nations, and republicks, a quite different sentiment of the said treaty. But we assure your majesty by these presents upon our faith, without any tergiversation, unto which your majesty and subjects, and all other kings, princes, nations, and states, may give entire credit, and desire that your majesty will be pleased to rely upon it accordingly, to the firm settlement of a mutual and good correspondency, navigation, and traffick, betwixt our subjects; we on our side will not be wanting to entertain the same with the utmost sincerity, confiding in the omnipotent God, the king of kings, who knows the depth of the hearts of men, that he will be pleased to take both your and our subjects into his protection, and increase their well-being through his power and mercy. Dated in the *Hague*, Sept. 15. 1609.”

Subscribed, *A. Coenders.*

And somewhat lower,  
Your highnesses most hearty friends the states-general of the *United Provinces*, by their order and command,

*C. AERTZEN.*  
*Maurice*

*Baldæus.*

*Maurice, Prince of Orange, Earl of Nassau, Catzenellebogen, Diest, Vianden, Meurs, Marquis of Vere and Ulissingen, Governor, Captain, and Admiral General of Guelders, Holland, Zealand, West-Friesland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Over-Yssell, &c.*

“suppose, that the intention of the said *Baldæus.*  
 “king is, to separate by this artifice your  
 “majesty from our interest, which ought  
 “to be a mutual caution to us, to be upon  
 “our guard for the future; for since the  
 “occasion of dividing us by force of arms  
 “is removed, they will not be sparing to  
 “attain to their end by fraud and other  
 “finister means. It is therefore, that we  
 “have ordered our governor-general to  
 “treat with your majesty, and to find out  
 “such means as may be most proper to  
 “prevent their intrigues, and to unite us  
 “against those whose word and faith we  
 “dare not altogether rely upon. We did  
 “not think fit to stipulate in the said  
 “treaty, that his subjects should be ex-  
 “cluded from the traffick of *Ceylon*, but  
 “left the same to your majesty’s discretion,  
 “not questioning, but that according to  
 “your wisdom and understanding, you will  
 “act in that respect, so as that nothing  
 “may be transacted that may tend towards  
 “the dissolution of our alliance; which we  
 “hope the almighty will maintain by his  
 “blessing, to the honour of his holy name,  
 “and the welfare of your majesty, and our  
 “beloved subjects.”

*Prince Maurice’s letter to the emperor.*

*Most Potent King!*

“GOD protect your majesty, and give  
 “you all the blessings upon earth.  
 “We have for a considerable time been  
 “engaged in a war against the king of  
 “*Portugal*, in order to oppose his ambi-  
 “tious designs, the same motive having  
 “induced your majesty to defend your do-  
 “minions against his attempts: the Al-  
 “mighty God has been pleased to bless  
 “our arms with such success, as to oblige  
 “our enemy to a twelve years truce;  
 “which, by the mediation of several neigh-  
 “bouring kings, has been brought at last  
 “to a happy conclusion: but finding that  
 “the said king did continue his warlike  
 “preparations, and imagining that the  
 “same was intended chiefly, in order to  
 “tack your majesty and some other princes  
 “in the *Indies*, our allies, (after being be-  
 “reaved of our assistance,) we thought it  
 “absolutely requisite, not to agree to the  
 “said truce, unless your majesty were in-  
 “cluded therein, together with the rest of  
 “our friends and allies. Whereupon the  
 “same was concluded at last, under con-  
 “dition, That we, and all our friends and  
 “allies, should enjoy full liberty to send  
 “our ships into what countries we pleas-  
 “ed, without any molestation from the  
 “*Portuguese*; and that in case your ma-  
 “jesty, or any other of our confederates,  
 “should be attacked by him, we should  
 “deem the same as done to our selves:  
 “to accomplish which we shall be ready  
 “upon all such occasions to be affi-  
 “sistant in revenging any damages done upon  
 “that score to your majesty, or any other  
 “of our allies. We have some reason to

*Dated in the Hague Octob. 5. 1609.*

*Maurice de Nassau.*

The superscription was as follows:

“To the most illustrious and most noble  
 “emperor of *Ceylon*, king of *Candy*,  
 “*Trinquemale*, *Jafnapatnam*, *Sette-*  
 “*Corles*, *Manaar*, *Chilaw*, *Cota*, *Ba-*  
 “*tecalo*, *Punie-Gale*, our beloved bro-  
 “ther in the wars.

These letters were no sooner brought in the *Greyhound* yacht to *Coromandel*, but the director of our *East-India* company there, named *John van Wesick*, ordered immediately *Marcellus de Boschhouwer*, our Marcellus Boschhouwer sent to Ceylon. under-factor, aboard the ship called the *Black Lyon*, to *Ceylon* along with *Peter Both*, a native of *Amenfort*, commodore, bound likewise for that island.

CHAP. X.

*Marcellus de Boschhouwer comes to Candy. His Treaty and Agreement with the Emperor of that Isle.*

**M***arcellus de Boschhouwer* coming accordingly, *March 8. 1612.* to *Candy*, had audience of his imperial majesty *Cenurwieraat Adascyn*, unto whom having delivered the before-mentioned letters, the emperor received him with all imaginable demonstrations of joy, placing him on his side on a chair of gold, clad in a white garment: whereupon the treaty being be-

gun, immediately the same was concluded *May 11.* following, upon the following conditions.

- I. This confederacy shall be kept inviolably, and stand firm for the future.
- II. All hostilities shall cease, and a general amnesty be granted.

*Baldæus.* III. In case the *Portuguese* should attack his majesty, the states-general shall be obliged to assist his majesty with all their forces.

IV. His majesty grants leave to the *Dutch* to erect a fortress at *Cotiarum*, provided the king of *Cotiarum* may enjoy his customs and other revenues.

V. The emperor obliges himself to furnish bricks, lime, and other materials, for the building the said fortress, as also labourers, to be paid by the company.

VI. His imperial majesty shall take care to have ware-houses of stone or brick erected at *Candy*, for the security of our company against fire.

VII. His majesty shall take our ships and seamen under his protection, and defend them to the utmost of his power against the *Portuguese*, as the *Hollanders* shall be obliged to do the same, in respect of his majesty's subjects.

VIII. His majesty obliges himself to transact nothing in all military affairs that have any relation to our company, without the knowledge of their officers; for which purpose two *Hollanders* shall sit constantly in his council of war, to be present at all debates, and other matters to be transacted there.

IX. He engages himself to have all the merchandizes of the *Dutch* carried upon beasts fit for carriage to *Candy*, and such commodities as are bought there, to be carried back to the sea-shore at *Cotiarum*, at his own charge.

X. In case any vessels, sloops, or boats, should happen to be cast away on these coasts, his majesty's subjects shall be obliged to save as much of the goods as they can, without any reward, for the use of our company.

XI. The *Dutch* shall be permitted to export their merchandizes, without exception, custom free.

XII. All and every one of his majesty's subjects shall be at liberty to traffick with our company.

XIII. His imperial majesty obliges himself to purchase any rarities, or other uncommon commodities at such a rate, as may bear a proportion, in respect of other commodities agreed upon with our company in their exchanges.

XIV. His majesty engages to deliver yearly all the cinnamon that is to be got to our company; to be paid either in money or in merchandizes, according to the usual exchange.

XV. It is agreed, that not any sorts of merchandizes shall be delivered to such persons as are entered into contracts of commerce with the *Hollanders*, before the natives of *Holland* are satisfied in this point;

and in case the contrary be proved, their *Baldæus* persons and goods shall be detained till they have made good the said contract.

XVI. His majesty shall not allow free commerce to any of the *European* nations, without peculiar consent from their high and mightinesses and his highness the prince of *Orange*.

XVII. His majesty obliges himself to furnish timber and other materials, for the building of vessels, yachts and boats, to be delivered upon the shore.

XVIII. All prisoners taken on both sides shall be released.

XIX. All the officers of the *Dutch* company shall be exempted from his majesty's jurisdiction; and if any of them happen to commit any trespass, they are to be punished by the heads of the *Dutch* company, as his majesty's subjects shall enjoy the same benefit.

XX. His majesty obliges himself to dispose of all his precious stones and pearls to the *Hollanders*; as they on their side engage to sell all their extraordinary jewels, precious things, and other rarities, at a reasonable rate; but in case any difference should arise upon that account, the same shall not be alledged as a reason for the dissolving of this confederacy.

XXI. For the same reason his majesty and the states-general shall maintain this alliance inviolably, and assist one another upon all occasions.

XXII. All acts of hostility committed on both sides, shall be buried by a general oblivion.

XXIII. No body, except his majesty, shall have power given him to coin money, or to enhance the value of the coin, beyond what has been agreed betwixt his majesty and the *Hollanders*, in proportion to the money transported hither from *Holland*; and if any of his majesty's or our subjects are found to have coined false money, they are to be punished with death.

XXIV. His majesty and the *Hollanders* shall agree upon the most proper methods for settling both the larger and lesser coin, for the promoting of traffick.

XXV. Such coin as shall be adjudged current by both parties, shall be changed every three years by turns, once at *Candy*, and the next three years in one of our places.

XXVI. The coin shall be either enhanced or lowered, according to the present exigency of affairs in time of war.

XXVII. All the *Indian* nations shall be free to come and traffick in their own vessels in his majesty's dominions, without paying any customs, for the space of three years next ensuing.

XXVIII. After

*Baldæus.* XXVIII. After the expiration of the term of these three years, his majesty shall be at liberty to enter into a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of their high and mightinesses, concerning the rate of customs of all commodities.

XXIX. His majesty agrees, that their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince of *Orange*, shall enjoy one moiety of all the customs; for which purpose certain commissioners and clerks shall be appointed by the consent of both parties.

XXX. All the prizes taken on the coast of *Ceylon*, shall be divided, share and share alike, betwixt your majesty on the one side, and their high and mightinesses and his highness the prince of *Orange* on the other side; provided that what prisoners are taken shall be ransomed, but never put death.

XXXI. All factors, or other officers belonging to their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince of *Orange*, shall give passes to such of your majesty's subjects as intend to traffick in those parts; as his

majesty shall do the same; without which they shall be liable to be seized, and their goods confiscated. *Baldæus.*

XXXII. His majesty, their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince of *Orange*, shall be obliged to take effectual care to have the roads and passages, both by sea and land, in the isle of *Ceylon*, to be kept well and clear from highwaymen and pirates; for which purpose his majesty obliges himself to furnish timber, for the building of galleys and other vessels, for the clearing of the seas; and in case any highwaymen or pirates are taken, they shall be punished with death.

XXXIII. His imperial majesty, their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince of *Orange*, do promise to keep this confederacy inviolably, to the utmost of their power, nor to suffer the same to be violated by their subjects; to inflict severe punishments upon such as shall go about to violate it; and give full satisfaction for all damages sustained upon that account.

CHAP. XI.

*Marcellus de Boschhouwer desires Leave to depart; which the Emperor will not consent to: Has considerable Dignities bestowed upon him: The Portuguese rob and murder the Dutch at Cotiarum. The Emperor convenes the States of the Empire. The Portuguese routed near Jafnapatnam.*

*Boschhouwer desires to be dismissed.*

*Which is denied.*

*Has great dignities bestowed upon him.*

THE articles of this confederacy being thus concluded Mr. *Boschbouwer* desired leave from his imperial majesty to depart, with the elephants that were ready to carry certain commodities to *Tegnapatan*, for the use of the *Dutch* factory there; from whence he might go to *Paliacatta*, to give the *Dutch* governor of that place an account of his negotiation. But the emperor and his council were not willing to consent to his dismissal, alledging, That since, according to one of the before-mentioned articles, they were obliged not to transact any thing in warlike affairs, without the knowledge and consent of the *Dutch*, it was requisite he should stay with them for that purpose. These reasons prevailed so far with Mr. *Boschbouwer*, that he resolved to stay; and the emperor heaped favours after favours upon him, having created him prince of *Migonne*, *Kackele-Carle*, *Ananagepora*, and *Mirwitigael*, knight of the order of the *Golden Sun*, president of the council of war, the second person in his privy council, and lord high admiral; and he knew so well how to improve the emperor's good opinion of his person, that scarce any thing of moment was undertaken without his advice.

VOL. III.

In the year 1611. June 20. the *Portuguese* took the field with a body of one thousand *Portuguese*, and three thousand *Indians* their allies, under the command of *Simon Corré*; and having got a certain *Candinese* for their guide, they marched through unknown ways to *Cotiarum*, where they surprized the *Dutch* belonging to Mr. *Boschbouwer*, put them all to the sword, and plundered the place, and then retired with all speed to *Sette-Corle*, for fear of being overtaken by the emperor's forces. *murder and plunder the Dutch.*

For the emperor had no sooner notice of their march, but he sent a body of five thousand men, commanded by *Marasinge Affile*, an old experienced captain, and under him *Mayndappa* and *Vire Segre*, two brave noblemen, to *Cotiarum*; but coming too late, they pursued the *Portuguese* day and night, till they overtook them near *Sette-Corle*, killed twenty three *Portuguese*, six hundred *Indians*, set several villages on fire, and returned with many prisoners, and a good booty to *Candy*.

About the same time an envoy of the king of *Palugam* came to court, representing that *Jahn Sangati* his master's brother, and king of *Podere*, was entered into an alliance with *Difference betwixt two brothers.*

*Baldæus.* the Portuguese, in order to deliver all his harbours into their hands, and afterwards to carry on a war against his imperial majesty with their assistance. Hereupon the king of *Podere* being summoned to appear at court at a prefixed time, he sent an envoy to clear his innocence with the emperor, unto whom he represented the perfidiousness of the king of *Palugam*, who had killed his own brother at table, for no other reason but that he might be sole master of the whole kingdom, offering besides to remain there as a hostage for his master's fidelity. The emperor, though not very well satisfied with the king of *Podere*, by reason of his not appearing in person, yet considering that what had been alledged by his envoy, concerning the murder of his elder brother, was no more than truth, and that certain differences were arisen lately betwixt them about the customs of the river of *Palugam*, one half whereof was allotted by the estates to the king of *Podere*, he dismissed the envoy well satisfied, resolving to suspend his judgment, till time should unfold the matter.

The emperor convenes the estates.

The emperor having bent his thoughts upon a war, he convened the estates of the empire, viz. *Idele* king of *Côtiarum*, *Celle Wandaar* king of *Palugam*, *Comaro Wandaar* king of *Batecalo*, *Corre Witty Raelbamy* prince of *Ouve*, *Marcellus de Boschbouwer*, prince of *Migonne*, *Meter Raelbamy* prince of *Vellene*, *Jallago de Ralle* prince of *Cotomale*, *Mewater Rale* prince of *Mewater*, *Wik Venesinge* earl of *Quatre-Corle*, *John Sangati* prince and lord of *Podore*, *Cole Rale* duke of *Ode*, *Jattenore* brother of the prince *Jalagode*, *Gael Heberad* governor of the county of *Harcipate*, *Corope* governor of the county of *Odogo d' Askeri*, *Wanategere* governor of the province of *Matere*. In the same assembly appeared also the governors and commanders in chief of the lesser provinces, and the ambassador of the king of *Jafnapatnam*, the king of *Patania* being the only one, who, though summoned by a peculiar letter, dated July 16. 1611. made several frivolous excuses for his not appearing there.

What was concluded there.

Among other matters of the greatest moment, it was resolved in this assembly to raise an army of fifty thousand men, one half whereof was to be employed in the siege of *Puntegale*, under the conduct of the prince of *Ouve*; the other against *Walane*, under the command of the prince of *Migonne*: and in case they met with good success, both armies were to join and attack *Columbo*. For the carrying on of this enterprize, four millions five hundred thousand livres were to be raised. Concerning the differences betwixt the king of *Palugam* and his brother *John Sangati*, they were both enjoined, under pain of death, not to hurt one

another, till the matter could be further enquired into. *Baldæus.*

A high court of judicature was also settled, to examine and decide all such matters as before that time used to be determined by the emperor and his privy council. The judges of this court were the prince of *Migonne* president, the prince of *Ouve*, the prince of *Velaren*, and the prince of *Cotomale*. None of the inferior courts were to take cognizance of criminal matters, without the approbation of this high court, from whence no appeal was to be allowed. The prince of *Ouve*, the prince of *Migonne*, the prince of *Velaren*, the prince of *Cotomale*, and the earl of *Quatre-Corle*, were appointed members of his majesty's privy council.

It was also further decreed, That not only liberty should be granted, but also houses and lands allotted to such seamen as would settle in his majesty's dominions; by which means they proposed to get in time a sufficient number of able seamen to man their galleys, of which three were ordered to be built immediately, with some other vessels, to cruise upon the Portuguese on the coast of *Orixa* and *Bengale*, &c. It was also agreed, that no quarter should be given to the Portuguese and their confederates, unless they were women or children; and that a pardon should be published for all deserters that would return within sixty days into his majesty's service; which was done accordingly at *Candy*, July 23. 1612.

Whilst these things were transacting advice was brought that the Portuguese were on their march towards *Jafnapatnam*; whereupon the emperor having sent part of his forces, designed for the expedition against *Walane* and *Gale*, to observe their motions, they attacked the rear of the Portuguese, who imagining no otherwise than that the whole force of the emperor was on their back, were soon brought into confusion; but finding their mistake, rallied again, and retreated towards *Columbo*, making themselves masters in their march thither of the dukedom of *Migonne*, where they committed all manner of cruelties. The *Modeliar*, or governor, being accused of having betray'd his trust, sent a letter to the prince of *Migonne*, wherein he declared, That after having sustained three assaults, he was forced to surrender; adding, That they were ready to shake off the Portuguese yoke with the first opportunity that offered, though the Portuguese had taken most of their wives and children, (and among the rest the governor's wife,) along with them, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity to *Columbo*. They sent also a present to their prince, as a token of their obedience. The letter was dated August 30. 1612. by the command of the chief *Visego Modeliar*.

The

*Baldæus.* The prince, after having consulted about this letter with the emperor, sent answer, That he was extremely concerned at the loss of his country and subjects, exhorting them to persist in their fidelity; and that as soon as possible he would appear among them at the head of the imperial army. *Baldæus.*

## C H A P. XII.

- *The Death of the Hereditary Imperial Prince: His Funeral. The King of Panua rebels, is taken Prisoner; and killed, with all his Adherents.*

*Death of the imperial prince.*

ABOUT the same time the hereditary imperial prince *Mabaſtanne*, son of the late emperor *Don John*, died after a sickness of six days. The occasion of his death was variously reported; but the general opinion was, That he had been poisoned by *Cénuwieraat*, his father-in-law, to make way for his eldest son *Comara Singaſtanne*, to succeed him in the empire. Certain it is, that his death was generally lamented; the guards were doubled all round the imperial palace, and great preparations made for his funeral; which was performed the 23d of *August*, in the afternoon. The empress especially gave most evident marks of her grief, calling him at parting, *Her own precious flesh and blood, her only hopes, life, and satisfaction*, vowing to revenge his death, and not to take any nourishment, that she might follow her son. She did afterwards fall into a swoon, and was fain to be removed out of the room by her two daughters, who also were melted in tears.

The corps of the deceased prince being exposed to the view of the people, they broke out into most lamentable exclamations, crying, *Where is the traitor that murdered our prince? we will tear him to pieces*: So that the emperor fearing a general insurrection, got the prince of *Migonne*, and the prince of *Ouve* to tell them, That the prince was not poisoned, but died of a fever; which somewhat appeased the tumult. The corps being put into a mourning hearse, adorned with gold and precious stones, was carried to the place of burial in the following manner:

*His funeral.*

First of all went the prince's musicians, clad in black *Gingam*, or linnen; then the musqueteers and pikemen, three in a rank: these were followed by the shield-bearers and halberdiers with their halberds downwards: after these came forty war-elephants, guided by as many gentlemen; and eight *Persian* horses led by eight knights of the *Golden Sun*; and after these the grooms of the bed-chamber all richly attired. Then came the scp-

ter and crown, carried each upon a black velvet cushion, and the prince's arms. These were followed by the corps, attended by eight of the greatest lords of the country; then the empress's *Palankin*, or litter, attended by sixteen with fans, four umbrello's, and eight betel boxes, as also a nosegay of gold to be worn by the emperor only. After these came the emperor supported by the princes of *Migonne* and *Mewater*, followed by the chief lords of the empire and the governors of the provinces. They passed along the streets under several arches made of fine stuffs and plaister-work. The corps being deposited on the place of burial with a deal of solemnity, the priests muttered out certain prayers, and the common people expressed their sorrow by frequent mournful outcries.

The place of burial (called *Hona* by the *Cingalese*) was a four-square raised from the ground seven steps high: it was level on the top, and adorned with several rows of trees. In the midst of it was the grave, into which the lords who had carried the corps threw a great quantity of sandal-wood, and sweet-scented spices; and having put the corps upon it, covered with the same spices, as high as a man could reach; they also poured in among it three large vessels full of oil of cinnamon, and another with butter. Over the grave was erected a large canopy rising up like a pyramid of seven foot high; under which stood the lords whilst the ceremony lasted; which being over, the prince of *Migonne* took a bundle of straw, which was given him by the prince of *Amme*, and a golden chafin dish with fire, and two lighted torches; and being attended by the said prince of *Amme*, and two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, set fire to the spices and corps in the grave, under the most dreadful ejaculations and outcries of the people, which lasted till the corps was quite burnt to ashes: which done, the whole train returned to court to condole the empress and her daughters. *His corps burnt.*



*The Funeral Pomp of a Royal Prince.*



*The Funeral Rites of a Royal Prince.*



*Baldæus.* In September advice being brought to court that the king of *Panua* had joined the *Portuguese* against the emperor, and that the king of *Cotiarum* intended to follow his footsteps, the emperor with the advice of his privy council sent his letters, dated the 23d of September, to both these kings, to make their personal appearance at court within sixteen days, under the forfeiture of all their estates, and banishment. The king of *Cotiarum* happening to be ill at that time; he sent his uncle to know the reason of his being summoned to court; and thereupon appeared in person on the 9th of October following, giving such proofs of his innocence, that he was soon cleared by the emperor. But the king of *Panua* knowing himself guilty, did not think fit to appear; so that it was resolved to reduce him by force, his defection having put a stop to the expedition against *Walane* and *Gale*. Accordingly the princes of *Migonne* and *Gurve*, at the head of an army of thirty five thousand men, marched, Jan. 1. 1613. directly towards *Panua*, with a resolution to destroy all with fire and sword: but the inhabitants finding themselves not in a condition to oppose so formidable a force, sent deputies with presents to the princes, desiring they might be spared, as having no hand in this defection; which being granted, they were amerced in four hundred and fifty seven thousand *Larynes*, (besides their yearly tribute,) amounting just to two months pay of the whole army, and to give hostages for the king's appearance at court in five or six days after.

Appears at court, and is accused of treason.

Accordingly he was no sooner come there, but being brought before the privy council, his accusation was read to him in writing, viz. "That he had entered into an engagement with the *Portuguese* against the emperor, and was to have married the young princess *Hantan Adascyn*, and with her, as a dowry, the kingdoms of *Batecalo* and *Palugam*: That he had despised the emperor's order in not coming to court; and hired a certain ruffian for five thousand *Larynes* to murder the emperor, with a promise of twenty thousand more, and certain possessions, after the same was accomplished, as appeared both by his own hand-writing, and the confession of the ruffian." Which being so evident against him, that he had scarce any thing to reply, he acknowledged himself guilty, craving the emperor's mercy, in regard of his being descended from the imperial blood, and of the many services done to the crown by his ancestors.

Is committed to prison.

He was by order from the council ordered to be committed prisoner in the castle of *Meddema Honore*; from whence he sent a

most submissive letter to the emperor; imploring his mercy to save his life, and to condemn him to a perpetual imprisonment. About sixty two persons, found to have been his accomplices in this conspiracy; were sent to other prisons, and afterwards punished with death.

*Baldæus.*

The 20th of *March* being the day appointed for the trial of the king and his accomplices, fifty lords of the empire appointed for that purpose, after a full hearing, found them all guilty of high treason, and accordingly pronounced the following sentence: *That the king of Panua should be beheaded; and the rest be thrown before the elephants, and all their goods and estates confiscated.* This sentence being signed by his imperial majesty, was put in execution accordingly the 24th of *March* following in the forenoon.

His trial.

Sentence.

Accordingly a scaffold covered with white (the royal colour here) being erected in the castle of *Meddema Honore*, the king was brought thither, and seated himself upon a gilt chair. He at first appeared undaunted; but being deprived of all his dignities; in the view of the people, and the sentence read to him, he began to bewail his unfortunate condition, asking frequently whether there were no hopes of a pardon? Being told no, he suffered himself to be undressed by some of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, (who were all in tears,) unto whom he made rich presents of jewels, and ordered his chancellor (who had not had the least knowledge of this design) to bind up his eyes. In the mean while the king took some *Betel* and *Arek*, and then said, *Why do we stay? Unfortunate I, what am I reduced to?* Then taking three turns round the scaffold, he sat down, and taking a little *Betel*, told the spectators, *I am a king descended from the imperial blood; but since I must die, this is my only request, That my dead corps may not be left to the management of vile persons, but be honoured with a royal sepulture.* Which being promised by some of the lords there present he seemed to be well satisfied; and having asked their pardon for what had passed, he had his eyes tied up, and laying his head upon a block, it was severed from the body, which (at the intercession of the said lords) had a royal sepulture allowed it by the emperor.

Execution.

Behaviour.

Un-Speech:

After his death *Samatway*, the king's uncle, being with a general approbation declared his successor, marched at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, the 8th of *April* to *Panua*, to take possession of that kingdom, which he found involved in no small troubles, there being a strong party who opposed his succession: But one hundred and twenty five of the ringleaders being cut

His successor.

for.

*Baldæus*. to pieces by the new king's forces, the rest thought fit to submit. So soon as he found himself in the quiet possession of the kingdom, he sent back the forces, as also the arrears of the annual tribute, besides confi-

derable presents. The *Portuguese* not long after sent their deputies to entice those of *Panua* with vast promises, to engage with them afresh; but these were sent back without being heard.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Emperor sits down before Walane. The Prince of Migonne equips a Squadron of Ships. The Empress falls sick, disposes of her Affairs, and dies.*

The emperor besieges Walane.

It was not long after that the emperor, with a good army, formed the siege of *Walane*, and took the castle by assault; but his soldiers being too intent upon the plunder, the *Portuguese* recovered themselves, and beat them from thence. The emperor being highly exasperated at this miscarriage, caused one hundred and five *Cingalese* to be hanged, which proved of the worse consequence; because the *Portuguese* receiving fresh succours soon after, he was forced to raise the siege.

Raises the siege.

A Squadron of ships sent a cruising.

In the mean time the prince of *Migonne* had not been idle to equip some galleys and *Fustes*, (small vessels,) to cruize upon the *Portuguese*, between the cape of *Comoryn* and the isle of *Ceylon*. The same set sail the 16th of *May* out of the harbour of *Cotiarum* under the command of a nephew of the prince of *Ouwe* as admiral, and *Wandige Nay Hanni* vice-admiral. The first galley was called the *Candy*, one *Sanderappo* captain; the second called the *Holland*, *Kistena* captain; the third the *Migonne*, one *Dingappe* captain; the fourth called the *Fortune*, one *Ordia* captain; fifth, the *Good Luck*, one *Marasinge* captain; sixth, the *Faithful*, commanded by captain *Sanderappo*. These ships returned the sixth of *March*, 1613. with a great booty, amounting to near six hundred thousand livres. For they had taken two *Portuguese* vessels near *Chilau* to the north of *Negumbo* and *Manaar*, called *Patasios*, and three *Fustes*, besides twenty barks which they set on fire. Not far from *Calecut* and the cape of *Comoryn*, they took another ship, whereof they threw (according to order) the *Portuguese* overboard, forced another ashore, and took a *Moorish* vessel richly laden coming from *Ormus*, and bound for *Cochin*, and another *Portuguese* ship coming from *Bengale*. The *Portuguese* and *Mistices*, of all which they threw into the seas, keeping only the *Portuguese* women and *Negros*. In the road of *Panaca*, they met with another *Portuguese* ship riding at anchor, deserted by the ship's crew, which they brought into the harbour of *Cotiarum*. His majesty ordered the

booty to be distributed among the officers and seamen.

In July 1613. the empress *Donna Catharina* being with child, fell dangerously ill of a fever: she sent for the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouwe*, unto whom (after having taken an oath of secrecy from them) she discovered the whole sentiments of her heart, and (with the emperor's consent) constituted them governors of her children. She had conceived such an immoderate grief at the death of her eldest son, the prince of *Mabaftanne*, that she would scarce take any sustenance. She declared, that nothing troubled her more, than that before her death she should not see the downfall of the *Portuguese* in *Ceylon*; and would often, with a great deal of eagerness, enquire whether the expected succours were not arrived out of *Holland*. Such was her grief, as I told you before, about the loss of her son, that she would scarce rest day or night; which had questionless proved the occasion of this distemper: and she was no less troubled how to dispose of her children after her death; she bequeathed to them all her jewels and treasure she had been gathering for a considerable time; as also certain legacies to all her servants, and restored all her slaves of both sexes to their liberty.

1613, The empress falls sick.

Takes care of her children and servants.

Her sickness increasing daily, she was carried from *Welmantotte* (her ordinary residence) to *Modeni*, where, in the presence of the emperor she charged her eldest son to revenge the late deceased prince's death upon the physician, who, she said, was the author thereof: but as she was sometimes not well in her senses, so this was not much regarded. In the mean while the emperor took care to prevent all disorders which might be occasioned by the empress's death, by reinforcing the frontier garrisons, and doubling the guards in other places. The empress having pretty well recovered her senses, sent for her five children, *Comara Singastanne* hereditary prince of the crown, and his two brothers *Janiere Astanne* and *Lamait*, and the two princesses *Mabadascyn* and *Hantan Adascyn*: she clasped

*Baldæus* clasped them one after another, with tears in her eyes, in her arms, and kissing them, said, *See here, you dearest part of my own flesh and blood, your mother that has brought you into the world, but must leave you in a little time.* Then she called to her the two before-mentioned princes, unto whom she delivered her children in these words: *I now deliver to you the dearest pledges I have; take care of them as of your own eyes, and retaliate upon them the many obligations you have received at our hands.* Then turning towards the emperor, she told him, *You are the occasion of my death.* Which so sensibly touched him, (he loving the empress extremely,) that soon after it threw him into a violent distemper. After that she scarce spoke to any body, except the prince of *Ouve*, unto whom she declared her sorrow, for having adored and sacrificed to the pagan idols, contrary to her better knowledge, having been educated a christian, telling him, *That she saw the devils ready to strangle her.* The prince of *Migonne* (upon whom

she fixed her eyes all the while) answered *Baldæus*: her, *That the infernal spirits had no power over a christian, provided they heartily repented of their sins; that therefore she ought to rest satisfied, and to implore God's mercy for her soul, for Jesus Christ's sake.* She returned for answer, *I am a christian, and would willingly pray, I desire you to pray with me.* The prince of *Migonne* prayed aloud, *Our Father*, and the twelve articles of the christian creed: unto which the empress replied in *Portuguese*, *O Christ! ajuda mi! O Christ help me!* Soon after being carried back to *Welmantotte*, she spoke her last words: *O my dear princes and princesses, said she, where must I leave you? My sons* (pointing to the prince of *Migonne* and prince of *Ouve*,) *perform your promises; farewell, I am departing; O God, take care of my soul: and so she expired the 20th of July 1613: in the thirty fifth year of her age, and was buried the twenty first, with the same pomp, and in the same place, as the prince her son was before.*

## C H A P. XIV.

*The Emperor falls very ill: Assembles the Estates. The Transactions of that Assembly.*

*The emperor falls sick.*

*Assembles the estates.*

THE emperor finding himself worse and worse, would needs be carried to a small city, called *Dilege*, where he appointed the states of the empire to meet *Aug. 18.* in order to settle the succession of the crown. The members of this great assembly (according to the schedule read to the king) were, *Idele*, king of *Cotiaram*; *Celle Wandaar*, king of *Palugam*; *Comaro Wandaar*, king of *Batecalo*; *Samarway*, king of *Panua*; *Namacar*, the king of *Jafnapatnam's* ambassador; *Coriwitte*, prince of *Ouve*; *Marcellus*, prince of *Migonne*; *Materael Hani*, prince of *Velaren*; *Jalagode Rate*, prince of *Catemale*; *Mewater Rate*, prince of *Mewater*; *Jane Sengati*, prince and lord of *Podere*; *Wiek Venesinge*, earl of *Quatre-Corle*; *Gael Henerad*, governor of the earldom of *Haripate*; *Corope*, governor of the earldom of *Odogodas*; *Kerry Wanasegre*, governor of the province of *Matele*; *Atapatte*, governor of *Wuat Gamme*; and *Palgrame Halvenrale*, governor of *Atapeli* and *Wilwele*; besides a great number of other noblemen, unto whom his imperial majesty made the following speech.

*My Lords,*  
 His Speech. "THIS present assembly being occasioned by my sickness, (perhaps the fore-runner of my approaching end,) I first of all desire you to forgive me all

miscarriages I have committed, the same having been done without my knowledge; and feeling my self very feeble, and decaying in strength, I thought fit to take effectual care about the succession, to avoid all contests that might likely arise after my decease. You cannot be forgetful what disturbance arose in the empire after the death of my brother *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, which ought to serve us as a caution to prevent the same at this juncture, by committing the tuition of *Comara Singastanne*, the eldest hereditary prince of the crown, to such as you shall judge best qualified for so high a trust, with a full authority to manage the administration of all publick affairs during the prince's minority; the choice whereof I recommend to your present care."

The lords being not a little surprized at this proposition, gave in their opinions in writing, wherein they pitched upon the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouve*, who both excused themselves, pleading their inability, and desiring his majesty to chuse some more able persons in their steads. The emperor reply'd, sighing, *And are you then so backward in doing me this piece of service? Can you be so forgetful of all the obligations I have heaped upon you?* They answered, *That they were ready to sacrifice their lives and estates*

*Baldæus* estates for his majesty; but that they were afraid, their shoulders were too weak for so great a burden. *Well then,* reply'd the emperor, *we will leave the choice to my son the prince,* wherewith the whole assembly was satisfied. The emperor then ordered the king of *Cotiarum* to bring in the prince; which being done accordingly, he told him, *Son, make your choice from among all these kings and princes of two persons, such as you love best, who shall be administrators of the empire after my death.* The prince answered all in tears, *Good father! and will you die, dear father? pray do not leave me!* which words drew tears both from the emperor and the whole assembly. The emperor answered, *I do not know how soon my time may come to leave you; wherefore I would have you pitch upon two persons, such as you love best next to my self.* *Well then,* reply'd the prince, *I love the prince of Migonne, and likewise the prince of Ouve, and next to him the prince of Velaren.* *I am satisfied,* said the emperor, *bring them to me, that I may surrender you to their care.* Accordingly the prince having led the two before-mentioned princes to the emperor, he told him, *These shall be my governors now, and when come to maturity my chief counsellors.* The emperor returned for answer, not without some emotion, *My dear son, see here your father, whose life, perhaps, will not be long; you are but young, therefore be always advised by these two princes.* A torrent of tears which trickled down his cheeks having stopped his voice, he ordered himself to be carried out of the assembly, enjoining only in a few words all the lords there present, to persist in their fidelity, which they unanimously promised to do, and in token of their entire submission, saluted the emperor with the usual *Sambaje*, or reverence, according to the custom of that country.

The next day the royal patent, to invest the before-mentioned two princes with the administration of the empire, was read in the assembly. *Genuwieraat*, by the grace of God, emperor of Ceylon, king of Candy, *Settevacca*, *Trinquenemale*, *Jafnapatnam*, *Sette-Corles*, *Manaar*, *Chilaon*, *Panua*, *Batecalo*, *Palugam* and *Jale*; Prince of *Ouve*, *Dennevaque*, *Passadon-Corle*, *Velaren*, *Coromale*, *Mewater* and *Ventane*; duke of *Willegame*, *Cale*, *Ody* and *Jattenore*; earl of *Quatre-Corle*, *Harkepattee*, *Odogodascary*, *Craiwitty* and *Batagedre*: Peace to all those that read these presents.

The administrators of the empire declared.

“ **B** EING much indisposed, and consequently in no small danger of life, we thought fit to convene all the great men of the empire to consult the welfare of the publick, and of our dearly

“ beloved son *Comara Singastanne*, (whom *Baldæus*, God preserve.) It is for this reason that we have appointed two princes administrators (after our decease) not only of the empire, but also of our hereditary prince during his minority, with full authority to govern the realm; the two princes chosen for so great a trust, being the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouve*, declared such by the unanimous consent of the assembly. We do by these presents surrender to the said princes all our kingdoms, provinces, and dominions, to be governed by them, during the minority of our dearly beloved sons; and as we are very glad to have been able (in our life-time) to prevent all intestine commotions by this settlement, so we require and desire the two before-mentioned princes to take upon them the government of all our dominions till our recovery; or in case of my decease, till the hereditary prince comes to an age of maturity, or his brothers, in case he should happen to die before that time: we therefore command by these presents expressly, that no body else shall presume to take upon him the administration and tuition of the before-mentioned princes and princesses, but shall obey the said two princes without the least opposition, under forfeiture of their lives. These two princes shall take effectual care of the education of the young princes and princesses under proper tutors, and to see the eldest prince, when come to age, quietly settled in the throne; and in case of his decease, *Janiere Astan* to succeed, as after him *Lamoostanne*, the third is to be the next heir to the crown; but in case all the said princes should die without issue, our dearly beloved daughter, the princess *Mahadascyn*, and after her her sister, the princess *Hantan Madascyn*, shall succeed them in their due turns. But in case these also should leave no children behind them, the empire shall devolve into your hands, and you shall be at full liberty to chuse, with the unanimous consent of the great men of the empire, such a person of the imperial blood as you think the best qualified for the welfare of the empire, which I leave to the wisdom of this assembly. In the mean while, every one (after my decease) shall be obliged to be accountable to the two administrators for all the revenues of the respective lands without failure, upon pain of death and loss of their estates. The two administrators shall have a due regard for all such counsellors as were in our life-time, and not turn them out, unless they should

Settlement of the empire.

*Baldæus.* “ should not behave themselves as they ought to do, when they shall have power to put others in their places.  
 “ All mandates shall be issued by the two administrators in the name of the whole empire, and the hereditary prince; according to which all the great men and nobility, without exception, shall appear at court when required, and obey them in all other respects: they shall also be obliged to take the usual oath of allegiance to the hereditary prince, and his two administrators, and to promise to persist in their fidelity, and not to suffer any alliance or engagement to be made with our enemies the *Portuguese*, or any rebels, under what pretence soever. They shall be obliged to assist in the reducing of all such (though of the next kindred) as pretend to disturb the publick peace: and lastly, all the kings and lords shall take an oath, That after our decease they will raise no disturbance in the empire, but will submit quietly to the present disposition, under forfeiture of their lives. For which reason our grant written in golden letters, is to be delivered to the princes of *Migonne* and *Ouve*; pursuant to which they shall have full authority to govern and protect in our and the hereditary prince’s name our dominions, and to administer justice both in civil and criminal causes. We therefore order and command all kings, princes, dukes, earls,

“ clergymen, nobles, governors, and heads of provinces and cities, captains, presidents, counsellors, admirals, chancellors, and all other persons in our service, as deputies, administrators, farmers, inhabitants, soldiers, citizens, and others inhabiting the cities, villages, or any places whatever, all and every one in particular, to receive and acknowledge the before-mentioned two princes, administrators, and governors of the realm, till the hereditary prince came of age, and to take the oath of fidelity to them, and shew them the same respect as to our own person, and, as becomes faithful and true subjects, to behave themselves in all respects according to the true intent of this patent. We also annul by these presents all laws or constitutions which may seem contrary to the true meaning thereof; and to give it all the authority and weight that can be, have in conjunction with the hereditary prince, and the princes, dukes, and lords of this assembly, signed it with our own hand, and ordered the great seal to be affixed to it. For the same reason we have also commanded the same to be registred in all the courts, councils, and treasuries of our empire, that no body may plead ignorance of this our last will.”

*Dated at the Imperial Court at Digelege, 19 Aug. 1613.*

C H A P. XV.

*The Hereditary Princes are carried to Cockele-Corle. Gael Heneraed is routed; and being summoned to Court, is made Prisoner, and executed.*

*The emperor surrenders his children to the administrators.* THE said patent being published by his imperial majesty’s order, the administrators, as well as the rest of the estates, took the oath of allegiance to the hereditary prince; which done, the administrators upon their knees returned his majesty thanks for the honour he had bestowed upon them, wishing him a long and happy life. His majesty lifting them up, ordered them to sit down by him, and disclosed to them some of his treasures which were buried under ground, besides several other matters relating to the administration of the state.

Then the three princes and two princesses being called in, he exhorted them to follow the directions of their governors;

and taking the eldest prince in his arms, *My dearest son*, said he, *I wish you and your brothers and sisters all imaginable prosperity*: and then turning to the princes of *Migonne* and *Ouve*; *Receive*, says he, *from my hands these my dearest treasures, which I commit to your care*; and thus delivered them up to the two administrators, who took care to have them convey’d in the night-time to the dukedom of *Cockele-Corle* for their better security, charging those who conducted them, upon their lives not to divulge whither they were carried: which done, the assembly was dissolved the twentieth.

The *Portuguese* had no sooner notice of the death of the empress, and the sick-

*Baldæus*. nefs of the emperor, but they left no stone unturned (notwithstanding the miscarriage of their design upon *Panna*) to raise new troubles. For this purpose they had found means to bring over to their side the son of *Gael Heneraed*, governor of *Harcipate*, president in the dukedom of *Cockele-Corle*, who all along had supplied them with provisions at *Walane*, and had engaged several of the nobility to raise divisions, thereby to give opportunity to the *Portuguese* to make themselves masters of the kingdom. The two princes administrators having got some notice of the matter, they resolved to find out the bottom of this design. For this purpose the prince of *Migonne* marched the 15th of *September* at the head of a good body, under pretence of changing the garisons on the frontiers, but near *Ode* and *Jatteno* met *Heneraed's* forces, who being not a little surpris'd at the sight of the prince, pretended they were ordered for *Cottamale* upon some particular business. The prince being now more than ever confirmed in the matter, ordered their chief commander to be brought before him immediately, who being searched, a letter of *Gael Heneraed* was found about him, viz. *That all things looked with a good face towards the accomplishment of the design concerted betwixt them. That he had consulted with his Son Abecque, president of Cockele-Corle, and that they had agreed with many of the nobility to murder the princes and princesses, and likewise the princes of Migonne and Ouve, the issue whereof they should know as soon as it was put in execution. He sent them in the mean time, a certain quantity of powder, ball and provisions, advising them to be upon their guard, because the garison of Candy had been reinforced considerably of late, which seem'd as if some design were in hand against them.*

A letter intercepted of Heneraed's.

Heneraed's forces routed.

He is summoned to court.

The prince gave immediate orders to seize the commander, who standing upon his defence, was cut to pieces: His soldiers and pioneers attempted to save themselves by flight; but being pursued were most slain, except a few that saved themselves in the woods. The prince dispatched a messenger immediately to the governour with orders to come immediately to court, having particular occasion to concert some matters of moment with him.

He who knew nothing of what was pass'd, appeared accordingly the 17th of *September* at the court in *Candy*; where being well received by the prince, they talked of several matters relating to the government; upon which occasion he gave him repeated assurances of his fidelity, telling him, That he was ready to venture his life for the welfare of the empire. The prince of *Migonne* had much ado to dissemble his anger, only

told him, *We have nevertheless received certain advice that you hatch treason against the crown, and are entered into a confederacy with the Portugueses our enemies, contrary to the oath you have so lately taken.* He declared his innocence with many asseverations, desiring that he might be confronted with his accusers: Whereupon the prince of *Ouve* told him, *We could wish you innocent, but are too well informed of your treachery,* and so ordered him to withdraw (after some further excuse) to be disfam'd, and his person to be secured.

Is seized

The captain of the guard coming to seize him, he said, *Friend, you are wrong;* and so made the best of his way towards the gate, in hopes of making his escape; but the captain asking him, *Are you not the governor Gael Heneraed?* he answered, *Yes.* The captain reply'd, *Then I am not wrong; I beg your pardon, being obliged to execute his majesty's orders.* So that seeing there was no hopes of escaping, he desired to be brought before his majesty, or before the prince's administrators. The captain told him, That he had no such orders. Whereupon some of the governor's soldiers put themselves in a posture of defence; but were all made prisoners, and put to death the next day, being thirty two in number. Another party attempted to escape by night; but fifty of them were taken and committed to prison, which made his case worse.

His soldiers taken.

In the mean time the two administrators took care to have the emperor's children transported to another castle, and sent orders to all the governors to stop all the soldiers of *Heneraed*, unless they were provided with a passport from his majesty.

The emperor's children carried to another place.

The 22d *Heneraed* was examined in the council; where at first he boldly deny'd every thing alledged against him; but soon after confessed the whole, and begged mercy, alledging, That what he had done was out of discontent, because he had not been promoted to a higher station. He did not deny that twenty six noblemen had been concerned in this conspiracy, yet refused to name them; but seeing the *Brabman*, who had made the first discovery appear, he said, *No question but you will soon know their names now; however, I will not discover them.* The *Brabman* declared, That *Gael Heneraed* had caused two gentlemen to be murdered, because they refused to have a hand in this conspiracy. The twenty six noblemen being apprehended, confessed the fact; and the 25th being appointed for their trial, they were all condemn'd to death. The 27th they were executed in the following manner: The fifty soldiers who had endeavoured to make their escape, had their heads cut off. The twenty six noblemen,

He is examined.

Tried and condemn'd, with twenty six gentlemen.

Their execution.

*Baldæus*. who had signed the confederacy, had the heads cut off first, and then their bodies thrown before the dogs. Four of his chief counsellors were drawn with hot pinchers, had afterwards their hands cut off, and their bodies quartered, which were hung up about the castle. The unfortunate governor, who had been a spectator of the miserable exits of his accomplices, being likewise burnt

with red hot pinchers at each corner of the *Baldæus* streets, was broken alive upon the wheel, and afterwards thrown before the elephants, one of which threw him up to a considerable height, and afterwards catching him again, crushed him to pieces with his teeth. The rest had the good fortune to escape to *Columbo*.

CHAP. XVI.

*A Battle betwixt the Emperor and the Rebels. The Portugese propose a Treaty of Peace; which is refused. They march towards Candy; but are routed.*

SOON after the princes of *Migonne* and *Ouwe*, together with the earl of *Quatre-Corle*, took a progress to *Cockele-Corle*, being followed by two thousand men, and honourably received by the inhabitants; they settled matters upon the old foot, and made some alteration in the coin, giving strict orders not to raise the money above the prefixed value.

of *June*, *Don Francisco de Menezes* his envoy to *Candy*, with full power to treat with the said emperor upon the best terms he could. Accordingly the said envoy delivered to the emperor a letter from the general, and another from the viceroy of *Goa*, written in the king of *Spain's* name, the chief contents whereof (besides some compliments) were,

An engagement betwixt the emperor and rebels.

In the year 1614. there happened a bloody engagement betwixt the imperial forces and the rebels, wherein four thousand men being killed on both sides, and the last finding themselves too weak, retreated in the night time, and solicited the *Portugese* for help. The emperor remaining thus master of the field, ordered his camp to be strongly fortified; and keeping only two thousand men, and one thousand pioneers for his guard, he sent his general with the whole army to cut off the retreat of the enemy. The *Portugese*, having got notice thereof, gathered secretly a body of one hundred *Portugese*, and five thousand natives; and marching through unpassable ways, surprized the outguards, and entred the camp without much opposition, every one seeking how to save themselves by timely flight. In this action the prince of *Migonne* was wounded with a lance in his right leg, and the prince of *Ouwe* in the right arm, and five hundred were slain upon the spot on the emperor's side.

“ That his catholick majesty being averse to the effusion of human blood, was inclined to enter into a treaty with his majesty, in order to settle a firm and lasting peace; for which purpose he had granted full power to certain persons of hote to treat upon that head, desiring that his majesty would be pleased to accept of them as such, and give them a favourable reception.

*Goa, Feb. 22. 1614.*

The Portugese surprize the emperor's camp.

Anno 1614. March 14. *Don Munno de Feriera*, brother of the earl of *Fere*, arrived at *Columbo*, in the quality of viceroy of *Goa*, to relieve *Don Feronimo d'Oviedo*. He brought along with him about one hundred thirty two *Portugese*, besides a good number of *Mistices*, to reinforce the garrisons, with positive orders to endeavour, if possible, to procure a peace with the emperor of *Ceylon*.

The general's letter was much to the same purpose.

The emperor having proposed the matter the 13th following in council, it was resolved they should bring in their propositions in writing, which being done the 18th of the same month, were as follows.

1. The king of *Spain* is willing to enter into an amicable treaty with the emperor.
2. The peace to be concluded either for ever, or for a certain space of years, to be kept inviolably, and all hostilities to cease both by water and land immediately.
3. Each party to keep what they are in possession of at present.
4. His imperial majesty shall renounce his alliance with the *Dutch*, and engage himself never to enter into any other with them for the future, or any other state at enmity.



*Baldæus*. charge he had been at in the equipment of this Squadron; for which reason he seized upon all *Boschbouwer's* effects aboard his vessels, after having taken care of his burial, which was performed with little pomp; but that of his son of three years of age, (who being born at *Copenhagen*, was godson of king *Christian IV.* and died likewise in this voyage) was done with more solemnity. The seizing of *Boschbouwer's* effects being performed in the harbour of *Trinquemale* by *Gule Gedde*, he sent his widow at her request to *Candy*, stripp'd of every thing, except what she had saved privately by the assistance of some friends, from whence after a stay of seven years, she was by the emperor *Zenerat*, (at the request of general *Roland Crape*) sent with some servants to *Tranquebare*.

After the departure of *Boschbouwer's* widow for *Candy*, the commodore *Gule Gedde* set sail with part of his Squadron from *Coutjare*, in order to join the rest of his ships at *Batecalo*, and to sollicite once more satisfaction from the emperor; but in the mean while, one of his ships that was left at *Trinquemale* being seized upon by the ship's crew, and afterwards split upon the rocks, the seamen and soldiers got with their boats to the coast of *Coromandel*, where some of them took service among the *Portuguese* at *St. Thomas*, the rest among the *Dutch* at *Palliacatte*. *Gule Gedde* having but small hopes of success, and fearing that some of the other ships might follow their example, thought fit to weigh anchor, and take his next course for *Denmark*.

The *Portuguese* being infinitely glad at the departure of these unwelcome guests out of *Ceylon*, now bent all their thoughts how to exclude all other nations from the traffick of that country: to encompass which, they judged it the most proper means to erect a fort near that harbour, the place whereof (after a narrow view taken of the ground, and various debates) was pitched upon at the north-west point of the bay, upon a neck of land jetting out into the sea, on the back-side of the *Pagode* of *Trinquemale*, the walls whereof would be of considerable advantage to them.

Accordingly the said fort being begun *The Portuguese erect a new fort.* 1622. was carried on with all imaginable vigour to bring it to perfection, before the emperor of *Candy* (with whom they were at peace then) could have any notice of it. For no sooner was that prince advertised of this treacherous design, but he protested against it, and sent a considerable force to demolish it; but being repulsed by the *Portuguese*, these continued the fortifications, being an irregular triangular fortress, which they furnished with great cannon taken out of the sea, belonging formerly to the *Da-*

*nish* ship that was cast away near that *Baldæ* place.

Whilst the *Portuguese* were embroiled with the *Cingalese* upon that account, a certain *Radye* of the *Malabars* entered the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* with a considerable force, in hopes to recover the same from the *Portuguese*, who had lately conquered the same: but *Philippo d'Olivero* their general, an old experienced captain, received them so bravely, that few of them returned into their native country.

The *Portuguese* having thus once more rid their hands of their enemies, yet not thinking themselves secure, unless they strengthened their conquests by some additional fortifications, ordered certain new works to be made, which afterwards were changed into a royal fortress with four bastions. The foundation whereof was laid, 1624. but not brought to perfection till the year 1632. being lined with white stone.

But to establish themselves the better in this island, they concluded a peace (by the mediation of certain clergymen) with the emperor, who was willing to embrace it, till he could find a more convenient opportunity of revenging himself for the many affronts they had put upon him; one of the main conditions of this peace was, That the *Portuguese* should not build any other forts or fortifications in any place of the empire, but might remain in possession of what they had at present.

Notwithstanding this agreement, which was so advantageous to the *Portuguese*, finding that the *European* nations had still a free access into the kingdom of *Candy* by the river *Palliagamme*, (otherwise called *Batecalo*,) they were contriving all possible means to secure that passage to themselves.

To accomplish their end with all imaginable secrecy, they pitched upon a *Mistice*, an experienced engineer, who, being of a dark colour, was sent in the disguise of a *Gufuratte Foggy*, or mendicant frier, from *Columbo* to *Batecalo*, who settled himself in the village of *Samanture*; from whence having taken a full view of all the circumjacent country for two years together, he pitched upon a sandy place, about two leagues one half from the village, for the erecting of the designed fort; but finding, upon strict enquiry, that the channel leading that way from the mouth of the river, was the greatest part of the year choked up with sand; and that consequently there would be no conveniency of getting fresh water there, he was forced to go about six leagues lower down the river, where meeting with a small isle of a league in circuit, and not above a mile distant from the main channel, convey'd thither directly from the mouth

*Baldæus*. mouth of the river, he returned to *Columbo*; and having given a full account to the government there of the advantageous situation of this isle for their intended project, the *Portuguese* sent him back in 1627. with thirteen companies of soldiers, in order to put it in execution. These, at their arrival, having secured themselves by throwing up some intrenchments inclosed with palisadoes, to work they went with all expedition to perfect the intended fortrefs, which was of a quinquangular figure, with three bastions.

The Cingalese are repulsed.

The king of *Candy* had no sooner intelligence thereof, but he sent a good body of troops thither to prevent their design: they made shift to land in the island, but were forced to retreat without effecting any thing, and leave the *Portuguese* to perfect their fortifications; which they did soon after, being well provided with all sorts of materials for such a purpose.

The emperor engages with the Cingalese at Columbo.

The emperor finding himself thus by no less than seven capital forts, built on all the best avenues of the isle, reduced to such straits by the *Portuguese*, that without their consent he was not in a condition to keep the least correspondence with any foreign nation, resolved to try his utmost to draw these thorns out of his flesh. For this purpose he thought fit to try the inclinations of the *Cingalese* inhabiting at *Columbo*; and finding them ready to revolt by reason of the many indignities received from the *Portuguese*, he engaged them to his party. Things being thus settled, the only thing remaining was, how to entice their general *Constantine de Saa* to take the field, by which means they might find an opportunity of going over to the emperor. Knowing therefore that *Don Michael de Noronba, Conde de Linbaros*, the then viceroy of *Goa*, had lately wrote an affronting letter to the said general, wherein he told him, That he was more fit for a merchant than a soldier, and that he regarded more his own profit than the king's glory, and his conquest, they insinuated into him, That since both his expeditions against *Candy* had proved unsuccessful, it would not be amiss (to retrieve his honour) to try his fortune against *Ouve*, promising to appear in the field with all their power; which they did accordingly.

*Constantine de Saa*, the *Portuguese* general was so highly pleased at this proposition, that he not only gladly embraced it, but also sent a challenge to *Comarra Singe Hastanne*, prince of *Ouve*, eldest son of the emperor *Zenerat Adascyn*, who sent him word, that he would expect his coming like a man of honour. Accordingly the *Portuguese* general took the field the 30th of *August* with one thousand three hundred of his own countrymen, one thousand seven

The Portuguese take the field.

hundred *Mistices*, and eight thousand *Cingalese*; and the prince of *Ouve* being joined by his two brothers, *Vysiapalla* and *Raja Singa*, made up an army of twenty three thousand men, who (according to the advice of the emperor their father) kept at a distance, seeming to avoid an engagement. The *Portuguese* being much surprized at their being suffered to pass the mountains of *Ouve* without the least opposition, marched directly to *Badule* the capital city of that dukedom, which they took and plundered with all the circumjacent country, and so retired again towards the mountains, the princes being all the while spectators of their ravages, with a resolution to watch their opportunity of taking a severe revenge, so soon as the *Cingalese* (according to their promise) should desert the *Portuguese*.

Plunder Badule.

These things were not so secretly carried on, but that *Constantine de Saa* got some scent of the matter. This made him summon before him all their chief officers, unto whom he represented the reasons of his suspicion, but in very obliging terms, thinking it his best way to dissemble, yet to use all imaginable precautions against them. They positively denying what was alledged against them, he continued his march till night, when finding the enemy to keep closer to him than they used to do, and being confirmed in his former suspicion by fresh intelligence, he ordered the *Cingalese* (contrary to what they used to do) to pitch their tents in the center of the camp, and the next morning with break of day for the whole army to set fire to all their baggage; (except wearing apparel,) the better to further their march. They had scarce marched a few hours, when the princes coming up pretty close with the *Portuguese* army, the eight thousand *Cingalese* joined with their countrymen, and with their joint-forces attacked them in the flank at the descent of a mountain, firing upon them very furiously through an adjacent wood, whereabouts a great number of the *Portuguese* were slain, the *Cingalese* falling in pell-mell among them with their scymetars and pikes, especially after a sudden storm had rendered the *Portuguese* firelocks almost useless, without which they might probably have made a tolerable good retreat. *Constantine de Saa* their general had his head cut off by one of the rebellious *Cingalese*, which he presented to *Raja Singa* upon a drum, whilst he was washing himself in a neighbouring brook. To confess the truth, *de Saa* deserved a much better treatment, both in respect of his valour, and the many good offices he had done to the same *Cingalese* at *Columbo*, who now so basely betray'd him and his whole army.

Are attacked in their march

And routed.

*Baldæus.* It is not easy to be imagined what a consternation this general defeat occasioned among the *Portuguese* in the isle of *Ceylon*, and especially at *Columbo*; for the defence whereof there were scarce any troops left behind, except a few of the most antient among the inhabitants. This encouraged the emperor to send his youngest son *Mabastanne*, (afterwards named *Raja Singa*;) to form the siege of that place, which he did accordingly; but was so bravely received by

Columbo besieged by the Cingalese.

*Lancerotte de Sefies* their governor, that after a whole month's siege, he was forced to retreat without effecting any thing. The besieged being afterwards reinforced from *Goa* with four hundred men, (among whom were three hundred *Caffers*;) with a considerable quantity of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, began to hold up their heads again, and bid defiance to the *Cingalese*.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Emperor dies. Intestine Divisions betwixt his two Sons. The Portuguese at War with the new Emperor; make Peace with him. The Hollanders invited, by his Majesty's Letter to the Governor of Paliacatta, to come into the Isle of Ceylon.*

*The old emperor dies.* SOON after, viz. 1632. the old emperor happening to die, left the empire betwixt his three sons, viz. *Ouwe* to *Commarra Singa Hastanne* his eldest son, *Matele* to *Visia Palla Hastanne* his second, and *Candy* to *Mabastanne* the youngest, who, besides this, assumed the imperial title under the name of *Raja Singa Adascyn*, to the no small dissatisfaction of his eldest brother *Comarra Singa Hastanne*, whom he knew so well how to amuse under different pretensions, that the matter remained undecided as long as he lived; and, immediately after his death seized upon the province of *Ouwe*, which *Visia Palla* the second brother (who claimed one half for his share) took so heinously, that matters came betwixt them to an open rupture.

The youngest son seizes upon the imperial title.

The *Portuguese* having by this time received divers supplies from *Goa*, and pretty well recovered of their late disgrace, resolved to improve this opportunity to their advantage. For which purpose entering the *Low Lands*, they forced most of the princes there to side with them, but durst not venture to attempt the passage of the mountains. They pitched their tents therefore near *Allago*, as the most proper place to keep the adjacent country in awe: but *Raja Singa*, the new emperor, surprized them in their

The Portuguese begin a war against the emperor.

Are beaten.

camp, and forced them to retreat with all haste to *Columbo*.

The *Portuguese* now finding themselves unable to cope with the emperor, thought it requisite to come to an agreement; for which purpose having sent their envoys to *Candy*, a peace was concluded accordingly; but soon broken again on the *Portuguese* side, who let slip no opportunity to improve their advantage, notwithstanding the said peace.

Make peace.

*Raja Singa* being thus fully convinced, that no firm peace was likely to be settled with the *Portuguese* in *Ceylon*, dissembled his resentment; but in the mean time resolved to invite the *Hollanders* to force them out of the isle; and accordingly sent the following letter, dated Sept. 9. 1636. to the governor of *Paliacatta*.

I *Raja Singa*, emperor of the isle of *Ceylon*, king of *Candy*, *Settevaca*, *Danbadany*, *Anorayapore*, *Jafnapatnam*, prince of *Ouwe*, *Mature*, *Dinawaca*, *Quatre-Corle*, great duke of *Sette-Corle*, *Matalte*, earl of *Catajar*, *Trinquenemale*, *Batecalo*, *Valefebuitena*, *Dumbra*, *Panoa*, *Patoveta*, *Putelaon*, *Vassare*, *Gale*, *Billigaon*, marquis of *Duramira*, *Ratenura*, *Tinipane*, *Axcepaoon*, lord of the ports of *Alicaon*, *Caleture*, *Columbo*, *Negombo*, *Cbilao*, *Madampe*, *Calpentyn*, *Aripature*, *Maenaar*, and of the pearl-fishery.

“ Though I do not question but that the Dutch fame has already made known to you the good success of our arms against the *Portuguese*, yet did judge it absolutely requisite to give a more particular account thereof to the governor of the fortresses of *Paliacatta*. First of all the emperor did regain from the *Portuguese* the two fortresses of *Walane* and *Forago*, as likewise the city of *Marua Goma*, with five hundred *Portuguese* inhabitants, and a good number of monks of divers orders. *Don Nuno Alvares Perere* being then their general, thought thereupon fit to make peace in order to recover the prisoners taken by the emperor's forces. About eleven years after the conclusion

The Dutch invited to Ceylon by the emperor's letter.

*Baldæus.* “ conclusion of the said peace, *Constantine de Saa*, being made their general, did treacherously surprize *Jafnapatnam*, and built the forts of *Batecalo* and *Trinquemale*, giving no other reason for their so doing to the emperor, than that having certain intelligence, that some of their *European* enemies were coming to settle there, they were forced to erect these fortifications for their own defence. About a year after the frier they had left their hostage at *Candy*, being released by the emperor, (according to his parole,) they made a powerful irruption into the empire: and after their retreat the emperor happening to die, I had scarce ascended the throne, but within eleven months after they made another incursion; but encountering them near *Ambatana*, we forced them to retreat with considerable loss. Seven months after they invaded the dukedom of *Ouwe*, where we routed them in a smart engagement; and the rebellious natives having deserted them, and joined with us, (according to their duty,) compleated our victory: their general, a major-general, and the governor of *Dinavaca*, being slain upon the spot, with four hundred soldiers, and their colonel of the artillery, their governor of the seven *Corles*, and *Matura*, with three hundred soldiers, many captains, and ensigns taken prisoners. Since that time we took the fort of *Mantea Ravane* with one hundred *Portuguese* soldiers with their captains, and another fort in *Sofragaen*, with three companies, besides that two other fortifications of theirs were demolished. It was much about the same time that I kept the city of *Columbo* invested for thirty days; but finding my self ill, I returned to *Candy*, leaving the command of my forces to *Mara Tana Wandaar*, who, within fifteen days after my departure retreating thence, thereby gave an opportunity to the enemy to protract the war for a year and half, and afterwards deserted in person to the enemy. I did also fall into the enemies dominions, and having entrenched my self near *Ganetena* in the four *Corles*, I did considerable mischief, so that the new governor of *Columbo*, *Diego de Melo de Castro*, (formerly governor of *St. Thomas*,) sent thither from *Goa*, was forced to sue for peace, which I granted to prevent the miseries and calamities of a long war, the said general having sworn by the name of his God, and in his king's stead, to deliver up the forts of *Trinquemale* and *Batecalo*, and to release all prisoners on both sides. Thirteen months after the conclusion of this peace, the governor of

“ *Batecalo* did side with certain rebels, in order to assassinate one of my governors, aiding and assisting them also in robbing a bark belonging to me, and committing divers treacherous acts in many parts, as well of our own kingdoms, as those of other *Indian* princes; therefore I have taken a resolution to rid my hands of these enemies, and to declare my self a brother in war with the king of the *Hollanders*, as long as the sun and moon shall rejoice us with their light, and the viceroy of *Jacatra* and the governor of *Paliacatta* shall be willing to assist me, in hopes that this confederacy with the *Dutch* nation will answer my good intentions and sentiments of them. I the king let the governor of *Paliacatta* know, that during the seven years since my accession to the throne, I have made the best enquiry I could who was the most potent king in *Europe*, in order to oppose the designs of the *Portuguese*: and being at last informed that the king of the *Hollanders* was not only a scourge to their king, but also supported by the strength and power of several other kings his confederates, I took a firm resolution (relying upon the fidelity of the governor of *Paliacatta*) to declare my self a brother in war to the king of the *Hollanders* as long as sun and moon shall continue in the firmament. 'Tis true, some treaties of this kind have been made formerly betwixt my predecessors and the viceroy of *Jacatra*, and the governor of *Paliacatta*; but these having proved ineffectual, it seems as if it had pleased God to bring the same to perfection under my reign, in hopes that the governor of *Paliacatta* will with all possible care second our endeavours, whereof we give him assurances upon our royal word, that they shall be at liberty to erect a fortress either at *Cotiar* or *Batecalo*; for which purpose they may employ a squadron of five ships, (a force sufficient to ballance the present strength of the enemy,) who may be secure of our assistance, either by my self in person, or by my brother. All the cannon or booty taken by them shall be at their own disposal; and they shall be provided with all sorts of materials requisite for the building of a fort either at *Batecalo* or *Cotiar*. I further engage my self by my royal word, to repay the governor all the charges he shall be at in equipping the said squadron to be sent to my assistance, to which of the before-mentioned harbours you please. If the governor approves of these propositions, let him send a vessel to *Trinquemale* or *Cotiar*, in order to transport

*Baldæus.* “ transport my ambassadors with safety to him, whom I would have rest secure, that in case he can bring this business to perfection, he shall be well rewarded for his service according to his dignity and merits: but if it be beyond his power, let him dispatch this messenger with all speed to the viceroy of *Jacatra*.

Dated the 9th of Sept. 1636. *Raja Singa Imperador.*

A certain *Brabman* being dispatched with *Baldæus*, this letter, the same lived for six months undiscovered among the *Portuguese* at *Jafnapatnam*, before he could meet with a conveniency to be transported to the coast of *Coromandel*; from whence he pursued his journey by land to *Paliacatta*, where he delivered *Raja Singa's* letter to the then governor *Charles Reyniers*.

## CHAP. XIX.

*A Treaty; and Letter in return of that of the Emperor's. The Dutch Deputies in Ceylon are honourably received. Their Transactions; and return with the Emperor's Ambassadors. The Portuguese endeavour to render the Dutch suspected. The Emperor's Answer to the Dutch Admiral.*

*Charles Reyniers*, the governour of *Paliacatta*, (afterwards general of the *Indies*) had no sooner received this letter, but he sent the same to *Batavia* to the general and great council of the *Indies*, who after mature deliberation resolved to send a person fitly qualified for such a trust aboard the *Falcon* yacht, in order to enter into a strict amity and commerce with the emperor, and to procure a considerable cargo of cinnamon; whereof immediate notice was also to be given to the *Dutch* fleet before *Goa*.

Resolution of the council of the Indies.

It is to be observed, that sometime before this letter was brought to *Batavia*, the general *Anthony van Diemen*, and the council of the *Indies*, had already taken the affairs of *Ceylon* into their consideration, having ordered the beforefaid Mr. *Reyniers* to make all possible enquiry, whether it were not feasible to get some share as well as the *Portuguese* in the cinnamon trade. One *John Thijsen*, a master of a vessel, (afterwards governour of *Malacca*, and now a member of the council of the *Indies*,) who had been a prisoner in *Ceylon*, having also lately given the said council an exact account of the condition of the isle, it was resolved 1637. to send him forthwith with three yachts, the *Falcon*, the *Voorburgh*, and the *Lesser Hollandia*, and the *Ruitem* frigate, to the coast of *Coromandel*; where coming to an anchor before *Paliacatta* the last day of *August*, and their commissions being opened, he was, in conjunction with the factor *Andrew Helmont*, constituted envoy to the emperor of *Ceylon*.

Accordingly the 21st of *October* they took their way towards *Tegnapatnam*, where having furnished themselves with two negroes

Dutch envoys sent to Ceylon.

acquainted with that country, they set sail for *Ceylon*, where they arrived within five or six days after, and cast anchor near the village of *Calmony*, or *Calarme*, about seven leagues from the *Cabo de Frades*, i. e. the *Monks Cape*. They sent immediately one of the two before-mentioned negroes ashore, to get intelligence what part of the country they were in; which being done by a certain signal, (a fire made upon an adjacent hill,) they sent him, after his return, in company of the other negro with a letter of recommendation from the factor *Chrimma* to the emperor of *Ceylon*, under promise that they were to return in sixteen days; which they did accordingly, bringing along with them not only certain hostages, and among them a certain *Hollander*, who, living at the emperor's court, was willing to accompany them, and gave them very good intelligence, but also the lord high-treasurer of his majesty, and *John Alberts* another *Dutchman*, a native of *Emdden* (who having deserted from Mr. *Anthony Caen's* ship, had since served the emperor in the quality of a court-martial) in order to conduct our envoys to the imperial court.

Accordingly they set out on their journey from the village of *Samanture*, and in four days arrived at *Pangergame* in the country of *Vintane*, where they were introduced the same night by the light of torches into the emperor's presence, who then kept his residence at one of his pleasure-houses on the other side of the river *Mavilgange*. Their reception was very magnificent, as will appear anon by the entertainment given to Mr. *Gerrard Hulst*, whereof we shall have occasion to give a more ample description. The

Have also residence of the emperor.

credential

*Baldæus.* credential letters written by the governour of *Paliacatta*, and delivered by the envoys to his imperial majesty, were as follows:

To the most potent emperor *Raja Singa*, &c.

Most Potent Emperor!

Letter from the governour of Paliacatta to the emperor of Ceylon.

GOD protect your imperial majesty. Your majesty is not ignorant of the long and tedious wars we have for so many years last past carried on (by the blessing of God) with good success, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, against the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and how at this time we keep *Goa*, their chief city in the *Indies*, blocked up with so numerous a squadron of men of war, that they are not in a condition to relieve any of their subjects from thence. We have understood by your majesty's letter the many outrages, insolencies, treasons, and wars, carried on by the *Portuguese* against your majesty since their settlement in your territories, contrary to the engagements, treaties and confederacies made betwixt you and them; all which they have treacherously broken, in order to make themselves masters of your empire, and to impose the most miserable slavery upon your subjects. Our general of *Jacatra* being informed of these designs, and your majesty's most commendable intentions to free your country from such unwelcome guests, and to secure your subjects against all violences, by sweeping out the very remnants of the *Portuguese*: the general, I say, being extremely rejoic'd at this resolution, and more especially that your majesty desired our assistance, did give immediate orders for the dispatching of these envoys, to treat with your majesty, and to declare to you the sincerity of our intentions towards your majesty and your subjects, in the same manner as the effects thereof have been sufficiently approved by many of your neighbouring princes and nations. If your majesty will be pleased to allow us the exportation of some cinnamon, we oblige our selves to assist your majesty with muskets, powder, ammunition, and other arms; so that in case you will order two or more ships cargoes of cinnamon to be got ready for our use against *May* next, we either will pay ready money for it, or exchange the same for ammunition or other merchandizes, as your majesty shall think fit. So soon as our envoys are assured of your majesty's resolutions upon this head and of your intentions to enter into a further treaty with us, they shall (according to orders) set sail im-

mediately to our fleet before *Goa*, to confer with the admiral how soon and how many ships may be detached out of his fleet either for the transportation of the cinnamon, or your majesty's aid, according to the present exigency of affairs. We desire therefore your majesty to give these envoys, sent with a most sincere intention to your majesty, a suitable reception, and a favourable audience: and afterwards to dispatch them with all convenient speed, to further their arrival at our fleet before *Goa*, before the *Mousson* be passed, which otherwise might prove no small obstacle to our design. We acknowledge we ought to have presented your majesty with some foreign rarities (according to custom;) but being ignorant of the condition of your country, and in no small fear that these envoys might perhaps be detained by the *Portuguese*; we hope your majesty will excuse the same for this time. We pray, most potent emperor, that god may grant your majesty health, prosperity, and victory over your enemies.

Dated in the fort *Geldria*, the 20th of *Octob.* 1637.

Subscribed,

You majesty's most devoted servant,

*Charles Reymiers.*

The emperor, whilst the envoys were making their propositions, stood with the crown on his head, and a scymetar in his hand, his head, arms, and legs adorn'd with jewels, rings, and chains of gold. He enquired after the state of affairs in *Holland*, the health of the prince of *Orange*, and whether the envoys had a full power to treat with him. Unto which they answered, No: but that the admiral of the *Dutch* squadron before *Goa* had. So they were conducted to the apartments prepared for their reception, to rest themselves after so fatiguing a journey.

The next day, being again admitted into the emperor's presence, he asked them several matters concerning the present state of affairs in *Europe*: The *Portuguese* having made it their business to represent the *Dutch* as an inconsiderable *Mob*; and the emperor nevertheless having, by the great naval strength that appear'd of late years in the *East-Indies*, conceived a quite different opinion of their strength than what had been whispered about by the *Portuguese*, was very glad to find the truth to prove agreeable to his former sentiments, concerning the power of a nation with whom he was going into a strict confederacy against the *Portuguese*.

*Baldæus. guefe.* The next following day they began to enter upon a treaty about the cinnamon, and the fort of *Batecalo*. Whilst his majesty held frequent conferences (twice a day for a whole week) with our deputies, a letter was sent to the king or prince of *Mateli* (the emperor's brother) by *Diego de Melo de Castro*, governor of *Columbo*; wherein he complained of the intended breach of the peace, styling the *Hollanders rebellious subjects of the king of Portugal, who had incurred the hatred of all the other Indian princes.* He added, *That the emperor was guilty of this rupture, whereof he had given notice in a letter to the viceroy of Goa.* His majesty desired that the said letter should be translated into the *Dutch*, and be delivered by the envoys to the admiral before *Goa*; and told them for the rest, that he was too well acquainted with their ways, to give ear to these calumnies: That he would endeavour to amuse them with compliments, till he he could find an opportunity of surprising the fort of *Mankeware* in the *Low-Countries*, near the south shore of the isle. He writ also a letter to the admiral *Westerwold*, and ordered three deputies to go along with our envoys to take a view of the fleet before *Goa*, and to give account thereof to him.

The Portuguese endeavour to render the Dutch suspected.

The emperor's courtesy to the Dutch.

The 27th of the same month his majesty thought fit to dispatch the envoys: *Palankyns*, or litters, were ordered for their journey, with some elephants for their baggage, and a convoy of twenty *Lascaryns*, under the command of a colonel to conduct them, with orders to defray their charges in all places through which they passed. It was further remarkable, that whilst the governor of *Paliacatta*'s letter was delivered to his majesty, and the envoys made their propositions, he arose from his chair, and remained standing all the while, an honour never done to the *Portugueses*. The *Dutch* envoys set sail the 4th of the next following month of *December*, with the three before-mentioned deputies aboard the *Falcon* yacht, and coming up the 19th following with the *Dutch* squadron before *Goa*, they delivered to *Adam Westerwold*, their admiral, the following letter from his imperial majesty.

Their honourable dispatch.

Letter of the emperor to the Dutch admiral.

“ HAVING sent a letter in *September* to the governor of *Paliacatta*,

“ I received an answer thereupon the 19th *Baldæus.*  
 “ of *November*, 1637. but the envoys  
 “ not being instructed sufficiently to treat  
 “ with me, but the same being referred  
 “ by the general of *Jacatra* to the admiral of the fleet, I thought fit to send certain deputies to treat with your excellency. The before-mentioned governor having made mention also of the transportation of a certain quantity of cinnamon, your excellency, if you please, may send five men of war to attack the fort of *Batecalo*, and some other vessels to other harbours, in order to take in all the cinnamon that is to be had there. I am informed that you intend to stay before *Goa* till *April* next, and then are to return to *Jacatra*, in order to return afterwards with all possible speed to the harbour of *Columbo*; and thence to detach three ships to the harbour of *Batecalo*, in order to make themselves masters of that place. I will at the same time advance with my forces to *Columbo*; and in case god be pleased to bless our arms with victory against our enemies, I dare assure you, upon my royal word, that the city shall be preserved for our mutual use; and that we will enter into a contract with you concerning all the pepper and cinnamon in the isle. It is therefore that I judge it advisable to come with your whole strength, in order to accelerate our confederacy, which may be as durable as the sun and moon: But if this should not be convenient, pray send a trusty person whom we may treat with, there being little time to be lost, since things being already come to a rupture with the *Portuguese*, we shall stand in present need of your assistance. I expect the return of the three deputies with the arrival of your fleet.”

From *Vintane*  
28 Nov. 1637.

Signed,

Imperador *Raja Singa*.

Sealed with the pummel of his majesty's scymetar printed in red wax.

It was directed,

To the lord admiral of the *Dutch* fleet before *Goa*.

## C H A P. XX.

*Sea Engagement before Goa betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese Fleets.*

*Baldæus.*  
Sea engage-  
ment before  
Goa.

WHILST the envoys were honour-  
ably entertained aboard the fleet by  
Adam van Westerwold, the Dutch admiral,  
a sea engagement happened the 4th of Ja-  
nuary 1638. betwixt us and the Portuguese.  
The Dutch squadron was composed of the  
following ships.

A list of  
the Dutch  
squadron.

The *Utrecht*, aboard whereof was the ad-  
miral Adam van Westerwold, captain Ray-  
nier Wybrandz, head factor James Nolpe,  
carrying forty two brass and iron cannon  
mounted, and one hundred and fifty men,  
among whom were thirty five soldiers, com-  
manded by lieutenant Hans Maagdelyn.

The *Flissingen*, aboard of which was the  
vice-admiral, head factor, fiscal, and com-  
missary John van Twist, Hubert Hubertson  
captain, carrying thirty eight pieces of can-  
non, and one hundred and forty men, among  
whom were twenty soldiers, commanded by  
a serjeant named Cornelius Bloem.

The *Arms of Rotterdam* rear-admiral,  
commanded by Herman Wolters Baak, and  
John David Wolfwinkel clerk, carrying thirty  
eight pieces of cannon, and one hundred  
and thirty men, among whom were twenty  
soldiers.

The *Hague*, aboard of which were Floris  
van Castel head-factor, Minne Williams Keert  
de Koe captain, and James van Chapel un-  
der factor, carrying thirty four pieces of  
cannon, and one hundred and ten men,  
among them twenty soldiers.

The *Harderwyk*, commanded by Paul  
Clafen, Peter Bruchart under factor, carry-  
ing thirty six pieces of cannon, one hundred  
and fifteen men, among them twenty sol-  
diers.

The *Vere*, commanded by Isaac Dickson  
Kien, Laurence de Marshal under-factor,  
carrying thirty pieces of cannon, and one  
hundred and five men, among them twenty  
soldiers.

The *Texel*, commanded by captain Cor-  
nelius Leendard Valk, Joost van Wielyk un-  
der-factor, carrying twenty four pieces of  
cannon, and seventy seven men, among them  
twelve soldiers.

The *Breda*, commanded by Francis Tbyse,  
John Fox under-factor, carrying twenty four  
cannon, seventy seven men, and among them  
twelve soldiers.

The yacht the little *Amsterdam*, Jacob  
Jacobson Struck commander, carrying eight  
guns, and twenty five men.

The little *Enchuyfen* yacht, commanded  
by captain Reynier, carrying two brass and  
six iron guns, and twenty men.

The *Falcon* yacht, John Thiissen captain,  
Adrian Helmont factor, carrying sixteen iron

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guns, forty men, and among them six sol-  
diers.

The *Dolphin* frigate, commanded by Peter  
van der Kamar, carrying six iron guns, and  
twenty men.

The Portuguese squadron consisted of these  
following ships.

The *Bon Jesus*, Don Antonio Telles de  
Meneses admiral, carrying seventy six brass  
guns, and four hundred men, among whom  
were three hundred Portuguese, the rest ne-  
groes.

The *St. Sebastian* vice-admiral, com-  
manded by captain Authonio Meneses Bourette, car-  
rying fifty brass guns, one hundred and fifty  
Portuguese, and two hundred negroes.

The *Madre de Deos* rear-admiral, commanded  
by Lewis Gonsalves, carrying thirty five iron  
and brass guns, one hundred and thirty Por-  
tuguese, and one hundred and twenty ne-  
groes.

The *St. Bartholomew*, Lewis de Castel-  
branco commander, carrying twenty six iron  
and brass guns, one hundred and forty  
Portuguese, and one hundred and sixty ne-  
groes.

The *St. Francis*, captain Domingo Ferreira  
commander, carrying twenty six guns, one  
hundred Portuguese, and one hundred ne-  
groes.

The *St. Philip*, commanded by Don Diego  
de Vaes carrying twenty four guns, one  
hundred Portuguese, and one hundred ne-  
groes.

With these six galleons, and twenty small  
frigats, the Portuguese set sail out of the  
road of Goa, Jan. 4. 1638. in sight of the  
Dutch, who no sooner got sight of them;  
but they weighed their anchors, and in form  
of a crescent sailed with a land-wind and low  
water out into the main. The Portuguese,  
divided into two squadrons, followed them  
with all the sails they could make, their  
admiral making up towards the Dutch ad-  
miral, as their vice admiral (though not so  
good a sailer as the rest) did to the ships  
the *Rotterdam*, the *Vere*, and the *Falcon*  
yacht. In the morning about nine a clock

both fleets began to come within cannon-  
shot, about three leagues from the road of  
Goa, where the engagement began betwixt  
the two admirals, who plentifully exchanged  
their broad-sides for three hours successively;  
as did three others of the Portuguese ships  
with the Dutch fleet, the rest of their gal-  
leons not being able to come up immedi-  
ately for want of a wind. The Portuguese  
vice-admiral coming at last up with the  
rest, was briskly saluted by our ships the  
*Rotterdam* and the *Vere*, whilst the rest of

*Baldæus.*

A list of the  
Portuguese  
ships.

Sea engage-  
ment be-  
twixt the  
Portuguese  
and Dutch.





*Baldaus.* the Dutch vessels did what they could to advance closer to the enemy; and at last having got the advantage of the sea wind, they were for boarding the Portuguese ships, having sent the *Texel* and *Dolpin* frigats, two fire-ships, to get in among them; but these setting it before the wind, avoided that danger. The Dutch admiral *Westerwold*, did his utmost in his ship the *Utrecht* to board the Portuguese admiral; which he perceiving, retreated towards his squadron, which made the Dutch admiral set it with all the sail he could make upon their vice-admiral, which he did with such success, that the Portuguese was forced to cut his sails and cables to get rid of his enemy, whilst the whole Portuguese squadron plied the Dutch admiral with their cannon, who thereby received considerable damage, especially in his rigging. Our ship the *Vere* would have boarded the *St. Bartholomew*, but they got clear of one another; yet not without receiving a good broad-side from the ship the *Hague*; and the *Fliissingen* finding the Portuguese admiral engaged with these two ships, she laid the *Bartholomew* aboard, and with the assistance of the *Hague* plied her so warmly, that she was set on fire, the rest of the Portuguese ships retreating in the mean while towards the shore. Such was the violence of the flames, that notwith-

A Portuguese ship with two Dutch vessels set on fire.

standing all the endeavours that were used, *Baldaus.* the *Hague* was also set on fire, and soon after the *Fliissingen*, and were all three consumed by the flames.

The Portuguese in the mean while taking the advantage of the confusion, made the best of their way towards the road of *Goa*, being pursued for one league and an half by the *Rotterdam*, *Vere*, and *Texel*, close under their forts; the rest of our ships being busied in saving the men from the danger of the fire, and in repairing their masts and rigging; so that the victory remained on our side, which would have been very considerable, had the same been not allay'd by the burning of the two before-mentioned ships.

The loss of the Dutch amounted to thirty five men, among whom were captain *Herman Wolters Baak*; besides fifty wounded, among whom was the factor *James Nolpe*. The loss on the Portuguese side amounted to seventy eight Portuguese, and one hundred and fifty *Mistices* and negroes. *Don Lewis de Castelbranco*, and father *Laurence de Merinda*, a jesuit, were taken prisoners, with ninety Portuguese, and forty nine *Mistices* and negroes, being saved by the same boats that came to save their own men, and exchanged afterwards for a captain and a factor, and eight other Dutch-

Loss on both sides.

Dutch-

*Baldæus*. Dutchmen belonging to the *Wieringen* yacht, (burnt near *Mallacca*,) besides a sum of two thousand crowns paid to *Don Pedro de Silva* viceroy of the *Indies*. The 1st of *March* a *Portuguese* carrack, half loaden with pepper and cinnamon, and bound for *Portugal*, immediately after the departure of the *Dutch* fleet was burnt by accident; and the galleon the *Madre de Deos*, underwent the same fate in *April* following, to the great detriment of the *Portuguese*, whose naval force in the *Indies* was not a little impaired by the loss of these three great ships.

The emperor of *Ceylon's* deputies, who were present in the engagement, were surpriz'd at the bravery of the *Hollanders*, who with their small ships durst board the *Portuguese*, so much stronger both in men and

cannon. After the engagement the *Dutch Baldæus* fleet came to an anchor near the islands on the south-side of *Goa*, to refit their ships, and to venture a second engagement. Soon after the *Hertogenbosch*, a brave vessel, commanded by *William Jacob Koster*, joined our fleet, coming lately from *Suratte* with a rich cargo of the best *Indian* stuffs, indigo, salt-peter, and other *Indian* commodities, valued at four hundred and twelve thousand guilders at the first hand, which for meer safety sake were dispersed among the other vessels. The 12th of *January* arrived likewise the ship *Henrietta Louisa* from *Batavia*, having on board seventy six thousand crowns, besides other merchandizes for our factory of *Suratte*, and was sent thither in company of the *Breda* and *Enchuyfen* yachts.

CHAP. XXI.

*William Jacob Koster sent to Ceylon by Admiral Westerwold. The Portuguese march to Candy; are totally routed by the Emperor. The Dutch besiege Batecalo.*

A Dutch Squadron sent to Ceylon.

THE 23d of *January*, 1638. the *Falcon* yacht being likewise dispatched to *Batavia*, with advice of the late engagement, and some merchandizes, as also the sick and wounded to be disposed in the hospital there, our squadron consisted only of seven capital ships and two yachts. But the *Dutch* admiral perceiving the *Portuguese* to make not the least preparations of attacking them a second time, it was resolved in a council of war, to send Mr. *William Jacob Koster* commodore, with the *Texel*, the *Amsterdam*, and *Dolphin*, mann'd with one hundred and eighty men and seventy soldiers, to the isle of *Ceylon*, to give notice to the emperor of the intended succours against *May*, and in the mean while to offer his assistance in the siege of some fort, or other, belonging to the *Portuguese*; for which purpose the admiral writ the following letter to his imperial majesty.

*Adam van Westerwold, counsellor extraordinary of the Indies, and admiral of the Dutch fleet, wishes the most potent emperor of Ceylon, king of Candy, &c. all happiness and prosperity, with the utmost offer of his service, for the throwing off the intolerable yoke of the Portuguese.*

*Most potent Emperor!*

The Dutch admiral's letter to the emperor of Ceylon.

WHILST the illustrious general and council of the *Indies*, under the jurisdiction of the *United Provinces*,

“ were employ'd in equipping a squadron  
 “ of sixteen ships, to be sent from *Batavia*  
 “ before *Goa*, in order to annoy our  
 “ common enemies the *Portuguese*, and to  
 “ prevent their sending any carracks or gal-  
 “ leons, during the late northern *Mousson*  
 “ to *Portugal*, the ship the *Husduynen* ar-  
 “ rived at *Batavia* from the coast of *Coro-*  
 “ *mandel*, with letters from the governor  
 “ of that coast; wherein was inclosed your  
 “ majesty's letter, dated at *Candy*, *Sept. 9.*  
 “ 1636. The said general and council of  
 “ the *Indies*, having understood by these  
 “ letters, the many treacheries and out-  
 “ rages committed by the *Portuguese* in  
 “ your majesty's dominions; and that you  
 “ were pleased to crave their assistance for  
 “ the defence of your country, and rooting  
 “ out our common enemies, offering for  
 “ that purpose to have either *Batecalo* or  
 “ *Cotiar* (which of the two we should  
 “ pitch upon) fortified at your own charge  
 “ for our use, as likewise to give satisfac-  
 “ tion for all the charge we should be at  
 “ in the equipment of such ships as should  
 “ be sent to your assistance: these proposi-  
 “ tions having been well weighed by the  
 “ general and council of the *Indies*, it was  
 “ resolved by them, pursuant to the good  
 “ inclinations they have to your majesty,  
 “ to comply with your desires. And it  
 “ appearing by your majesty's letter, dated  
 “ *November 21. 1637.* and sent to me by  
 “ the *Falcon* yacht, that you still persist in  
 “ the same laudable sentiments, I took im-  
 “ mediate

*Baldæus.* “mediate care to fend a vessel and two yachts, to advertise your majesty of our coming under the commodore *William Jacob Koster*, the second member of my council, who is to treat with your majesty concerning our intended design, and to concert measures which of the *Portuguese* forts may be most conveniently attacked at our arrival, and where your majesty’s forces are to rendezvous, in order to assist in the taking of the said forts; for which purpose a certain quantity of ladders of bamboes, besides some other materials, must be got ready. Your majesty’s deputies who come with these ships, will be able to give you a more compleat account by word of mouth, concerning our intentions. If the blockade of *Goa* be raised by the end of *April*, I intend (pursuant to the orders received from the general and council of the *Indies*) to set sail in person with three of my biggest ships well provided with men and ammunition for *Ceylon*, to confer and treat more amply with your majesty concerning our projected design. I hope your majesty will according to your promise, order two ships cargoes of cinnamon to be got ready against our arrival. I wish your majesty a long life, and victory against your enemies.”

*Commodore Koster arrives in Ceylon.* The before-mentioned commodore *Koster* having set sail accordingly, *March 17*, from *Goa*, with the three ships, the *Texel*, *Little Amsterdam*, and *Dolphin*, came to an anchor the 2d of *April* following, near *Trinquenemale*, a harbour on the north side of the isle of *Ceylon*, where the emperor’s deputies being set ashore, in order to deliver the admiral’s letter at *Candy*, and give notice of the arrival of the *Dutch* ships, they understood, that the emperor immediately after the departure of the *Falcon* yacht, had caused a good quantity of cinnamon, wax, and pepper, to be laid up for our use. The *Portuguese* had no sooner notice thereof, but they sent a letter to his majesty, asking the reason, *Why he had ordered such a quantity of merchandizes to be laid up, which, pursuant to the contract stipulated betwixt them, belonged only to them?* The emperor returned them no other answer, than *That he having promised the same to his friends the Hollanders, he would try who should dare to oppose it.*

*The Portuguese put to a great nonplus.* This resolute answer so nettled the *Portuguese* at *Columbo*, that being now fully convinced of the confederacy betwixt the emperor and the *Dutch*; and that they must soon expect to be attacked at *Batecalo*, they were put to the greatest nonplus, what resolution to take in this present exigency

of affairs. Some considering, that having scarce been able to cope with the emperor alone, they would not be able to resist his efforts when sustained by the *Dutch*, were of opinion to embark all their treasure, men, and artillery, to demolish the fort, and set sail for *Goa*.

But the braver fort rejecting this proposition as base, and inconsistent with their king’s honour, resolved, rather than thus to quit an isle, which they had fixed themselves in with the loss of so much blood and treasure, to venture the utmost, and die in the attempt. *Damijao Bottado*, who had laid the first foundation of the fortress of *Batecalo*, proposed, among the rest, That they ought to gather all their forces, and march up to *Candy*, before *Raja Singa* could be joined by the *Dutch*.

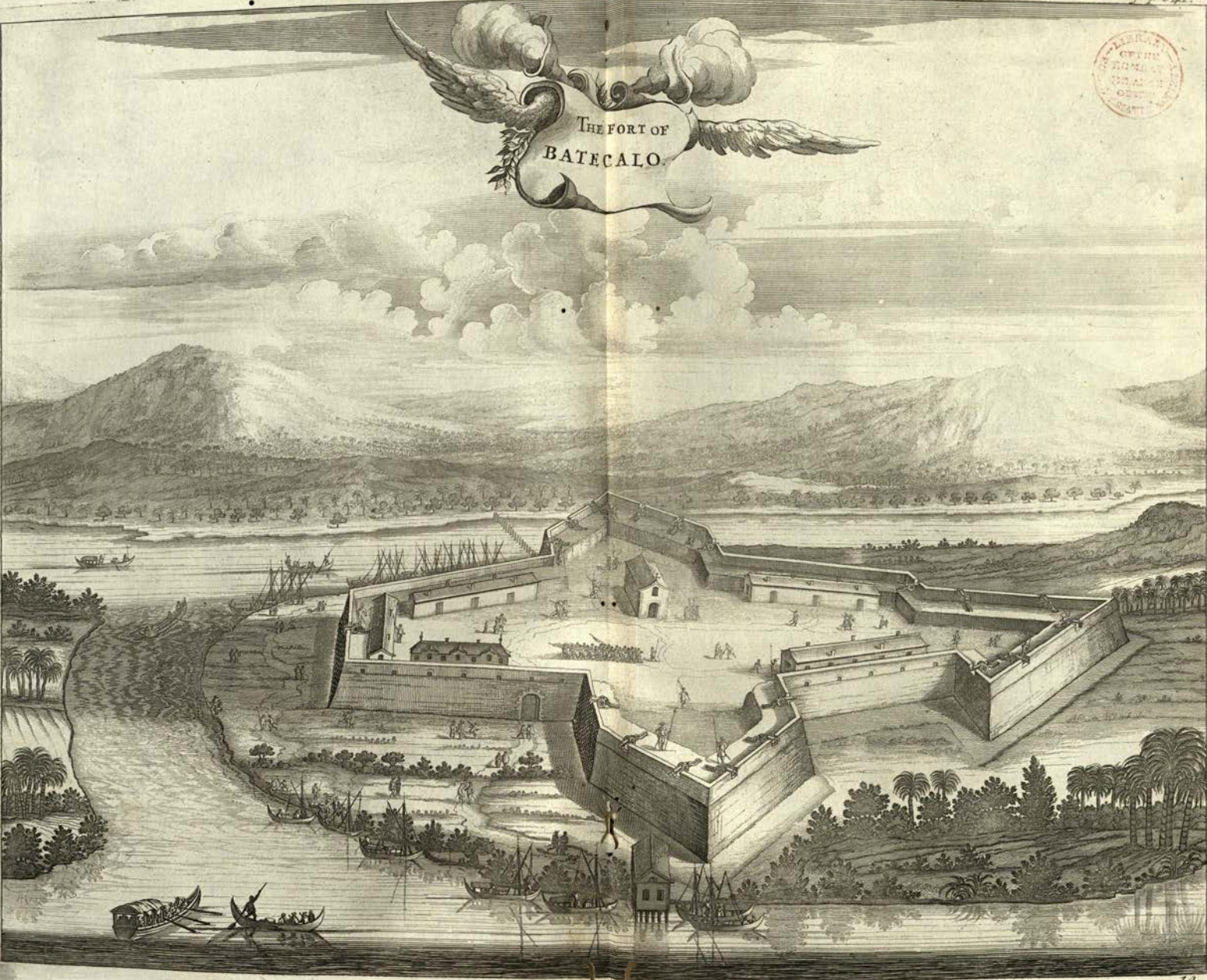
This advice being approved of, they marched in *March 1638*, under the command of their general *Diego de Melo*, the before-mentioned *Damijao Bottado*, and the major-general *Sorde*, towards *Candy*.

The emperor having got notice of their march, retired from thence with all his people, leaving the city to their mercy, which they took without any opposition; and having plundered and burnt the same, directed their march to the mountains of *Gannor*, or *Gannero*, where they pitched their tents, their whole force consisting of two thousand three hundred *Portuguese* and *Miscics*, and six thousand negroes.

This it was that the emperor had so long looked for, who immediately ordered the road to *Walane*, and all other places through which they were to pass, to be stopped, by laying great trees cross the roads. The enemies finding themselves reduced to these straits, the *Cingalese* unanimously revolted to the emperor; so that the *Portuguese* seeing not the least hopes of escaping by force of arms, had recourse to two friers, one a *Franciscan*, and the other an *Austin* monk, who were sent to endeavour to obtain them a free passage from the emperor to *Columbo*. But the emperor gave them such an answer, that the friers thought it their safest way not to return to their camp; so that the *Portuguese* finding themselves past all reprieve, the general *de Melo* asked *Bottado* what was to be done, and which way they should escape the danger into which they were drawn by his rash advice, who gave him no other answer, than that they must die together.

The emperor *Raja Singa* in the mean while kept close in his camp, watching all the opportunities of attacking them with the utmost advantage, which soon happened; for a violent storm of rain (which he knew would render the *Portuguese*







*Baldæus.* *guese* firelocks in some manner ufeless) made him draw out his troops against the enemy; and putting the musqueteers in front, he ordered them after the first discharge to retire, and give way to five thousand bowmen of *Mangel-Corle*, who being sustained by as many pikes, did break in with such fury among the *Portuguese*, that they soon put them into disorder, and immediately after to the rout, with the slaughter of all the *Portuguese*, except a very few who obtained mercy at the conqueror's hands, amounting in all not to above seventy persons.

And put to the rout.

A pyramid of heads.

The emperor was a spectator of this engagement from a tree near the bank of a river, which ran betwixt him and the mountain of *Gannoor*, whither they brought the heads of the *Portuguese* slain in the battle, which were heaped up in form of a pyramid before him. All the great officers of the *Portuguese* lost their lives near the mountain of *Gannoor*; and among them their general *de Melo*, whose sword was afterwards

presented by the emperor to the admiral *Baldæus Westerwold*.

In the mean while matters having been concerted with the *Modeliar*, or governor of *Mattaclape*, concerning the *Portuguese* fortress of *Batecalo*, they set sail thither; and having landed one hundred soldiers, and as many seamen in two troops, they soon raised two batteries with the assistance of the natives, one on the east, the other on the south-side of the fort, upon each of which were mounted four brass demi-culverines; and the emperor having left the gross of his army under the command of his brother the prince of *Mateli* to invest *Columbo*, joined our forces before *Batecalo*, April 14. in person, with a detachment of two thousand men. Commodore *Koster* being received by his imperial majesty with all possible marks of honour, they immediately entered upon a debate, how to attack the fortress with the utmost vigour upon the arrival of the rest of our ships.

Siege of Batecalo.

CHAP. XXII.

Adam Westerwold's Arrival in Ceylon. Batecalo taken. A Treaty betwixt the Emperor and Mr. Westerwold.

Westerwold comes before Batecalo.

THE admiral *Westerwold* having set sail the 22d of *April* from before *Goa*, arrived at *Batecalo* the 10th of *May* with the ships the *Maeſtricht*, *Harderwick*, *Rotterdam*, *Vere*, and the *Enchuyſen* yacht, having on board eight hundred and forty men, officers, soldiers, and mariners. The next following day having landed his men, with six great pieces for battery, the same were mounted immediately, in order to facilitate the passage of their forces into the isle upon which the fort was built: this being executed accordingly the 18th, and five hundred men brought over under favour of the cannon, which play'd incessantly for four hours upon the *Portuguese*, they put out the white flag immediately, and sent two deputies to capitulate with the *Dutch* admiral, which was soon done upon the following conditions: That they should surrender the fort immediately, and be permitted to march out without arms or baggage. The *Portuguese* and *Mistices*, to the number of one hundred and eight, with their wives and children, to be transported in a *Dutch* vessel to *Negapatan*, but the natives to be delivered up to the emperor; which was executed accordingly, fifty of them (who had murdered one of his majesty's gentlemen) being empaled alive, and the rest sold for slaves with their wives and children.

Batecalo surrendered upon articles.

Severe punishment of the Cingalese.

The fort of *Batecalo* is seated in an isle of about two *Dutch* leagues in compass, three leagues within the mouth of the river of *Batecalo*, which has given it its name. It was fortified with high stone walls and three passable bastions, upon which were mounted eleven iron and brass cannons, besides some lesser ones, with a suitable proportion of ammunition. We found in it rice sufficient for two months; but their fresh-water being about a musket-shot without the fortress, the *dutch* had made themselves masters of that spring. Commodore *Koster* was made governor of the fort, with a garrison of one hundred *Dutch* soldiers.

A description of Batecalo.

After the taking of this fortress, the admiral *Westerwold* made an alliance with the emperor of *Ceylon* in the name of their high and mightinesses the states-general of the *United Provinces*, his highness *Frederick* prince of *Orange*, and of the honourable *East-India* company, with the approbation of the general and council of the *Indies*, upon the following conditions:

I. A Firm and stedfast amity shall be maintained betwixt his majesty and his subjects and the *Dutch* nation and their *East India* company, who shall assist his majesty upon all occasions against the *Portuguese*.

Alliance betwixt the emperor of Ceylon and the Dutch.

The Impaling of Some rebels.



*Baldæus.* II. As often as any place or fort is taken by the *Dutch*, with the assistance of his majesty, from the common enemy, the booty to be divided share and share alike.

III. After the taking of any forts, the *Dutch* shall provide the same with necessary garrisons and ammunition; and if any thing be wanting to compleat the fortifications, the same shall be done at the charge of his majesty, as it shall be thought requisite by the *Dutch*.

IV. His majesty obliges himself to pay punctually every month their soldiers and officers.

V. As also to build in the conquered places or forts (where no houses are before) a house of stone, (as the *Dutch* shall think fit,) to be used for a warehouse, as also a magazine for their arms and naval stores.

VI. In case his majesty designs any thing against the common enemy, the same is to be consulted with our chief officers.

VII. For the security of the rivers, his majesty is to furnish a certain number of galleys and galley-slaves, which are to be provided with soldiers and ammunition by the *Dutch*.

VIII. His majesty and his subjects oblige themselves to make full reparation of the charges the *Dutch* have been at in equipping the present fleet, yachts, vessels, &c.

C

and furnishing them with men, soldiers, of *Baldæus*, officers, ammunition, provisions, &c. or of such other ships as the general and council shall for the future send to his majesty's assistance into *Ceylon*, with their necessary men, ammunition, provisions, &c. the charges whereof shall be reimbursed in cinnamon, pepper, cardamum, indigo, wax, rice, and such other commodities as are of the product of his majesty's dominions, except the *Mata* or *Wild cinnamon*.

IX. His majesty, in respect of his friendship and good inclinations to the *Dutch* nation, allows them free passage and traffick in all his dominions, in the isle of *Ceylon*, in all his cities, towns, villages, seaports, roads, bays, rivers, &c. with their vessels, yachts, boats, &c. to buy, sell, or exchange, import or export, without the least molestation, or paying any customs under any pretence whatever. His majesty's subjects shall not be permitted to sell the *Dutch* any cinnamon, pepper, wax, and elephants teeth, except what is sold by the emperor's order; who engages himself, that in case he should have occasion to sell four, ten, twenty, or more elephants, he will procure them the like number at the same rate as they were sold.

X. His majesty, and all the great men of the empire promise not to allow their subjects



*Baldæus*. subjects to traffick either with any *European* or *Eastern* nation, either by sale or exchange, in such commodities as are of the product of *Ceylon*, much less to permit the ships of these nations to tarry in the harbours of *Ceylon*, but to oblige them to depart forthwith. However the neighbouring nations of *Daucy* and *Tanjourwer* may pass and repass freely with their vessels to and from *Ceylon*.

XI. His majesty obliges himself to send yearly to *Batavia* one or two ship-loads of cinnamon, pepper, cardamum, indigo, wax, &c. as a reimbursement of the charge bestowed in the equipment of the vessels sent to his assistance; and in case the said cargo should amount to more than the charges, the surplus to be paid to his majesty, either in ready money, or such commodities as his majesty shall think fit.

XII. His majesty having granted full liberty for the *Dutch* merchants, to travel, traffick, buy, and sell, the inhabitants shall be obliged to furnish them with beasts fit for carriage, for the carrying of such goods as they have bought either to their warehouses, or aboard their vessels. Furthermore, the said merchants or other *Hollanders* shall remain under the jurisdiction of the respective commanders or heads of their own nation, as the natives of *Ceylon* stand under the subjection of the emperor.

XIII. No body, without exception, that trades with the *Dutch* here, shall have freedom to sell any such commodities bought from them to others, before the *Dutch* have fully received their quota; and in case of contravention, the *Dutch* shall have a power to seize his person, and to compel him to produce the said goods. Furthermore, in case any of the natives stand indebted to the *Dutch* for a considerable sum, they shall be subject to the same treatment; with this proviso nevertheless, that in case any of his majesty's subjects be taken into custody by the *Dutch*, notice shall be given thereof to the emperor or his governor.

XIV. No body, of what quality whatever, shall pretend to raise or diminish the coin, otherwise than has been agreed betwixt his majesty and the *Dutch*; and such as contravene this article on either side, shall without mercy be punished with death and confiscation of their estates to his majesty's use.

XV. In case a *Hollander* should fly into his majesty's dominions, the same shall be delivered up; as on the other hand the same shall be done on our side, in case any of his majesty's subjects shelter themselves in our dominions.

XVI. After the conclusion of this treaty, neither his majesty, nor any of his subjects, shall maintain any secret or publick com-

merce or correspondence with the *Portuguese*, *Baldæus* our common enemies; much less to traffick with them under any pretence whatever, but look upon them as their constant declared enemies: and in case any of his majesty's subjects shall be discovered to have sold them any commodities, the transgressors shall be punished with death.

XVII. His majesty shall not suffer any priests, friers, or clergymen to dwell in his dominions, but oblige them to depart as the authors of all rebellions, and the ruin of governments.

XVIII. In case any *Dutch* ships employed in his majesty's service shall take any prizes from the enemies, the same shall belong to the *East-India* company, with this proviso however, That the said company shall alone bear all the damages sustained by the said ships in any of these engagements.

XIX. In case the *Dutch* furnish any great cannon for the fortresses, or otherwise for his majesty's service, the same may be freely taken back, if occasion requires, without any hindrance, and be brought aboard of ship, or otherwise, where it shall be thought most convenient.

XX. Transacted and concluded thus, in the presence of his imperial majesty of *Ceylon*, and of *Adam Westerwold* member of the council of the *Indies*, and commodore of the squadron of ships on the coast of *Ceylon*; as also of *William Jacob Koster*, vice-commodore of the said squadron, at the royal palace, in the country of *Batecalo*, May 23. 1638.

Additional Article.

The *Dutch* oblige themselves to shew all possible favour and assistance to such vessels, as shall go from hence with his majesty's, or any of his governors passports to other harbours.

Signed,

*Raja Singa* Imperador,  
*Adam Westerwold*,  
*William Jacob Koster*.

Sealed with his majesty's and  
Mr. *Westerwold*'s seals.

Pursuant to this agreement his majesty ordered four hundred balls of cinnamon, eighty seven quintals of wax, and three thousand and fifty nine pounds of pepper, to be delivered to Mr. *Westerwold*, in part of the reimbursement of charges they had been at, promising to deliver the rest, as soon as it could be brought together at the seaport of *Samature*; and to hasten the ratification of the said alliance, his majesty sent two ambassadors to *Batavia*, in company of

*Ratification of the said alliance.*

*Baldæus*, of Mr. *Westerwold*, with some presents to the general and council of the *Indies*; who being honourably received and treated there, were afterwards sent back with letters and presents for his majesty, with the yachts the *Griipskerk*, *Faulcon*, and *Venlo*, bound for the coast of *Coromandel*.

The emperor's army, in the mean while, being about twenty thousand strong, conti-

nued before *Columbo*; and the *Portuguese* having been very unsuccessful in divers sallies, it was more than probable that this place (though the capital city of the *Portuguese* in this isle) would be forced to surrender upon the arrival of the expected *Dutch* fleet under the admiral *Anthony de Caan*.

*Baldæus*,  
*Columbo*  
*besieged*.

## C H A P. XXIII.

## Puntegala taken by Storm by William Jacob Koster. Caleture besieged.

*Puntegale*  
*besieged*.

THE 8th of *March*, commodore *Koster* being come to an anchor about noon in the bay of *Puntegale*, under the enemies cannon, he landed his men before night on the north-side without any resistance. Intelligence was brought by some negroes, that they expected a reinforcement in the city of two hundred and fifty *Portuguese* from *Columbo*; notwithstanding which the *Dutch* divided their forces into three bodies, and advanced close under the fort: the 9th early in the morning, they were attacked by the said *Portuguese*, whom they repulsed, though not without some loss.

Nevertheless they kept our forces in constant alarm, those of *Candy* being the 11th of *March* advanced no further than *Billigamme*, six leagues from *Gale*; but (through God's singular mercy) three of our ships, viz. the *Harlem*, *Middleburgh*, and *Breda*, coming on the same day to anchor in the bay, and landed four hundred men, as well soldiers as seamen, we were soon exempted from all fear.

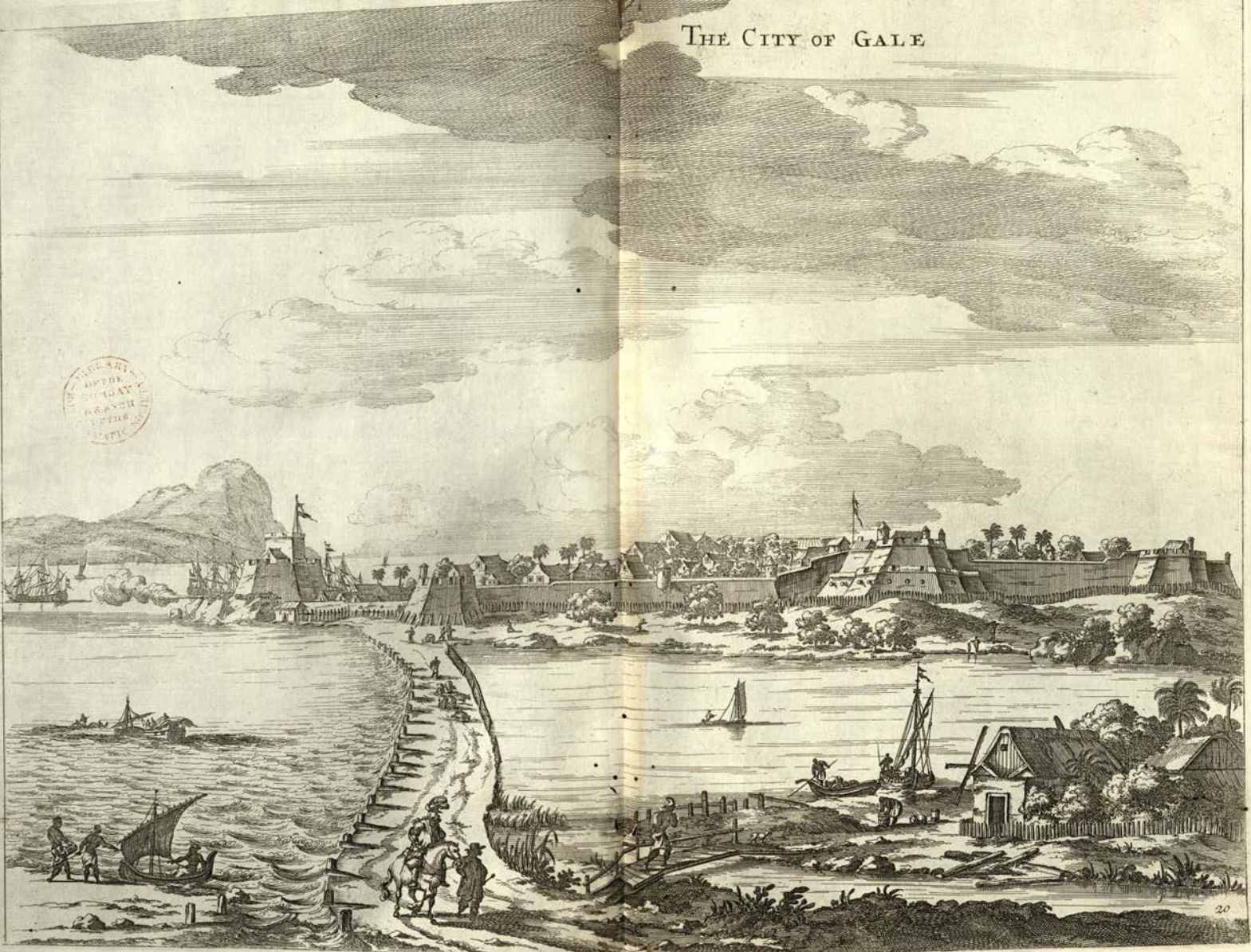
The 12th finding they had made a sufficient breach in the bastion of *St. Jago*, they began to make all necessary preparations for the storming of the place, which





THE CITY OF GALE

THE ART  
OF THE  
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*Baldæus.* was done accordingly the 13th with such undaunted bravery, that, after an hour and half's stout resistance, it was taken by assault. This city was afterwards, viz. 1663, and 1664. rendered almost impregnable by the Dutch by several additional fortifications; and this day is ever since celebrated yearly by a solemn thanksgiving.

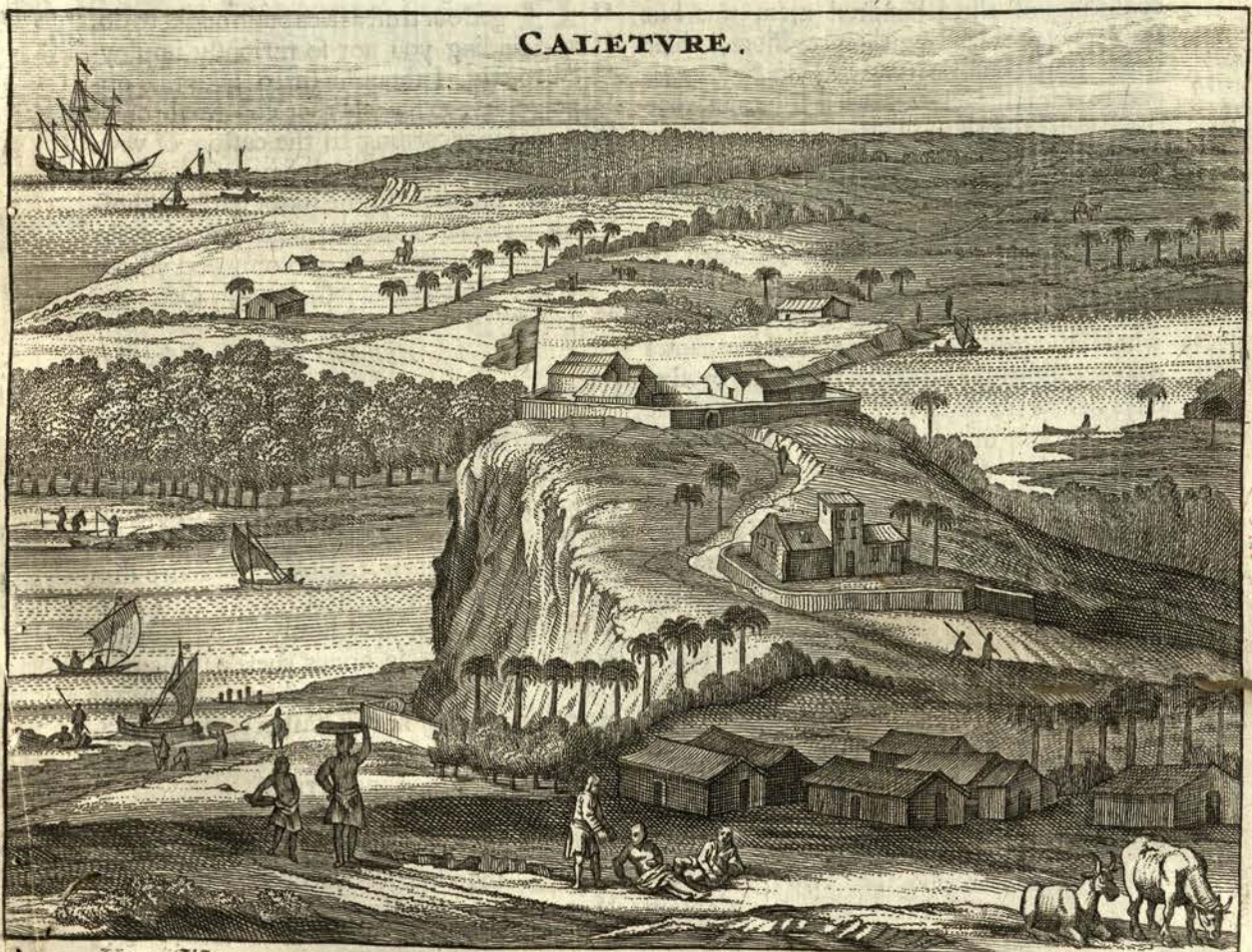
Is taken by storm.

Mr. *Koster* (who was treacherously murdered by the *Cingalese*, as *Sebald de Weert* was by his own imprudence) was succeeded by *John Thiissen*, who is yet living, and has rendered himself famous for his many services done to the company in those parts. In his stead came *John Maatzuyker*, since governor of the *Indies*, who has served in that station fifteen years. He was succeeded by *Jacob van Kittenstein*, in the presidentship of *Gale*; (the affairs of the company hitherto not admitting of the quality of a governor here) who died afterwards at *Batavia*, and was succeeded by *Adrian van der Meyden*, in whose time *Caleutire*, *Columbo*, *Manaar*, and *Jafnapatnam*, were taken. He was succeeded by *Rylof van Goens* and *Jacob Hustart*; by which time the company having considerably enlarged their limits in this isle, a governor was constituted at *Columbo*, the city of *Gale* being left to the management of a commander in chief, the first in that station being one *Ysbrand Gotsken*, a native of the *Hague*,

a brave soldier, sufficiently known for his signal services done at the sieges of *Columbo*, *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam*, and *Cochin*, whereof he was governor afterwards, and since chief director in *Persia*. *Adrian Rootbaas* his successor is a person who has rendered his name famous by sea, especially in the *Levant* and before *Goa*, as the former had done by land.

*Gale* has a commodious bay, fit for anchorage, except that with a south-west wind the sea runs very hollow there. At the very entrance of the harbour lies a dangerous rock, near to which all ships must pass, and against which the *Hercules*, one of our ships was stav'd to pieces. There is no coming into the bay, unless you pass by the water-fort, which is well provided with cannon for the security of the harbour. The fortifications of the city it self consist only in three bastions, the rest being so inclosed with the sea and rocks, that there is no approaching to it, even with the smallest boats. On the top of a rock, which jets out into the sea, is a lanthorn, and an iron cannon, wherewith they give warning to the ships; and near it you see the company's flag displayed. The city is well built of stone, very high, with goodly houses, a stately church, pleasant gardens, and most delicious springs; the mountains which surround it, affording a pleasant prospect;

A description of Gale.



*Baldæus*, over which you pass through roads cut out of the rocks, called by them *Gravettes*.

Caleture.

About a days journey from *Gale* stands the fort of *Caleture*, in a most delightful country, near the entrance of a large and broad river, on the sea-shore, surrounded by a double strong wall of earth. It was reduced by the director-general *Gerard Hulst*, Oct. 15. 1655. in the following manner.

Is invested by the Dutch.

Having rendezvoused his forces, consisting of five hundred ninety three men near *Bentotte*, and being joined the 28th of September by some more troops under *Christophor Egger*, *Leonard Wilschut*, and *Melchior van Schoonbeek*, they directed their march towards *Caleture*. But being informed that the enemy were resolved to make a vigorous defence, and our artillery being not yet come up, it was thought advisable to detach captain *Abraham Cous* and *Jurian Gevels* with five companies, to secure the pass of *Oucatte* over the river, thereby to prevent the enemy from receiving any supplies, till the arrival of our ships, that were expected every day with more forces.

The 29th we took a view of all the avenues leading to the place; and guards being placed in all convenient posts, the factor *Renier Serooskerken* and Mr. *Ysbrand Godsken* were dispatched to our ships, to send us the necessary artillery and ammunition.

The 5th of October advice was brought by two of the natives, that the garrison, consisting of three hundred men, was but slenderly provided with provisions, their whole store consisting only in 50 \* *Parras*, and two small packs of dried fish; and that they were forced to live upon *Cansies*, or water and rice.

\* Each *Parras* is forty pound.

The 6th of October after we had mounted some great guns upon our batteries, a cer-

† A *Topas* is the son of a Portuguese and an Indian woman.

tain † *Topas*, who had been secretary to captain *Marcello Fialbo*, came over to us, who discovered to the general *Hulst* the whole strength of the enemy, and the names of their officers; adding, that four or five days before his departure, there were about 210 *Parras* of rice in the store-house, whereof they distributed a certain quantity to each soldier every day, and to the king's negroes, called \* *Cassers*, a quart a piece: That they had no *Lascaryns* in the place, and, as he believed, could not hold it above ten days, though they seemed resolved to defend it to the last extremity, in hopes of being relieved the next week by *Caspar Figeiro*.

\* *Cassers* are Negroes like those of Angola.

The same day major *John van der Laan* brought word, That all was well secured on his attack; and captain *James Swart*, and the factor *Abraham Hartman* brought up, with sixty seamen, the two great cannons that were left behind. Captain

*Dianteiro* was also detached with forty Dutch soldiers, and a good number of *Lascaryns*, to the pass of *Wellikande*, and the general *Gerard Hulst*, with Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, having taken a view of our batteries, did go to take a view of the pass near *Palletotte*, where, as well as on the other side, they found every thing to their satisfaction, seven hundred fifty six men being employed on that side.

The 7th of October they went up the river as far as *Wellikande*, to see whether the enemy could receive any supplies of provisions by the brook, or from above by the way of *Anguratotte* and *Tiboene*; but found it not feasible, by reason of the shallowness of the water. However, five ferry-boats were shewed them in the narrowest places of the river, where, having placed some *Lascaryns*, they committed the management thereof to Mr. *John van der Laan*. The 11th of October, a mortar of a large size, and a twelve pounder, were mounted on the battery; and Mr. *John van der Laan* came to tell the general, that the second battery would be ready to play on his side the same night.

The 14th, in the morning, we saw a Portuguese lieutenant and drummer, with a white flag, coming out of the fort, sent by *Antonio Mendes d' Aranba*, their commander in chief, with the following letter.

“ HAVING for several days past discharged our trust as a captain ought to do, and finding you not so furiously employed to day, I thought fit to take this opportunity, to try whether you would treat with me according to the custom of war; for which purpose, I have sent you a trusty person. In the mean while all hostilities shall cease on our side, hoping the same from you. We recommend you to God's protection. *Caleture*, Oct. 14. 1655.”

They offer to capitulate.

*Antonio Mendes d' Aranba.*

A cessation of arms being agreed upon, *Martin Scholtes*, an ensign, was sent back with the Portuguese officer, to treat about the conditions, whilst a messenger was dispatched with a letter to the *Dissave* (or deputy-governor) of *Saffra Gamme*, to desire him to have it rumour'd abroad, that the Portuguese in *Caleture*, had lately been supplied with provisions; in hopes thereby to amuse *Caspar Figeiro*, (who stood with his forces near *Moutapelle*,) not to hasten to their relief.

The capitulation was soon after concluded upon the following terms:

“ THE soldiers to march out with their matches not lighted, balls in the mouth, and ensigns display'd; the off-”

Articles of the capitulation.

*Baldæus.* “cers with their scarfs, which they shall  
 “lay down rolled up before the standard  
 “of the company. All the great officers,  
 “to the captains inclusive, to be transported  
 “during this *Mousson* to *Goa*; the rest of  
 “the officers and soldiers to *Batavia*, and  
 “from thence to *Portugal*, at the charge of  
 “the company. All the officers and sol-  
 “diers shall be allowed to carry their bag-  
 “gage along with them; but their servants  
 “shall be left to the discretion of the *Dutch*  
 “general. All church ornaments shall be  
 “removed. All such as have married *Por-*  
 “*tuguese* women and the *Mistices* shall  
 “be conducted to *Columbo*, or wherever  
 “else they think fit. But the *Lascaryns*  
 “and *Negros*, whether married or unmar-  
 “ried, shall remain prisoners of war. The  
 “fathers and clergymen shall enjoy the  
 “same liberty as the highest officers, and  
 “shall be transported from *Caleture* on the  
 “same day. These articles are to be rati-  
 “fied to morrow morning by sun-rising.  
 “All the superior officers, including the  
 “captains, shall have liberty to take their  
 “swords along with them. It was signed,

*Antonio Mendes d'Aramba.*  
*John Alonzo.*

“ After the ratification, it was thus sub-  
 “scribed by both parties.

*Gerard Hulst.*  
*Adrian van der Meyden.*  
*John van der Laan.*  
*Antonio Mendes d'Aramba.*  
*John Alonzo.*

*They march* The 15th, early in the morning, the *Por-*  
*out.* *tuguese* officer returned with the articles; to-

*Baldæus.* wards noon the garrison, consisting in nine  
 companies, making in all, two hundred and  
 fifty five men, marched out of the fort, and  
 having paid their reverence with their ensigns  
 as usual, the soldiers were disarmed. The  
 companies were the following: The royal  
 company, commanded by the captain-major  
*Marcello Fialbo*, consisted of thirty one *Por-*  
*tuguese*; that of *John Antonio Felbaon* of  
 twenty seven; that of *Pedro de Barbos* of  
 twenty eight; that of *Manuel Rodrigos* of  
 twenty eight; that of *Diego Frois* of thirty  
 six; that of *Jacomo Padraon* of twenty  
 eight; that of *Manuel Mendes* of twenty  
 seven; that of *Lewis Alvares Periero* of  
 twenty four; and that of *Leonardo de Silva*  
 of twenty six: in all two hundred fifty five.

Besides the persons of note living in the  
 place, with their families, that were con-  
 ducted to *Callamoende*, and fifty more that  
 were with the governor *Antonio Mendes*  
*d'Aramba*, (afterwards our prisoners at *Jafna-*  
*patnam*.) that were carried to *Gale*, the other  
 superior officers were sent to *Macoene*, and the  
 rest kept under a good guard in the fort.

Immediately notice of this victory having  
 been given to the emperor *Raja Singa*, gene-  
 ral *Hulst* and Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*  
 took a view of the fortifications of the place,  
 whereat they were not a little surprized, and  
 found therein, ten ensigns, five great guns,  
 four brass ones, ten eight and five pounders,  
 and one iron eight pounder, forty barrels  
 of gunpowder, two hundred and four bam-  
 boe canes filled, seven hundred and ten bul-  
 lets, one hundred and eighty muskets, sixty  
 two pikes, seven chests with musket balls,  
 another barrel with larger bullets, fit for  
 musketoons, one hundred and sixteen am-  
 munition pouches, five musketoons, some  
 fiery bullets; sixty spades, and eight hatchets,

CHAP. XXIV.

*Engagements near Paneture, and near Montual; both to the Disadvan-*  
*tage of the Portuguese.*

*Ysbrand*  
*Godskens*  
*made go-*  
*vernour of*  
*Caleture.*

**Y** *Sbrand Godskens* being constituted go-  
 vernour of *Caleture*, with a company  
 to keep garison there, major *John van der*  
*Laan* marched the 16th from the other  
 side of the river, towards *Paneture*, being  
 followed by the general and Mr. *Van der*  
*Meyden* with the rest of the forces. In  
 the dusk of the evening, we came up with  
 the *Portuguese*, whom we saluted so briskly  
 with our firelocks, that they thought fit to  
 retreat, leaving seventeen dead, and all  
 their ammunition, with their standard, be-  
 hind them. On our side, we had fifteen  
 wounded, besides *Arent Janfz van Norden*,

an ensign. According to the report of  
 one of their captains, who was taken  
 prisoner, they consisted of six companies,  
 commanded by *Dominges Sermento*, cap-  
 tain-major of *Montual*, detached to-  
 wards *Caleture* to secure this pass till to-  
 morrow for *Caspar Figeiro*, who was on  
 his march at the head of six hundred  
 men, to attempt the relief of that place.  
 Whereupon it was thought convenient to  
 make a halt betwixt *Paneture* and *Gal-*  
*kisse*, near a good spring, and there to  
 expect the coming up of the rest of their  
 forces.

The



*Baldæus.* The same night, the moon shining very bright, a prisoner was brought into our camp, who being a native of *Antorf*, and well versed in the *Dutch* tongue, told the general, That he had served the king of *Portugal* eleven years; and that *Figeiro* would doubtless be with them by day-light.

*An engagement betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese.* The 17th, being *Sunday*, word being brought that the *Portuguese* were at hand, major *John van der Laan* and captain *Kous* were posted with five companies, and two field-pieces, on a convenient place, to receive the first shock of the enemy; whom, after a general discharge of their fire-arms and cannon, they received so warmly with sword-in-hand, that they were soon brought into confusion, and pursued as far as to the church, called *Nossa Senhora de Milagres*, i. e. *That of our Lady of Miracles*, with a slaughter of one hundred and fifty on the enemies side. Among our troops major *Van der Laan* was wounded in the cheek; and a gunner, two common soldiers, and a serjeant killed.

*A second engagement.* The 18th of *October* happened another engagement betwixt us and the *Portuguese*, near *Montual*. Our forces attacked them in their entrenchments, from whence they fired furiously upon them; but no sooner had they broke through their works, but they threw down their arms, and made the best of their way to *Columbo*, leaving all their ammunition behind them, and twenty two killed upon the spot; whereas we had not so much as one wounded on our side. We left two companies as a guard of the church of *St. Sebastian*; and advancing nearer towards *Columbo*, a body of *Portuguese* retreated in boats from *Montual* to *Columbo*, leaving the pass open to us, where we found three iron guns, and some cinnamon, and put a guard of sixteen soldiers in it under a serjeant.

Here we received intelligence, That of the whole body commanded by *Caspar Figeiro*, consisting of six hundred *Portuguese*, and sent from *Columbo* to the relief of *Caleture*, not above one hundred and sixty were returned to that city.

The 19th, before noon, some *Portuguese* being got into a coco-garden, some of our soldiers forced them to retire; but those of the city firing upon them, killed one of our serjeants, and wounded *Hans Christophers*, a lieutenant, and two common soldiers. The same day the general was certified, by letters from captain *Kous* and lieutenant *Wilstchut*, that they had already told above three hundred slain of the *Portuguese* upon the roads; and that daily more heads and prisoners were brought in. They sent at the same time a waistcoat of *Caspar Figeiro*, wherein was the following letter:

“ YOU are not ignorant of the resolution taken the 12th of *October* concerning your endeavours to relieve the fort of *Caleture*. All the forces we have been able to gather for this expedition consist in four hundred and twenty men, which we hope will prove sufficient, through the blessing of God and your good fortune and conduct, to make you return victorious. We leave the management of that affair to your approved experience, it being impossible for us to foresee all the circumstances and accidents that may attend a business of this nature. It must be your care to get frequent intelligence of the posture of the enemy, and how to bring the provisions laid up for the relief of the place at *Belantotte* into the fort; the success whereof you shall notify to us with the first opportunity, that we may send fresh supplies of rice both for your use, and of the garrison in the fort. If you can meet with any provisions in the country, you will not fail to seize them for your convenience.”

“ In case you should prove successful in the relief of *Caleture*, you must join your forces, and the captain-major of the place must submit to your command. We do not question but you will not be wanting in your duty in a business of such vast moment, whereon depends the preservation and welfare not only of this city, but also of the whole isle.

“ If after the relief of *Caleture* you find, that for want of provisions, or for other weighty reasons, the fort is not to be maintained, you shall agree among yourselves what is fittest to be done for his majesty's interest, whether it be not the best way to bring the fortifications into a narrower compass, and leaving only one hundred and fifty men for the defence thereof, to join the rest with your body.

“ If you find it impracticable to bring any supplies into the fort, you shall entrench yourself at a convenient distance, and from thence give notice to *Antonio Mendes d'Aranka* the governor, that he shall nail up all the cannon, destroy all the ammunition, and make the best of his way to your camp, thereby to preserve such brave troops, on whom, in some measure, depends the defence of this city.”

*Columbo, Oct. 13.*  
1655.

Signed,

*Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

*Baldæus.*

And lower.

“ Just upon the conclusion of these presents we have received the expected succours from the *Indian* coast, which con-

“ sisting of two hundred men, is to be joined with your troops. We recommend you to God’s protection.”

*Columbo, Oct. 15.  
1655.*

CHAP. XXV.

*A famous Highwayman taken. The Beginning of the Siege of Columbo. The Emperor offers the Dutch his Assistance : His Letter to the Dutch General.*

\* *Apahamie is an officer of note.*  
† *Haratic is a serjeant.*  
‡ *Lascaryn a common soldier.*  
§ *Diffave a governor.*

ABOUT the same time arrived three *Apahamies*,\* and as many *Haraties*,† with some *Lascaryns*,‡ from the imperial court; and the *Diffave*\* of *Saffragamme*, with letters from Mr. *Foris Hervendonk* our resident at *Candy*, intimating that he had been commanded by his majesty to notify his being ill of an ague; and that he hoped before long to be with all his nobility at *Columbo*. In return of which, another letter was sent to his majesty, to notify our victory over the enemy.

*A famous Robber taken.*

The same day advice was brought that the famous highwayman, *Francisco Antbunes*, was fallen into the hands of some of our *Lascaryns*; wherefore a detachment was ordered to bring him into the camp; but either through the cold and inconveniencies of the journey, or rather out of fear, he died by the way, and was buried.

*A Thanksgiving-day.*

About the same day a thanksgiving-day was also appointed to be held the 28th of *October*, to return thanks to God for having blessed our arms with success, and begging his mercy for the future.

The 21st the general, with some other officers of note, having taken a view of the situation of the city of *Columbo* at *Quia de Lobo*, ordered all sorts of materials to be brought thither from *Montual*, for the raising of a battery, and hired fifty pioneers for that purpose.

The 22d the *Diffave* of *Saffragamme* appeared in person in a house formerly belonging to *Diego Melo de Castro*, governor of *Columbo*, offering certain supplies of men from his majesty, which was thankfully received by the general.

The 23d another battery was erected near the church of *St. Sebastian*.

Two days after came into the camp the emperor’s *Diffave* of the four *Corles* at the head of seven hundred men; and the same evening the general received a letter, writ with his majesty’s own hand, and brought by one of his own post-men. It was curiously perfumed with all sorts of spices, and on each side you saw the figure of a woman, with her hands folded, lifting her eyes up

to heaven, being an answer to Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*’s letter writ to his majesty from *Batecalo*. The king seemed not well satisfied, that the said letter had not been wrapped in white linnen as usual; and that some of his titles had not been inserted; yet he testified his satisfaction about the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet, alledging for the rest, “ That pursuant to the promise made him by Mr. *Jacob Kittenstein*, and the agreement with him and *Adrian van der Meyden*, the city was to be delivered into his hands: but that as he made no great account thereof, he was satisfied, provided they would allow him the honour of the conquest, which he would acknowledge upon all occasions.” In the conclusion of the letter he told them, “ That he had ordered lodgings to be prepared for them in all the places through which they were to pass.”

The 26th we were busy in mounting the cannon upon a battery, and had four men wounded, and one killed. The same day we received a supply of ammunition and provision, brought aboard the *Lion* yacht to *Puntegale*. Sunday the 28th, after sermon, a deserter with a negro came into the camp from the city, who having made his escape through the fens, told the general, That *Caspar Figeiro* was by the governor of *Columbo* welcomed with these words: *You deserve to be banged*; and that he had alledged many falsehoods in his defence, and among the rest, *That he could not attack us, because we were so deeply entrenched near the sea-shore.*

*Welcome of Figeiro at Columbo.*

The same day the emperor’s *Diffave* of the seven *Corles* arrived in the camp with five hundred men, who, together with the other *Lascaryns*, were employ’d in carrying ammunition.

The 29th a deserter came over to us from the city: his name was *Herman Lucas*, a native of *Hertogenbusch*; who having formerly deserted our service at *Gale*, in company of one named *Walraven*, had obtained the name of *John de Rosa* among the *Portuguese*; but having had the misfortune of killing

*A noted deserter gives an account of the condition at Columbo.*

*Baldæus*. another at *Columbo*, was fled to *Candy*, where he pretended to have been sent by the governor, to view the outworks of the place. He gave the general an account of divers remarkable passages, and among the rest, that he had been present in the engagement which happened the 17th; and that of that whole body, not above one hundred and fifty *Portuguese* returned to *Columbo*, where there were as yet nine companies, amounting in all, with the citizens able to bear arms, to eight hundred men; that the governor was highly concerned at the loss of these troops, and the ensuing siege, especially since some of the citizens shewed no great inclination to fight. We play'd the same day very furiously upon the city, and the battery raised against *St. Sebastian* was likewise brought to perfection.

Columbo furiously plied with great cannon.

The next following day a certain *Portuguese* prisoner was brought into the camp; he was sent from *Milagre*, and had lived fourteen days upon grass and herbs in the woods. The 3d of *November* a carpenter and cannoneer were killed by a cannon-shot upon the battery raised at *Quia de Lobo*; and the same afternoon the sloop, called the *Delft*, arrived from *Caleture* with powder. About the same time a deserter came to us out of the city; but being lately come from *Goa*, he could tell no great matter. The same evening the ship, called the *Brownfish*, arrived with letters from *Laurence Pit*, governor of the coast of *Coromandel*, having on board forty four thousand five hundred and forty four pounds of gun-powder: she brought also advice, that the yacht the *Popkensburg* was safely arrived at *Gale*, but that they had no news of the ship called the *Haddock*. The same night we were busy in raising a battery near the sea-shore.

News of twelve sail being discovered.

The 4th of *November*, early in the morning, news was brought to the general from *Negumbo*, That, according to the report of certain inhabitants of *Annarolundane*, twelve sail of ships were discovered off of *Cbilaon*; whereupon immediate orders were given to the commodore *Edward Hauw*, to use all possible endeavours to get intelligence thereof: the same was also recommended to the head-factor of *Gale*, *John Kroon*, and to be upon his guard. The same afternoon, a cannon bullet from the bastion of *St. Stephen*, passing through a gallery of the church of *Quia de Lobo*, whilst the surgeons were dressing some wounded soldiers, a soldier was killed, two others had their arms shot off, and three more were dangerously wounded.

About the same time *Tenecon Apubamy*, came in the quality of the emperor's mes-

senger, with a breast shield of gold, beset with precious stones, and fastened to a gold chain, and brought the following letter from his majesty to the general.

“**R**AJA Singa, the greatest monarch and most potent emperor of the empire of *Ceylon*, wishes health to Gerard Hult, admiral of the fleet, belonging to the most faithful nation of the *Dutch*.  
 “By the letters sent to me from the governor of our fortress of *Gale*, I have understood, that immediately after your arrival with the *Dutch* fleet there, you have made yourself master of the fort of *Caleture*; and that one half of the *Portuguese* prisoners were sent aboard a ship, the rest being reserved for our service. The news of your success in the engagement betwixt *Caleture* and *Columbo*, without any considerable loss on the side of our faithful *Hollanders*, being likewise received by me with singular satisfaction, I sent immediate orders to all my *Dissaves* (governors) and chief commanders to bring into the field all the forces of our empire. In the mean while I received an *Ola* (letter) from the *Dissave* of *Saffragamme*, dated Oct. 23. wherein he informs me, That having been sent for by your excellency, you enquired after my health, telling him at the same time that you were come to no other end, than to deliver the cities of *Columbo*, *Manaar*, and *Jasnapatnam* into our hands; which done, you would in person appear in our imperial majesty's presence. I have been very ill for many days past, which however has not prevented my taking the necessary measures for the raising of the forces of the empire. No sooner had I received the welcome news of your excellency, but I was in a manner immediately restored to my former health, being now twice as strong as before, and able (through God's mercy) to assist in person in the intended expedition, which I intend to begin the 2d of *November*. I have sent with this letter one of the officers of our court, to enquire after your excellency's health, and to bring you a present from me; which I hope your excellency will value, not so much in regard of its value, as in respect of the love and good inclination of the giver.”

The emperor's letter to general Hult.

Dated at our imperial court in the city of *Candy*, Oct. 29. 1655.

Raja Singa Raju, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Resolutions and Instructions concerning the intended General Assault upon the City of Columbo.

*Baldæus.* THE 9th of November a new battery, with four great brass cannon, having began to play against *St. Stephen's* bastion, a general council of war was called of all the chief officers, in order to consult, (after having implored the divine assistance,) Whether it were convenient to venture a general assault upon *Columbo*: the general having openly declared, that every one there present should be at his full liberty to discover his real sentiments concerning this great undertaking; it was agreed by unanimous consent, that seeing the alacrity of the soldiers, it was convenient to attempt a general assault.

*A general assault is agreed upon by general consent.*

Soon after the general dispatched a trumpeter, bearing a flag of truce in his hand, to the Portuguese governor, *Anthony de de Souza Coutinbo*, with the following letter:

*The Dutch general's letter to the governor of Columbo.* THE success that has attended our arms in the taking of *Caleture*, and the defeat of the troops under *Caspar Figeiro*, near the shore of *Panature*, together with the advantages obtained already in the siege of *Columbo*, may, as I suppose, sufficiently entitle me to demand, without vanity, the delivering up of the city, in the name of his imperial majesty *Raja Singa*, and the most noble *Dutch East-India* company. I hope your excellency will not put a wrong interpretation upon this demand, when you consider, that pursuant to the tenor of your own letters sent to *Don Anthonio Mendes d' Aranba*, and *Caspar Figeiro*, the first dated September 30. and the second the 13th and 15th of October, (both which are fallen into our hands,) you were then sufficiently sensible, that the defence of *Columbo* depended on the preservation of the forces in *Caleture*, and those under the command of *Caspar Figeiro*. It is upon this score that I am of opinion, I do not put the least blemish upon your courage, since being bereaved of these means, you have nevertheless given such ample proofs of your zeal and bravery in the defence of this place. My request is only founded upon this, To avoid the effusion of innocent blood, the almost necessary consequence and unavoidable fate of all places taken by assault, it being sufficiently known, that the fury of the con-

“ quering soldiers is not easily stopped upon those occasions. *Baldæus.*  
Nov. 9. Gerard Hulst.

The trumpeter returning a little while after, told, That coming near to *St. John's* bastion, the letter was taken from him by a Portuguese officer; who assured him that the governor should return an answer the next day: hereupon the cannon being ordered to play as before, three companies under the lieutenants *William de Wit*, *Henry Gerritsz*, and *Christopher Egger*, were sent to *Montual*, in order to be put on board the two yachts, the *Ter Goes* and the *Erasmus*.

The 10th of November an answer was sent to the general upon his letter.

“ AS God Almighty disposes the chances of war according to his pleasure, so he may as well declare now for our side, as he has done for you before: the place you require belongs to the king of Portugal, my master, who having entrusted me with the same, I must be accountable to him for it. The reasons alledged by your excellency are not sufficient to move me to lay aside the defence of this city; not questioning, but that time and experience will convince you, that our condition at present is much beyond what you imagine. I recommend you to God's protection. *The governor's answer.*

Nov. 9. Antonio de Souza Coutinbo.

After the receipt of this resolute answer, the general thought fit to give the following instructions for the intended general assault.

“ The yachts, viz. the *Maid of Enchuy-sen*, commanded by *Volkert Adrian Sbram*, (who afterwards rendered himself famous in the north, during the English war,) and the *Workum*, *Arent Groenfield* commander, shall approach into the bay, as near to the water-fort as possibly they can; for which purpose they shall be provided with one hundred and ten chosen seamen, five thousand pounds of gunpowder, and with shot in proportion. *Instructions for the general assault.*  
“ The yachts shall anchor in any part of the bay, where they can best annoy the water-fort, and under favour of their cannon

*Baldæus.* “cannon land their men. For this purpose  
 “ the yachts the *Ter Goes* and *Erasmus*, shall  
 “ keep within cannon-shot of the other two  
 “ yachts, and have aboard, besides their  
 “ ship’s crew, one hundred landmen each,  
 “ viz. the companies of *William de Wit*, *Henry*  
 “ *Gerritsz*, and *Christopher Egger*, in order  
 “ to land, in conjunction with the men of  
 “ the other yachts. The boats, tenders,  
 “ and other small vessels, shall keep near the  
 “ before-mentioned ships, viz. the tender  
 “ the *Amsterdam* with her sloop, near the  
 “ *Ter Goes*, and the sloop the *Wesel* the  
 “ boat of the *Marygoldflower*, with her  
 “ sloop the *Delft*, and the tender the *Naar-*  
 “ *den* with the rest. The tenders the *Hair*  
 “ and *Brownfish* shall keep near the shore,  
 “ to be ready upon all occasions to carry  
 “ advice where it shall be thought necessa-  
 “ ry. In short, all the boats shall attend  
 “ the vessels that are engaged against the  
 “ fort, in order to save their men, in case  
 “ any of them should be sunk or disabled.  
 “ When the companies standard is fixed  
 “ above the red flag, this shall be the signal  
 “ of landing: if the said standard is set up  
 “ on the mainmast-yard’s arm, it shall be  
 “ the signal for the boats to come to succour  
 “ the ship, she being in danger of sinking.  
 “ When the prince’s standard is set up on  
 “ the ramparts, it is a sign that we are  
 “ masters of that part of the fortifications,  
 “ when the attack, either upon the castle or  
 “ fort may cease, till the said standard be  
 “ set up in captain *Kuylenburgh*’s quarters,  
 “ near the sea-shore; this being intended  
 “ for a signal, that we are also masters of  
 “ the town on the land-side, when the of-  
 “ ficers in their respective attacks may either  
 “ stop or go forward, according as it shall  
 “ be thought convenient by the majority of  
 “ voices.

“ Whilst the ships the *Maid of Enchuyfen*  
 “ and *Workum* are under sail to enter the  
 “ bay, all the rest of the ships shall weigh  
 “ their anchors, and put up the red flag,  
 “ as if they would enter the bay, but keep  
 “ without cannon-shot. So soon as the  
 “ forces are landed, all the officers, soldiers,  
 “ and seamen, shall obey Mr. *Adrian Roo-*  
 “ *tbaus*, as their supreme commander.

“ Whilst the ships and men are engaged  
 “ against the water-fort, the city is to be  
 “ assaulted at the same time, near the sea-

“ shore, at the bastion of *St. John*, and on  
 “ the land-side near the gate of *Rajuba*:  
 “ the attack upon the bastion of *St. John*  
 “ shall be commanded by captain *Kous*, and  
 “ the other by captain *Kuylenburgh*, either  
 “ of them to be seconded, as occasion re-  
 “ quires, by Mr. *John van der Laan*, the  
 “ companies of *Kuylenburgh*, *Goverit Quar-*  
 “ *tel*, *Jurian Gevel*, *Andrew Steckens*, *Lam-*  
 “ *bert Steenbagen*, *Hans Christopher*, *Jo-*  
 “ *achim Block*, *Melchior van Schonenbeck*,  
 “ and *John Moll*, with thirty six *Javane-  
 “ se*, and half a company of *Bandanese*, to be  
 “ employ’d in the assault of the first bastion:  
 “ the scaling-ladders shall be carried and  
 “ fixed by the *Bandanese*, *Javane-  
 “ se*, and *Mardykers*, mixed with some *Dutch*  
 “ seamen, armed with hand-granadoes,  
 “ pikes, and hangers. The bastions of  
 “ *Clergos* and *St. Philippo*, near that of *St.*  
 “ *Sebastian*, (at the gate of *Rajuba*,) shall  
 “ be attacked by the companies of captain  
 “ *Westrenen*, lieutenant *Wildtschut*, *John*  
 “ *Hartman*, *John Cooper*, *Hardenbergh*  
 “ *Roggenkamp*, *James Alenbier*, *Diedelof*  
 “ *van der Beek*, *Henry Broekhuysen*, *John*  
 “ *Coertsen*, with the *Javane-  
 “ se*, half a com-  
 “ pany of *Bandanese*, and the company com-  
 “ manded by captain *Ruyfch*.

“ Captain *Westrenen* shall command the  
 “ attack against the bastion of *Clergos*, and  
 “ captain *Ruyfch* that of *St. Philippo* to be  
 “ seconded by fresh forces, as occasion re-  
 “ quires. The *Bandanese*, *Javane-  
 “ se*, and *Mardykers*, in conjunction with the *Dutch*  
 “ seamen, shall fix the scaling-ladders, and  
 “ the *Lascaryns* of *Ceylon* be employed in  
 “ carrying off the slain.”

About the same time we received intelli-  
 gence, that the *Portuguese* succours were ar-  
 rived at *Goa*; and that they intended to  
 come to the relief of *Columbo*: word whereof  
 was sent immediately to *Gale* to be upon  
 their guard, for fear of a surprize. The  
 11th of *November*; (the day appointed for  
 the general assault,) it being calm, so that  
 the ships could not enter the bay, the same  
 was deferred till the next day, though we  
 did not cease in the mean time to play more  
 furiously with our cannon than ever before;  
 and we observed that the enemy had taken  
 in their red flag upon the bastion of *St.*  
*Crus*.

C H A P. XXVII.

*A General Assault both by Sea and Land made upon Columbo; but without Success. Letters from Raja Singa to the General. Dutch Prisoners come out of Columbo.*

*Baldæus.*  
*The water-  
fort batter-  
ed by the  
ships.*

THE 12th, by break of day, the *Maid of Enchuyfen*, and soon after the *Workum*, being followed by the *Ter Goes* and the *Erasmus*, thundered most furiously against the water-fort, from whence they answered them very briskly. Immediately after the assault was begun on the land-side in three several places: the general in person with ten companies attacked the gate of *Rajuba*, and the bastions of *St. Philippo* and *Clergos*; and major *John van der Laan* with nine companies, those of *St. John* and *Couras*; whilst *James Lippens* with two companies of soldiers, and some seamen, passed the fens in seven *Chinese Champans*, or boats, in order to attack the city where it was least fortified.

*Columbo  
assaulted by  
sea and  
land.*

But the besieged fired so furiously upon our men, especially with their firelocks, that the seamen could not be brought forward to fix the scaling-ladders; which the general perceiving, he advanced in person with some of the bravest officers, and fixed the scaling-ladders to the curtain: but having received a wound in his left thigh, he was forced to be carried off. In the mean while news being brought that they had entered the breach on major *Van der Laan's* attack, he returned to his station (before his wound was dressed,) but found things in such a confusion, that he was forced to retreat, the major and his forces not being able to maintain themselves in the breach, retreating at the same time, after they had in vain attempted three times to recover it. Lieutenant *Melchior van Schoonbeek*, a *High-German* by birth, and of a noble family, was the only person who got upon the bastion of *St. John*; but for want of being seconded, lost his life there like a brave soldier, his head being afterwards stuck upon a pike by the *Portuguese* upon the same bastion.

*With ill  
success.*

The forces under captain *Lippens*, having not without some resistance from four *Manchous*, or boats, passed the fens, got into the city; but the captain being sorely wounded, made shift to retreat with some few, the rest for want of timely succours being all made prisoners of war. The yacht the *Maid of Enchuyfen* was so sorely battered from the fort, that being ready to sink, her crew was carried off by the sloop the *Langerack*; but the *Workum* cut her cables, and got out of the bay without any considerable loss. The number of the slain on our side amounted to

two hundred, and three hundred and fifty wounded, not including the two companies of *John van Hardenburg* and *Roggenkamp*, and the seamen commanded by *John Lippens*, that were made prisoners in the city. The ships the *Ter Goes* and *Erasmus*, who had aboard the soldiers that were to assault the water-fort, not being able to get near enough by reason of the wind, soon got out of the bay.

*Baldæus.*

ON this unfortunate day the general received a letter from his imperial majesty, testifying his good opinion of his excellency, not questioning but that after the taking of *Columbo* he would deliver the said city into his hands, pursuant to the agreement made with *Mr. Westervold*. That he desired to have such of his rebellious subjects, as should fall into our hands, delivered up to his *disposes*, either alive or dead, in order to punish them with the same severity, as he had done those at *Batecalo*; and that he had ordered his governors to ravage and destroy all the villages in the *Low Lands*. [He sent at the same time enclosed a letter from the *Portuguese* governor, *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, dated *October 27*. at *Columbo*, to the emperor, the chief contents whereof were,] "That he could not forbear to put his majesty in mind of the ancient friendship betwixt him and the *Portuguese*, which he was sorry to have been interrupted by the *Dutch* making themselves masters of *Caleture*, and having routed their forces near *Paneture*, by laying so close and vigorous a siege to the city of *Columbo*, that they were in great danger of being forced to surrender. Wherefore they craved his majesty's assistance against the *Hollanders*, who, after they were masters of the city, would certainly not deliver up the same to his majesty, but lord it over his subjects; which his majesty, according to his wisdom, might easily see how much it would tend to his dishonour; whereas if he joined with the *Portuguese* against them, he might promise himself all the advantages due to so great a monarch."

The 13th of *November* was spent in carrying the wounded soldiers to *Negumbo*, ed sent a-  
*Gale*, and *Montual*: tthe same day the  
enemy

*Number of  
the slain and  
wounded.*

*Baldæus* enemy, in a bravado, put two of our ensigns upon the bastions of *St. John* and *St. Philippo*. At the same time advice was brought, that the ships the *Avenborn* and *Campen*, richly laden from *Persia*, were arrived at *Gale* in their voyage to *Batavia*. For which reason the yacht the *Brownfish* was dispatched to *Gale*, to carry some letters thither, to be sent further to *Batavia*, as likewise a letter to be sent by land to the emperor *Raja Singa*. The yacht the *Popkensburg* arrived also with gunpowder, and other necessaries for our camp.

The 19th, a letter from the emperor *Raja Singa* was delivered by his messengers to the general, wherein he condoled him about his wound, and the ill success of the late assault, telling him, That he was employed day and night in making preparations to join him with his forces, and desiring not to venture a second assault before his arrival. A letter of thanks being ordered to be written to his majesty, the yachts the *Workum* and *Popkensburg*, with a frigate, were dispatched to *Negumbo*, to cruise to the north of that harbour, to get timely intelligence of the enemies approach.

Some Ships  
sent a cruising.

The 26th some cannon-shot being heard at a good distance it was generally believed to be the signal from the fortress of *Negumbo*, to advertise the arrival of the *Portuguese* fleet. Whereupon Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* took two companies of soldiers and as many seamen out of the church of *Quia de Lobo*, (where they had their post,) and marched directly to *Montual*, in order to embark them there, to prevent the enemies landing. The general, notwithstanding his wound, followed thither in person, and found them ready to

embark, which was however deferred for *Baldæus*: that time, till they should receive more certain intelligence. Only the yachts the *Mars* and the *Flissingen*, with some officers aboard them, were commanded to cruise off the northern point of *Montual*.

Much about the same time arrived the *Roman* yacht from *Suratte*, with sixteen loads of wheat. The officers reported, That a *Portuguese* fleet, consisting of thirty frigates was entirely destroy'd by a tempest near *Wingurla*; but that no body knew from whence they came, or whither they were bound; and that the cannon we heard some days before, was discharged by them as a signal of their distress to the *Workum* and *Popkensburg*.

A whole  
fleet of  
Portuguese  
lost.

The 29th captain *Kuylenburgh*, who died of the wounds he received in the late assault, being honourably interred, the 1st of *December* two serjeants came into our camp, who being formerly taken prisoners at *Anguratotte* by the *Portuguese*, had taken the opportunity, as these were flying from *Manaar* to *Tutecoryn*, to desert and hide themselves among the *Moors* of *Kilicare*, from whence they were brought in one of our vessels hither. On the other hand a certain seaman, named *Claas Claasz*, did swim cross part of the bay into the city.

The same night a new trench was opened against the bastion of *St. John*, and carried on with all imaginable diligence. The yacht the *Roman* was sent a cruising to get intelligence, whether any of the enemies ships could be discovered at sea, as the *Flussing* yacht was dispatched to the coast of *Malabar*, and the *Erasmus* sent out in her stead a-cruising.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

Want in Columbo. Anthony Amiral de Menezes taken Prisoner.

The Continuation of the Siege.

Want in  
Columbo.

THE 7th of *December* we got intelligence, that most of the inhabitants of *Columbo*, for want of rice and other provisions, had been forced to list themselves among the regular forces; that in the late assault they had taken seventy or eighty of our prisoners; whereas their whole loss did not amount to above twenty or twenty five *Portuguese*; among whom were, however, two persons of note, viz. *Antonio Barbozo*, and *Felicio Leesio*, lord of *Macoene*. That they had mounted the cannon taken out of the *Maid of Enchuyzen* upon their bastions, and were busy in making divers retrenchments, in hopes of being soon succoured from *Goa*; and that their whole

force consisted in seven hundred *Portuguese*.

The 10th of *December* *Antonio Amiral de Menezes* (then governor of *Jafnapatnam*, and afterwards, 1658. killed at the taking of *Manaar*) was taken prisoner at *Montual*, as he was going from *Manaar* to *Columbo* with some letters, one whereof being written in characters, was uncyphered by the general's order, and was as follows:

Antonio  
Menezes  
taken with  
letters.

To the general Antonio de Souza Coutinho.

“BEFORE I had the least intelligence of the approach of the enemies ships, I writ to your excellency by land, though  
“ I have

*Baldæus.* “ I have not heard since what is become of the messenger. The three *Pado's* are well arrived at *Goa*, and the five messengers sent thither; the sixth, sent by *Anthony d'Abreu*, did not stay in the least in this fort, but tarried two days at *Negapatan*, and brings along with him full instructions concerning the relief of *Columbo*. I have not been idle in my station, both in advising how to raise men for our service in the *Indies*, and in contributing all that lay in my power, of my own accord, which by some others has not been done without reluctance; especially in giving my assistance in equipping some vessels of bulk, and galleys well-manned, for the relief of the city. I have hitherto heard no news from the fleet at cape *Comoryn*, sent for that purpose. I wish they may reach the isle of *Manaar*, when we shall have opportunity to debate the whole matter with the commander in chief, how to contrive matters for the defence of the place: you may rest assured, that nothing shall be wanting on my part, that may tend towards the accomplishment of its relief, which I heartily wish may take effect, it being my opinion, that a good fleet is the very means now to preserve that place, till we receive our supplies from *Goa*. Perhaps it may please God to destroy the hereticks in this siege, and to abate their haughtiness, occasioned by their late success, caused by our neglect; it being certain, that the same might have been foreseen a considerable time ago. Orders are given to have a good quantity of matches made, which shall be brought by the first *pado* that goes from hence; the other two shall follow soon after, one of them being to be armed for the defence of the other: their approach you will know by the signals agreed upon. Perhaps the governor of *Manaar* may have got intelligence of our fleet, and has given you intelligence thereof. God preserve and deliver your excellency from all danger.”

*Jafnapatnam, Antonio Amiral de Menezes.*  
Nov. 11. 1655.

The Contents of another Letter were as follows:

“ I Writ to your excellency under covert of *Sebastian Martino* with the galliots of *September*, when I little dreamed of what we heard afterwards at *Cochin*, and on the cape *Comoryn*, concerning the present danger of the city, and of the loss of so brave a captain as *Antonio Mendes d'Aranba*, with a good number of our

“ choicest men. I have since understood several other things of this nature, which have cost me many tears. We did all we could to make the cape *Comoryn*, but the contrary wind prevented us: however, though we have failed in this, you may assure yourself, that the viceroy will not fail to succour the city of *Columbo*, with all his forces in the *Indies*. It is rumoured here, that *Don Manoel Mascarenbas* intends to leave this place, there being very bad news brought lately from *Jafnapatnam*; but we hope, and pray to God that he will be pleased to preserve the city till *February*.”

Novemb. 11.  
1655.

*Nicolao d'Olivera.*

The rest of the letters were very near the same, with this addition only, That the *Portuguese* set sail in *October* with fifteen frigats, but were forced back near the cape *Comoryn*, so near that they had landed some soldiers, who were marched by land to *Jafnapatnam*, with an intention to come to *Columbo*, to give notice there of the equipment of six galleons at *Goa*, intended for the succours of the city; and that in case the *Dutch* should block up that harbour, they would fight their way through them. All these letters were sent to his imperial majesty.

The 12th of *December*, two hundred negroes being seen to salley out of the gate of *Mapane*, keeping along the sea-shore, three companies were ordered to attack them; but they no sooner espied our people advancing towards them, than they retreated in haste to the city: however three of them deserted to us, and gave an account, That the reason of their coming out was only to fetch and cut some faggot-wood for the repairing of the bastions of *St. John*, *St. Stephen*, and *St. Philippo*; and that they had made betwixt the two former a retrenchment, in case they should be forced to quit the bastions.

The same day we finished our second redoubt, and the next two *Portuguese* deserters confirmed the report of the negroes, adding, That they much dreaded our mines; that the bastion of *St. John* was guarded by two companies, (of twenty five or thirty men each,) under *Caspar* ~~in the~~ gate of *Mapane* with three, and the rest in proportion. At the same time we saw a whole troop of half-starved wretches forced out of the town; but were made to return from whence they came, except a few *Portuguese*, who could give good intelligence about the condition of the place.



*Baldæus.* The 14th, in the morning, ten or twelve boats came out of the town to fetch faggot-wood; but finding us prepare to attack them, they retired with precipitation, after they had wounded three of our men.

The 15th the general agreed with twenty pioneers to work continually (six at a time) in the trenches, at the rate of twenty pence *per diem*, besides a good reward after they had finished the work. In the afternoon a battery of six guns was ordered to be erected.

*An unfore-  
seen ac-  
cident.* The 18th a gunner having, out of care-lessness, doubly charged a gun upon a battery, killed three of our own pioneers, and wounded seven negroes; and in the evening four great cannon were not without some loss planted upon the before-mentioned battery.

The 19th we played thence most furiously upon the bastions of *St. John* and *Stephen*, and two more cannons were mounted upon it the same evening.

The 20th a new redoubt was begun, the trenches being then carried on within two rods of the counterscarp. In the evening we missed *Simon Lopes*, who was again gone over to the enemy.

The 26th three negro carpenters coming over to us, reported that the *Portuguese* had

undermined the bastion of *St. John*, and laid five large barrels with gunpowder in five divers places underneath it, having laid the train by the means of certain bomboecanes, which were to be lighted on the top whilst we were assaulting the said bastion, which was the reason that they had not discharged their cannon from thence these two days past. They added, that the son of *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, the governor of *Columbo*, being busy in encouraging the workmen by his own example, received a wound by a musquet-shot in the head, of which he died soon after. A council of war was called, in which it was resolved to carry on the trenches with all imaginable vigour, to prevent the enemy in perfecting his retrenchments before the breach of the bastion of *St. John*, and to fix our miners there.

The 27th the general gave notice to the *diffaves* of *Saffragam* and the four *Corles*, that he intended to send an envoy to his majesty, to know his inclinations, whether he intended to appear in person in our camp, or not: he desired them to write to him upon the same subject, the time for attempting a second general assault drawing near; and that in case his majesty had the least doubt left of our sincere intentions, he would give him full satisfaction upon that head.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*The Portuguese throw Stones out of a Mortar, We make a third Redoubt: Endeavour to lay the Gallery over the Ditch. A Spy hanged: Letters from Coromandel.*

*Another re-  
doubt e-  
rected.* THE 28th of *December* in the evening the *Portuguese* began to throw several stones out of a mortar into our works, which something surprized us at first, but afterwards we guessed that it was *Simon Lopes*, who lately deserted our service, that had put them in the way of it. The next day captain *John Hartman* was sent with letters to the emperor at *Candy*, and we were hard at work to bring the third redoubt near the sea-shore to perfection, where we planted a mortar, and continued our approaches to the counterscarp.

A *Chinese* deserter, a native of *Macao*, reported, that they were indifferently well provided with provisions in the city, and that it was true that the governor's son was dead. Letters were at the same time dispatched to Mr. *Laurence Pit*, governor of *Coromandel*, to send us some ammunition, and to order the ships which, upon the arrival of the vessels from *Tajouan*, sail from thence to *Batavia*, to touch at *Gale*, to be employed

in thwarting the intended succours of the *Portuguese*, or take aboard part of the *Portuguese* prisoners among us.

The 8th of *January*, finding the enemy busy in planting palisado's in the ditch, some seamen, armed with hand-grenadoes made them soon quit that enterprize. But the next following day finding the enemy to have made some entrenchments there, a hole was ordered to be made in the wall; and captain *Henry Gerard*, the head gunner and engineer, and carpenter, being ordered to view the work, they reported that the enemy had planted a row of palisado's close to one another, extending to the sea-shore, which made them imagine that they expected the most fierce assault on that side.

Six expert carpenters having offered their service for perfecting the gallery, a hundred crowns were promised them a reward; and it being resolved to fix the said gallery the next day under fa-

vour

*Baldæus*. your of our great cannon and fire-locks, a certain number of musqueteers were ordered to the extremities of the trenches: but the wall being thicker at the bottom than at the top, it was almost evening before they could make a breach in it; when attacking the enemy with their hand-grenadoes, they forced them from the ditch, where they posted twelve fire-locks: but these received so warm a salute from the enemies cannon and fire-locks, both of the bastions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*, and the palisado-work, that they were forced to retreat, and the fixing of the gallery was thought fit to be delayed till a more convenient time, having lost only one carpenter and two negroes in this enterprise. *John Rootbaus* the Dutch reer-admiral sent *January* 12. three negro prisoners from the fleet into the camp, who were taken coming with letters from *Manaar*, in order to carry them into *Columbo*; but they were of little moment, except what was contained in the following passage, taken out of *Lorenso Barboza's* letter, directed to *Don Francisco de Souza*.

The Dutch endeavour in vain to fix their gallery.

Some letters intercepted.

“ Your fleet could not make the cape  
 “ *Comoryn*, because they came too late,  
 “ and were overtaken by a violent tempest;  
 “ the soldiers aboard were sent by land to *Tutecoryn*, and from thence by sea to *Manaar*. That they understood that great endeavours were used to equip a squadron of great ships and frigats, to be joined by eight galeons for the relief of *Columbo*; and that they had certain advice that the galeons were getting ready for that purpose: That the rest they would be informed of by the captain-major's letter to the governor, &c.

The said prisoners reported, That *Antonio Amiral* had brought a reinforcement of six companies from *Jafnapatnam* to *Manaar*; and that it was reported there, that five galeons and twenty eight frigats were to come from *Goa*, and being joined with some other vessels and forces at *Manaar* were to sail to the relief of *Columbo*: whereupon the general sent his instructions to our squadron to watch the coming of the enemy, but especially to our cruizers, the *Workum*, *Popkensburgh*, *Mars* and *Erasmus* yachts; thirty *Bandanese* soldiers, and as many *Mardykers* were also ordered aboard these vessels; and a negro deserter reported that those come from *Manaar* to *Columbo* were half naked, and had brought letters; one of them being wounded; but knew nothing further.

New instructions sent to the Dutch fleet.

The 15th of *January* some of our

*Lascaryns* brought in a spy, whom they had taken under pretence of going into the city to sell tobacco; but upon the evidence of two *Cingalese* carpenters that he was a spy, he was hanged on a gibbet near the place where he intended to have got into the place.

The 19th letters were brought to the camp, sent by *Laurence Pit*, then governor of *Coromandel*, intimating that we might expect a supply of thirty five thousand pounds weight of gun-powder with the yachts the *Codfish*, *Rabbit*, and *Patience*; that for the rest the company had lost fifty loads of rice, and two hundred fifty *Ammeñams* \* of *Areek* † by an accidental fire. That several private merchants having lately sent certain ships loaden with all sorts of provisions, we need not fear any thing upon that account. The *Rabbit* alone had a cargo of twenty six thousand eight hundred twenty two pounds weight of gun-powder, fifty packs of *Guinea* linnen cloth, and ten loads of rice, valued altogether at twenty three thousand eight hundred sixty gilders.

Letters from Coromandel.

\* A certain measure.

† Areek is a certain Indian fruit, of which they make strong liquors.

It was further advised, That in all probability the king of *Golconda* was likely to be embroiled in a war with *Mirza Mula* his general, who had put strong garisons in the fortresses of *Gendecalte*, *Gronconde* and *Goeti*: That the general *Chan Chanhe* was lately retired with the forces of *Visapour*, consisting of eight thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, from *Velour* to *Visapour*; but for what reason was not known. A copy was also sent of a letter, written by *Leonard Johnson* factor, *Decemb.* 8. from *Wingurla* to *Batavia*; whence it appeared, that they were making great preparations at *Goa* for the relief of *Columbo*. “ But, added he, the Portuguese viceroy having sufficient intelligence of our strength before *Columbo*, it seems to me to be rather a bravado, than a real design, unless it were (as some affirm) that the relief of that city was so positively commanded by the king of *Portugal*, that the viceroy would be forced to attempt it, unless he were prevented by the *Dutch* blocking up the harbour of *Goa* before that time: That it was rumoured there that the *Portuguese* soldiers should be obliged by oath, confirmed by the blessed sacrament, that in case they were not able to w<sup>o</sup>rtine *Dutch* fleet, they should set fire to their own ships: but he hoped that the city would fall into our hands before they could put their design in execution. But as it were not safe to despise one's enemy, so he would take care to give from time to time intelligence of what he could learn to the director-general *Gerard Hulst* with all imaginable

*Baldæus.* “imaginable speed; for which purpose he hoped to purchase the diligence of some of the natives by money.” The following list was annexed of such ships as were to be employ’d in the said expedition: two carracks, two large galleons, one lesser one, two carvels, six *Patacho’s*, or yachts, twenty light frigats, twenty four more from the coast of *Sipaveneick*, with some galleons and other boats called *Singazeelles*. His further opinion was, That the said squadron might be ready towards the end of *January*; and that the same was to be reinforced by some yachts from *Cbaul*; that besides the garrison to be left at *Goa*, two thousand *Europeans*, not reckoning the *Mistices* and negroes, were to be embarked aboard the said fleet. He advised further, That two *English* ships being some days before come to an anchor before *Goa*, the viceroy had offered the captains a considerable sum of money, provided they would sail along with the fleet to *Ceylon*; but that they refused to accept of the same, and were sailed to the northward.

List of the Portuguese ships for the relief of Columbo.

The 21st of *January*, two hours before break of day, the general being got aboard the *Ter Goes*, called a council of war there, wherein it was resolved to send forthwith the ship the *Codfish* to *Negumbo*, in order to unlade her cargo (intended for *Gale*) there, in company of the *Amsterdam* and *Marygold-Flower*; and the *Hare* yacht was ordered to keep as close to the bay as possibly she could, to observe the small vessels that might pass and repass in and out of the city.

The 24th of *January* the *Flushing* yacht coming from *Wingurla*, brought letters from our factor *Leonard Johnson*, dated the 6th of *January*, intimating, That the viceroy of *Goa*, instead of sending the pretended succours to *Ceylon*, had now resolved to send two carracks to *Portugal*, and three yachts to *Mosambique*; and that the design of the relief of *Columbo*, seemed to be laid aside: in confirmation whereof he sent the following translation of a letter written by one of our spies there.

To the Commodore of the Dutch Squadron *Baldæus*, near *Wingurla*.

“TWO ships, (both arrived this year,) viz. *Bon Jesus*, carrying sixty five guns, and the *Nossa Senhora da Grazia* of sixty guns, are intended to be sent to *Portugal*, being now busy in unloading, and expecting only the return of our fleet from *Cochin*, and the cape. It is supposed they will be ready to sail by the end of the first month of the year. Three yachts more are ordered from *Mosambique*, being now taking in their cargo, besides another yacht, designed for *Maccassar*. The carvel intended for *Cbina* is not ready to sail, and it remains uncertain whether she will go thither. But, if she does, it will not be till next spring. Hitherto we see no preparations either of men or ships for *Ceylon*; and they seem unresolved, whether they had best send any relief thither, for fear they should fall into the hands of the *Dutch*. But if any be sent, it will certainly not be till after the departure of the ships for *Portugal*, for which the viceroy shews a great concern being afraid they will be intercepted by the *Dutch* before they can reach *Portugal*.

Your Excellency’s constant Slave.

Dated Jan 6.  
1656.

URAGAMI SINAY.

Hereupon it was agreed in a council of Dutch ships war, to order the ships the *Ter Goes*, *Mars*, sent to *Goa*, the *Arms of Holland*, *Amsterdam*, *Flushing*, *Erasmus*, *Naarden*, *Zierik-see*, *Marygold-Flower*, and the *Hare*, forthwith towards *Goa*, there to expect the coming of the ships from *Trajouan*, in company of those from *Persia* and *Suratte*. And that the yacht the *Workum*, *Popkensburgh*, *Cod-Fish*, and *Rabbit*, with some light frigats and sloops, should be kept for the blockade of the harbour of *Columbo*.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Mr. Hartman’s Present by the Emperor. Some Spies hanged. The Arrival of several Ships. Letters from the Emperor and Dutch General.*

ABOUT that time the emperor sent his letter to the Dutch general Mr. *Hulst*, in answer to his sent by Mr. *Hartman*, the chief contents of which were,

“THAT he intended to come into our camp in the night-time, having been detained hitherto by the advice of the

“great men of his court, [these pagans being very superstitious in chusing their time;] but that now he was resolved to speak with the general in spite of all the pretended obstacles. That he was glad to understand, that notwithstanding our loss in the last general assault, we kept our posts; and that he intended to

“dispatch

Baldæus. "dispatch Mr. Hartman the next thurs-  
"day."

It was dated at Balanc,  
January 20. 1656.  
and subscribed,

Raja Singa Rajou, most potent em-  
peror of Ceylon.

Mr. Hart-  
man's re-  
turn.

Mr. Hartman returned, being presented with a golden chain and a ring; and reported, That some of the emperor's *Dissaves* having brought him the news, that we had lost a considerable number of men by springing of a mine, he was very glad to hear the contrary afterwards. The 26th of *January*, early in the morning, a letter was delivered from our head-factor at *Gale*, *John Kroon*, That the ships the *Patience*, the *Bengale*, the *Black-Bull*, and the *Grey-Hound* from *Tajouan* by the way of *Masulipatan*, loaden with merchandizes from *Persia*, and the *Vlieland* belonging to those of *Suratte*, were arrived there; and that he had ordered them to sail for *Columbo*. Two spies come lately out of the city, to view the condition of our attacks and batteries, were hang- ed two days after.

Some Dutch  
ships arri-  
ved.

Two Spies  
hanged.

At the same time letters were brought into the camp, dated the last of *November*, at *Malacca*, intimating, That the 14th, 15th, and 19th of *November*, 1655. the ships the *Vlieland*, *Black-Bull*, *Arnhemuyden*, and the *Sweet-Briar*, were arrived there from *Tajouan*, their loading being valued at one million three hundred forty nine thousand four hundred and thirty six gilders at the first hand; and that the *Sweet-Briar*, the *Domburg*, and *Lion*, were with a good quantity of tin of *Malacca* sent to *Bengale*. The cargo of these ships consists commonly of *Japonefe* silver, bars of copper, allum, gold, *Cbina* tea, and sugar of *Formosa*, besides a considerable quantity of tin of *Malacca*. Upon the coast of *Malabar*, and in *Ceylon*, (where they commonly arrive at the same time,) they load with cinnamon, pepper, and cardamum. They generally make a long voyage; for they set sail from *Batavia* to *Japan* and *Tajouan* in *May*, and come to *Malacca* in *December*: from thence they steer their course by the *Nicebares* to *Ceylon*, or *Bengale*, or *Coromandel*, (but never from these places to *Ceylon*, but sometimes return from *Bengale* or *Ceylon* to *Malacca* or *Batavia*;) and from thence by *Malabar* to *Suratte* and *Persia*, and return in *May* to *Ceylon*, (and sometimes straitways to *Batavia*;) and so further with their cargo (they have taken in at *Suratte* or in *Persia*) to the coast of *Coromandel*, where being loaden with linnen cloth, painted calicoes, and other merchandizes, they return to *Batavia* in *June* or *July*. By letters from *John*

*Tbuisen*, governor of *Malacca*, advice was given, that the tin trade (the chiefest of that country) had been but very indifferent that year.

Baldæus.  
Advices  
from Ma-  
lacca.

But it is time to return to the siege of *Columbo*. The last day of *January* two *Portuguese* deserters, who had made shift to let themselves down by ropes from *St. Stephen's* bastion, reported, That many of their comrades were willing to desert for want of pay, but that they were strictly guarded; that the garrison consisted still of six hundred and fifty *Europeans*, and they had rice for two months longer; that they still relied upon the promised succours of six galleons. Soon after we saw a whole troop of half-starved wretches coming out of the town; but one hundred and twenty were forced to return without relief. The 12th of *February* about five hundred of them, men, women, and children, being forced to extremity of hunger, came to the general's quarter imploring his mercy; but they were forced back into the town along the sea-shore near the bastion of *St. John*. In the mean while the emperor sent the following letter to the general:

Two deser-  
ter: give an  
account of  
the condi-  
tion of the  
city.

Raja Singa Rajou.

OUR imperial majesty has former-  
ly (through God's mercy) been  
victorious over our enemies in *Malvane*,  
where I routed their whole army com-  
manded by *Don Constantino*; after which  
laying siege to *Columbo*, I had my head  
quarters in the garden of *Lewis Gomes*  
*Pinto*. It then pleased God to afflict me  
with a distemper, which the viceroy ha-  
ving got notice of, he desired me to re-  
turn to *Candy*; which I did according-  
ly, leaving my brother *Carnana Singa*,  
king of *Ouwe*, with the prince of *Visia-  
palla*, to command the siege, who put no  
small blemish upon our imperial family.  
Whilst they were employ'd in that siege,  
the treacherous *Portuguese*, having at that  
time forced a multitude of starved  
wretches out of the city, they had mixed  
with them certain villains, who set all  
our works on fire. Wherefore I hope  
your excellency will keep a strict guard;  
for I cannot forbear, for the love and  
good inclinations I bear to your excel-  
lency, to put you in mind, that the *Por-  
tuguese* are a most perfidious nation; and  
that even my forces are composed of di-  
vers sorts of people; so that your excel-  
lency ought to have a particular regard  
for your own person, which will be a  
singular satisfaction to me. For you  
must know, that there being variety of  
people in the isle of *Ceylon*, who have  
served divers princes, and are used to ra-  
vages,

The empe-  
ror's letter  
to the gene-  
ral.

*Baldæus.* “vages and rapines, these are generally  
 “treacherous, and not to be trusted by  
 “your excellency, though perhaps they  
 “will endeavour to obtain your favour by  
 “flatteries and pretences of friendship, they  
 “being such profligate wretches, as to be  
 “induced by the hopes of a small gain to  
 “undertake any base and treacherous act.  
 “The letters sent from this court to your  
 “excellency being generally written in an  
 “unknown tongue, I desire you, if you  
 “find any defect or inconveniency in them,  
 “to give notice thereof immediately, to  
 “remove all obstacles and misunderstand-  
 “ings on our side, it being our resolution,  
 “that the peace made with you shall con-  
 “tinue as long as the sun and moon furnish  
 “us with light, as you, on your behalf,  
 “have engaged it shall last as long as the  
 “world stands. I once intended to have  
 “sent you an answer to your letter, dated  
 “Jan. 8. but understanding that your ex-  
 “cellency had dispatched to this court a  
 “captain of the guards, I thought fit to  
 “defer it for some time. In former times,  
 “whilst I was very young, I was encamp-  
 “ed with my army in *Malwane*; but that  
 “being many years ago, I did send thither  
 “certain persons to view the place, who  
 “assured me, that the place pitched upon  
 “by the dislave of the four *Corles* was un-  
 “fit for our reception, which was the rea-  
 “son I ordered my head quarters to be  
 “settled in the fortress of *Reygamwatte*. In  
 “consideration of which, and other mis-  
 “carriages of the said dislave, I have put  
 “another in his place, with whom you  
 “may consult in relation to such matters  
 “as tend to our service. I further issued  
 “my orders to the dislaves, and sent cer-  
 “tain persons to prepare my quarters with  
 “the utmost expedition; which done, I  
 “intend to be there immediately after.”

Dated in the camp and  
 court of *Guirambula*,  
 Feb. 14. 1656.

Subscribed,

*Raja Singa Rajou*, most po-  
 tent Emperor of *Ceylon*.

The general being extremely pleased with  
 the emperor's approbation concerning the  
 sending back of the poor starved wretches  
 forced out of *Columbo*, thought fit to send  
 the following letter to the governor of *Co-  
 lumbo*.

Dutch ge-  
 neral's let-  
 ter to the  
 governor of  
*Columbo*.

“FINDING that you suffer the poor  
 “negro citizens, after that you have  
 “received all the services you possibly  
 “could from them, to perish for want of  
 “sustenance; and whereas you prevented  
 “their desertion formerly by strict watches,  
 “you now permit them to go where they  
 “please, in order to be rid of them, I

“thought it my duty (for the discharge of *Baldæus*.  
 “my conscience) to desire you to let the  
 “said negro citizens know, that such as for  
 “the future come out of the city, shall be  
 “punished with death. This I thought  
 “fit to let your excellency know, in hopes  
 “of moving you to compassion. I remain  
 “for the rest, your excellency's servant.”

Dated in the Dutch camp  
 before *Columbo*, Feb.  
 15. 1656.

*Gerard Hulst.*

The 17th of *February* the yacht the *Sa-  
 pbir* came into the road from *Coromandel*;  
 and brought a letter from the governor  
*Laurence Pit*, dated *January 29.* at *Palia-  
 catta*: her cargo consisted in rice and gun-  
 powder, though not so much as was expect-  
 ed, the full quantity of brimstone not being  
 brought from *Tajouan*.

But notwithstanding the before said warn-  
 ing given to the negro citizens, many of  
 them coming every day into our camp, one  
 of them was ordered to be hanged, to deter  
 others from doing the like; so that after-  
 wards fifteen and more died every day in the  
 city of famine, and a scorbutick dropfy be-  
 gan also to reign among the *Europeans* there. *Famine in  
 Columbo!*  
 The 19th a *Mistice* deserter brought advice,  
 that they had equipped a boat, which lay  
 ready to sail against the next night for *Ma-  
 naar*; whereupon orders were sent to com-  
 modore *Rookhaus* to intercept her, if possib-  
 ly he could. The 20th Mr. *John Hartman*  
 came with the following letter from the em-  
 peror to the general.

*Raja Singa Rajou.*

“YOUR letter, dated the 8th of *Fe-*  
 “*bruary*, I received the next fol-  
 “lowing day, wherein you testify your de-  
 “sire of being admitted into our royal  
 “presence, in order to assure me in person  
 “of the sincere intentions of the *Dutch*  
 “company, to continue in their confederacy  
 “with our imperial majesty, made from  
 “the time of your arrival with your fleet  
 “in our empire. It has always been my  
 “hearty wish to see you in my presence,  
 “which I hope will be fulfilled with the  
 “arrival of your excellency in our camp  
 “near *Raygamwatte*. You further mention  
 “the misbehaviour of some of our lascaryns  
 “under the dislaves; so soon as our imperial  
 “majesty arrives in the above said camp,  
 “these forces and officers shall be relieved  
 “by others, and such as have not done  
 “their duty to the crown be punished, as  
 “is practised in the camps of other great  
 “kings and monarchs. Your excellency  
 “did also give notice, that you had sent  
 “away nine ships the fifth of this month.  
 “God Almighty, I hope, will bless your ex-  
 “cellency's designs with success, according  
 to

*Baldæus.* "to the utmost of my wishes, there being nothing that can more rejoice our imperial majesty than the welfare and prosperity of the *Hollanders*. And I hope, that after my arrival in the camp, such measures may be taken betwixt us, as may soon reduce the city. The refractory party among my troops you have mentioned, shall be branded with infamy, not only for themselves, but also their generation; so that their names shall be despised hereafter for ever. Whenever I shall see your person, I shall imagine to have the whole state of *Holland* before me; and since, according to our constitutions, matters of this nature are not to be transacted but on fortunate days and hours, your excellency shall be advertised thereof by some person of note. Just as I was leaving *Candy*, the prince my son, given me by God for the welfare of my faithful *Hollanders*, took leave of me, desiring to be remembered to your excellency."

*In the camp of Guiramibula, Feb. 18. 1656.*

*Raja Singa Rajou.*

The said Mr. *Hartman* was presented by *Baldæus.* the emperor with a tame elephant, and told the general, that the emperor had given him some private hints, that the prince his son would take it as a peculiar obligation if the general would honour him with a small present.

*Hartman presented with an elephant.*

The emperor's messengers coming the 21st of *February* to the general, in order to fetch the answer to the emperor's letter, they were told, That the letter was not finished, by reason of many things of moment to be inserted therein: but the general took this opportunity to advise with them what present might be most acceptable to the prince. They answered, They could not tell; but would consider of the matter. In the afternoon they received the desired letter, sealed up under the discharge of the cannon, as is usual upon such occasions, when each of the captains is presented with a piece of sattin, and two of the messengers with a red *Roan* cap, a thing highly valued by them; (called *Toppo Honday* in their language,) with a *Japoneſe* buckler, for one of the prince's attendants.

C H A P. XXXI.

*The Besieged fire furiously upon the Besiegers. The Emperor's Envoys: Negro Deserters forced back. Letters intercepted. The Emperor presents the General with an Elk. A new Battery erected.*

*The besieged fire briskly upon the besiegers.* THE 22d of *February* the enemy play'd most furiously with their cannon from the bastions of *St. Stephen* and *St. John*, and killed us several men. His majesty being that day come to his camp at *Reygamwatte*, to take a view of the quarters prepared for his reception, perceiving a more than ordinary smoke, sent a messenger to know the truth of the matter. In the evening, about supper-time, word was brought that certain deputies from his majesty were arrived at a farm about two miles from the camp; and that they had sent a messenger to signify, that they were desirous to speak with the general that evening; which being readily granted, an ensign was sent thither with some soldiers to conduct them to the camp, and to make an excuse, that the time of the night had hindered their reception to be suitable to their quality. They told the general, That his majesty had received his letter with a great deal of satisfaction; and that they were sent to tell his excellency, That his majesty was at present at *Walewitty*; and that as soon as his quarters were fitted up, he should be sent for; for which reason they were commanded by his majesty to order the messengers of *Saffragamme* to have the roads leading to *Reygamwatte* repaired. They would

*Deputies sent into the camp from the emperor.*

willingly have returned the same night; but it being excessive dark, their quarters were assigned them in the camp till next morning.

The same day *Edmund Ruysch* sent word, that a great number of poor wretches were coming out of the city: The men, to the number of fifty, were secured at *Milagre*; but the women and children being brought before the general, he ordered them (pursuant to their former resolution) to be whipped back into the town near the bastion of *St. John*; this being looked upon as the most proper means to straiten the enemy, and bring them to our terms. Towards the evening the men with twenty more, who since had joined them, being also brought into the camp, the general took two of them aside, and told them, That they must look upon it as a particular favour, to be sent back once more; but if they returned they must expect nothing but the gallows, unless they would engage with some of the *Aratches* that had deserted our camp, to surprize some bastion or other for our service. They were likewise forced back with a good whipping, and the 24th one hundred and fifty more had the same entertainment.

*Deserters whipped back into the city.*

The 26th of *February* the messengers of the four *Corles* came to tell the general, that those

*Baldæus*. those of *Saffragamme* were still busy in repairing the roads and bridges, and produced a letter from certain great men of the court, enjoining him to demand ten certain persons, that had made shift to get out of the city with the enemies troops, and shelter'd themselves in the adjacent villages, having deserted the king's service before. The general was not unwilling to grant his request; but withal told him, That if these persons of quality had been as forward in furthering their king's service as we, there would not have been so many deserters. The same day a letter was delivered to the general written by one of our *Aratches* to the *Vidane* of *Pasdjun-Corle*, as follows:

An intercepted letter.

“ *H* *Angedera Lionayde*, son-in-law to *Ranatonge Ararchie*, wishes health to *Vidane*, and the three chieftains of the three *Pattos* of *Pasdjun-Corle*. Immediately upon the receipt of these, you shall without fail or delay gather, in the time of eight days, out of all the circumjacent villages, fifty pingues of pullets, butter, pepper, atchiar, and earthen vessels; and with them, in company of all the heads, or *Majorals*, of the villages of *Anguratotte*, come towards *Horne*, and from thence into the imperial camp, there to pay your obeisance to his majesty. Such as fail in their duty must expect to receive condign punishment. You must not publish my name, what I do in this respect not being by my own authority; but when you come to court, you may then declare, that it was *Hangedera Lionayde*, *Ranatonge Rale's* son-in-law, who gave you this invitation.”

The *Aratche*, who had been the author of this letter, being seized and examined the same evening by Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, and major *Van der Laan*, did not disown his hand, but refused to discover (though he was threatened with present death) by whose command he had writ it. The general being of opinion, that there was some mystery hid under this pretence, especially since this *Cingalese* lived under the company's jurisdiction, and had received signal obligations from them, commanded his head to be cut off, and delivered him up for that purpose to the provost, in hopes of extorting a confession from him by this means; but under-hand ordered him to be secured only aboard the ship the *Arms of Amsterdam*, for fear, that in case he should be executed on a sudden, they might be bereaved of the opportunity of discovering the truth.

Letter sent to the emperor.

February 27. being Sunday, the general sent a letter to *Raja Singa*, to advertise his majesty what had passed with the *Aratche*,

and at the same time enclosed the original *Baldæus*. of the intercepted letter. The same day the *diffave* of *Saffragamme* coming to the general to tell him, That the roads and bridges were now repaired according to his majesty's orders; he was commanded by him to employ the same people in perfecting the pallisadoes intended for the new redoubt near the gate of *Rajuba*, which he promised to do. The general also told him what had happened with the *Aratche*; which he approving of, the general further desired him to provide some *Bufflers* for the use of the seamen, who were sorely afflicted with the scurvy; which he likewise agreed to.

Word being brought that four fishermen were coming over to us in a *Tony*, or fisher-boat, they were forewarned not to come into the camp, under the pain of being hanged, unless they could engage all the fishermen to come at once. About the same time a certain *Moorish* vessel came into the road from *Puntegale*, with a passport from *John Kroon* our head-factor there. They brought advice that the lands and villages under the jurisdiction of *Gale* were farmed out at fifteen thousand eight hundred and forty nine rixdollars, for the next year, to be paid by four quarterly payments; and that the *Areek*, which the company had taken at the rate of twenty four laryns the ammenam the last year, was now to be delivered at the rate of sixteen laryns. Five more ships arrived at the same time laden with rice.

A Moorish vessel brings advice concerning the condition of Gale.

The last day of this month, finding that the enemy worked against us, near the gate of *Rajuba*, lieutenant *Alenbier* was sent with six firelocks to secure their workmen; but these saved themselves by an early flight, and our people returned without receiving any damage. About the same time letters were brought by the yacht the *Arnemuyden*, dated the 17th of *February*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, others being also expected, dated the 11th, with the yacht the *Codfish*, not arrived as yet, having aboard one hundred load of rice of *Bengale*, a good quantity of gunpowder, and sixty soldiers. The other vessels cargo consisted in eighteen thousand eight hundred and seventy seven pound weight of gunpowder, two thousand seven hundred and eighty one bullets of divers sizes, viz. two hundred and thirty one of twenty four pounds, seven hundred and fifty of eighteen, eighteen hundred of twelve, fifteen hundred stone-bullets, and ten thousand pound weight of lead, besides some other merchandizes, and sixteen loads of rice, amounting to the value of six thousand ninety eight gilders, on account of those of *Ceylon* only. At the same time the *Rabbit* sailed out of the road, being ordered to cruise on the south point of *Negumbo*, and to be relieved every eight days by another ship.

Ships from Coromandel.

Pretty

*Baldæus.* Pretty late in the evening, three deputies from the emperor presented the general with an elk, which his majesty himself had hunted the same morning in an adjacent wood, which was received with great reverence by his excellency.

*The general presented with an elk by the emperor.*

The general and Mr. *Van der Meyden*, hearing the beat of drum in the new redoubt, near the gate of *Rajuba*, they went thither in person; and in their way met with seventeen *Lascaryns*, and two *Aratches*, who being posted in an outwork near the said gate, had quitted the same: they being ordered to be secured in the head quarter, they went forward, and found that the alarm had been occasioned by the coming over of the *Lascaryns*, whom they mistook for enemies.

*Deserters give an account of the condition of Columbo*

They reported, That the city was provided with provisions till *May*, their allowance, viz. twenty five *Mididos* to a head, being given them for the month of *April*: they added, That it was whispered about, that

the governor had embarked all his moveables, money, and jewels in a boat, and sent them in the night-time to *Manaar*; which news was very unpleasing to us, because they had escaped the sight of our ships.

*Baldæus.*

The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of *March*, we advanced bravely towards the gate of *Rajuba*: two *Portuguese* deserters, with some *Lascaryns* well armed, being examined apart, deposed, That the city could not hold out longer than towards the end of *May*, the remnants of the rice being very stony and unclean, nay, wet and corrupted. Hereupon the general ordered that a battery of two guns should be erected opposite to the utmost point of the bastion of *St. John*, the better to batter and lay level the flank of that of *St. Stephen's*, and under favour thereof to open again the trench leading to our mine; and so working along the wall, to take post upon the counterescarp.

C H A P. XXXII.

*Many Deserters give Account of the Condition of Columbo. Ysbrand Gotskens sent Envoy to the Emperor. His Letter to the General; and that of the Besieged to the Emperor.*

**A**BOUT that time divers *Lascaryn* deserters, and among them a *Portuguese*, made heavy complaints that they were forced to feed upon corrupted rice: the last told us, that there were no more than forty left of our prisoners, and that such of our officers as were not slain in the assault, died afterwards of their wounds, except a serjeant. He also discovered to us, that the besieged had carried all their guns from the bastions of *St. Stephen*, *St. Philip*, and *Clergos* into their outwork, before the gate of *Rajuba*, in order to discharge the same the next following night upon our pioneers. *Paul Meno*, who was then upon the guard there, was thereupon ordered to let the labourers cease, till they had spent their powder and ball in vain, and then to let them return to their work. In effect, they shot very furiously the next night, both with their cannon and firelocks, upon our works; and by break of day the general went on horseback to *Milagre*, to view the works of the slaves on that side, which he found to be well secured by a strong set of palisadoes, reaching from the sea-shore to the fens; and being guarded by four companies, these were thought sufficient to oppose any folly of the enemy on that side.

One of our soldiers being some days before missing, we understood that he had sought for shelter with his majesty for a crime he had committed; which at his majesty's request was remitted him, yet not

without being discharged from our service. The slave who made this request, told the general, that the grapes sent to the emperor had been very well accepted.

The 13th of *March* a boy, who had deserted the *Portuguese*, came to the general, and told him in private, that having been let down from the bastion *Clergos* with a rope, by some *Lascaryns* who kept guard there, they intended the next night, with the rising of the moon, to come all over to us, or else deliver up the bastion. The boy, according to his own desire, being soundly whipped, was sent back into the city, to take away all suspicion of a private correspondence with us.

*A boy deserter brings certain advice.*

To second his endeavours, a company of the guards was posted in a convenient place; but the besieged fired so briskly from the bastions of *St. Stephen* and *St. Philip* that night, that there was no opportunity of putting it in execution at that time. A *Toupas* deserter reported the next day, that the bastion of *St. Stephen* was guarded only by sixteen men, having questionless disposed the rest in other places, as being sensible that the gaining of that bastion would stand us in no great stead. Six *Lascaryn* deserters confirmed the same soon after; and two among them assured the general, that the governor of *Columbo* had sent a letter to the emperor *Raja Singa*.



*Baldæus.* The 14th *Edmund Ruysch*, whose quarters were at *Milagre*, sent word, that *Henry William Boogare* a corporal, and *Peter van Bruysingen* a common soldier, were gone over to the enemy. The same day ten *Lascaryns* well armed came over to us; and the same evening, with the rising of the moon, two cannon for battery was planted upon the battery against *St. John's* bastion. His majesty having desired that some person of note might be sent to him, to confer with him in private, our factor *Ysbrand Gotskens*, a native of the *Hague*, a person equally dextrous with his pen as the sword, was sent with all expedition thither. About the same time some *Lascaryns* with their wives and children coming out of the city, were turned back again; a letter being at the same time delivered to a certain boy for *Simon Lopes*, lately gone over to the enemy, intimating, that, *If he would endeavour to make the negroes in the city rise, he should not only deserve his pardon, but also a good reward.*

*Two Dutch soldiers go over to the enemy.*

*A letter to the deserter Simon Lopes.*

*A false attack upon Columbo.*

At midnight we made a false attack, which put the whole city into such an alarm, that there was nothing to be heard but ringing of bells, and the noise of drums; but in half an hour all was quiet again. The next day his majesty sent three deputies, to know the reason of such fierce firing; which being told them, they informed the general that *Ysbrand Gotskens* had not as yet had audience of the emperor, but would questionless be admitted the next day. A letter was also sent to the general from the emperor *Raja Singa*, wherein were enclosed twenty others, one from *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* governor of *Columbo*, the other from the chief citizens of that city, both dated the 10th of *March*, in which they implore his majesty's assistance.

#### RAJA SINGA RAJOU.

*The emperor's letter to the general.*

THE present opportunity has invited our imperial majesty to dispatch these few lines to your excellency: two days ago, being *Wednesday* the 15th of *March*, I broke up from *Guiramibula*, and marching along the other side of the river, by the way of *Walewitty*, have fixed my tents in this place; from whence I dispatched immediately some of my great courtiers, to notify my arrival in the camp at *Reygamwatte*, and to enquire after your excellency's health. I commanded them at the same time (having not as yet an answer to some of your excellency's letters directed to me) to desire you to send a person of note, unto whom I might by word of mouth give an answer to the said letters. It being night when I arrived in the camp at

*Reygamwatte*, I could not order the disposition of my forces till next morning, when the two enclosed letters were delivered to me, one from the governor, the other from the citizens of *Columbo*; the contents whereof you will understand from the originals.

Subscribed,

At our court and camp  
of *Reygamwatte*, *Mar.*  
17. 1659.

*Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

Most Potent Emperor *Raja Singa*, &c.

IMmediately after our enemies did engage into this unjust war, which continues to this day, I let your majesty know the reasons which induced me to sollicite some supplies from your majesty; not questioning, but that you would not leave me in such an extremity, it being always the ambition of great monarchs to take the less powerful under their protection; though through God's mercy, we have hitherto not only defended this city, but also at several times given the enemy sufficient proofs of our bravery, in destroying and dispersing his forces, of which we have sent an account to your majesty. But perhaps these letters never came to your majesty's hands, being intercepted by the enemy; which seems the less surprising to me, since they have treated the natives of this island, (without any just cause,) that went out of this city like slaves, forcing many of them to retire back without the least mercy. The city of *Columbo* is an antient inheritance of the *Portuguese*, bestowed upon them by the kings and emperors, your predecessors, who always were ready to honour them with their protection; neither do we want opportunity to make your majesty (if you please) sensible of the manifold services done by the *Portuguese* in this isle, in case we did not believe the same to be still in the memory of your majesty, and many of your great ones. We do not know to have given the least reason of displeasure to your majesty; which makes us imagine, that you will be pleased not to leave us in this extremity, in regard it seems much more reasonable to assist the *Portuguese*, your antient friends, than the *Hollanders*, your new guests. Time has already discovered the intentions of the *Dutch*; and experience will soon convince you, that all their aim is founded upon lucre and interest, which they dissemble for the present; but so soon as they are masters of this place, your majesty will too late be convinced of the truth of what I say. I will not

*The governor's letter to the emperor.*

*Baldæus.* “not pretend to urge that matter any further for the present, leaving the determination of the whole to your majesty’s wisdom, and the conduct of your counsellors. God preserve your imperial majesty.”

Columbo, Mar. 10. 1656. *Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

*Most High and Most Potent Emperor and Lord, Raja Singa, &c.*

*The citizens letter to the emperor.* “Immediately after the *Hollanders* had laid siege to this place, our magistrates and governors did give notice thereof to your majesty, as likewise of the ensuing general assault made by the enemy both by sea and land; which being done in the day-time, we let them advance into the city, but afterwards made them glad to ask for quarter, which was granted them. According to the confession of the *Dutch* themselves, they were two hundred and forty strong when they passed the fens, the greatest part whereof with their boats fell into our hands, besides a ship of thirty guns taken by us, and another much damaged, which they had enough to do to carry off, not to mention those that were slain in the ships, and in the assault. Being afterwards advanced to the ditch, they fixed their miners, and were busy in bringing over their gallery; but we forced them to retire with considerable loss, and took the gallery with the loss of one man only. There remains nothing now but for your majesty to vouchsafe us your favour, which we heartily wish for and

“desire. From what has been said, we hope your majesty is sufficiently convinced of our good will and zeal, in defending a place, bestowed upon us by your imperial majesty’s ancestors; and that, if supported by your favour, we shall never cease to persist in the same resolution, in hopes that your majesty will rather assist the *Portuguese*, your ancient friends, than the *Hollanders*. God protect your majesty, and your dominions.”

Columbo, Mar. 11. 1656.

By order from

*Diego Leitaon de Souza,*  
chief secretary.  
*Manoel de Fonseca.*  
*Diego de Souza de Cunha.*  
*Ruy Lopes Coutinho.*  
*John Coelbo de Castro.*  
*Bento Fereiro d’Abreu.*

The 20th of *March* a negro pioneer came to us, who, having worked in the ditch, discovered the place to us; and that four *Portuguese* being taken as they were coming over to our camp, had been hanged: that our new battery had killed two *Canaryns* and a gunner, and wounded several others upon the bastion of *St. Stephen*. Concerning their provisions, they confirmed what had been told us before. The general went with the said negro in person to the ditch, to see the place where the negro had been at work, and perceiving three *Portuguese* close together in the ditch, he got upon the wall, and discharged his fusce twice at them; but soon got down again, without which he had been in great danger, three bullets passing immediately after that way.

*The general in danger of being killed.*

C H A P. XXXIII.

*Ysbrand Gotskens returns from the Emperor’s Court: Gives an Account of his Transactions. Letters sent to Columbo. A Battery raised. A circumstantial Account from Goa, and its Condition.*

*A boy taken as a spy.* ABOUT noon a boy was taken in our works, where *Paul Meno* then kept guard, inquiring after our strength: and being asked why, he answered, That the governor of *Columbo* had sent him to enquire after it. In consideration of his youth and simplicity, he came off with a good whipping, and so was sent back into the city. Major *Van der Laan* sent word, that the enemy having made a hole through the wall, played from thence directly upon his works, and had killed a negro; and the same night they played with a cannon upon the same works, but without hurting any body.

The 23d of *March* towards evening, the

factor *Ysbrand Gotskens* having taken his leave the same day of the emperor, returned to our camp, where he gave the following account in writing of his negotiation:

“That in answer to five several letters written by general *Hulst* to his majesty, he had commanded him to tell the general, That having received a letter dated the 16th at *Columbo*, he would let him know the contents thereof. That his majesty was well satisfied with the proceedings against such as were fled out of the city; which though it might seem somewhat

*Gotskens gives an account of his negotiation.*

*Baldæus.* “ somewhat cruel, yet was he contented to  
 “ have the blame thereof himself, as tend-  
 “ ing to his service, and the speedy re-  
 “ ducing of the city. That because his  
 “ majesty was sensible that whatever pre-  
 “ sents he could make to the general of  
 “ rich apparel, and such like ornaments,  
 “ he was sufficiently provided with before,  
 “ he had thought fit to bestow upon him  
 “ the title and dignity of his *Director-gene-*  
 “ *ral*, and that for the future he should be  
 “ acknowledged as such throughout his  
 “ dominions. That he further desired the  
 “ general not to take it amiss, that after  
 “ the *diffaves* had notified his arrival in  
 “ the camp of *Reygamwatte*, a guide had  
 “ been denied to the captain of the guard,  
 “ it being contrary to the custom of his  
 “ country for any one to be introduced at  
 “ court, without notice being given of his  
 “ arrival to the emperor.

“ What the general had alledged con-  
 “ cerning the *Mousson*, and the soldiers be-  
 “ ing fatigued by so tedious a siege, his  
 “ majesty was very sensible thereof, and  
 “ that when the general should come into  
 “ his presence (which he hoped would be  
 “ within three or four days) they would  
 “ confer upon that point, and settle the  
 “ matter to his satisfaction: But his ma-  
 “ jesty being informed that his excellency  
 “ frequently exposed his person, and re-  
 “ garding him with the same tenderness as  
 “ his own eyes, had desired his excellency  
 “ for the future to take more care of his  
 “ person, commanding all his officers of  
 “ what quality soever, to be careful of him  
 “ to the last degree.

“ What his excellency had alledged,  
 “ concerning his majesty’s being constant-  
 “ ly employed in weighty affairs, and that  
 “ therefore he was unwilling to disturb him  
 “ with frequent letters; His majesty re-  
 “ plied, that the subject of his excellency’s  
 “ letters being such, as most nearly con-  
 “ cerned his service, nothing could be more  
 “ acceptable to him, than to bestow his  
 “ time in perusing the letters of the most  
 “ trusty servant that ever he had in his life,  
 “ desiring therefore, that his excellency  
 “ might supersede these excuses. That  
 “ what his excellency had alledged in his  
 “ behalf, concerning the mistake in com-  
 “ manding his forces at *Reigam-Corle*, as it  
 “ was intended for his majesty’s service, so  
 “ it was very acceptable to him, and need-  
 “ ed no farther excuse; as was likewise  
 “ the punishment inflicted upon the author  
 “ of the letter writ from *Pasidun-Corle*,  
 “ to deter others from the like undertak-  
 “ ings. Concerning the treaty made with  
 “ Mr. *Westerwold*, his majesty declared,  
 “ he would keep the same inviolably, not-  
 “ withstanding that several generals of the

“ *Indies*, and Dutch governors of the isle *Baldæus.*  
 “ in *Ceylon*, had done many things which  
 “ had given occasion to no small disturban-  
 “ ces: but that as he called God to witness  
 “ of his innocence, so he was extremely  
 “ glad to have meet with a person of ho-  
 “ nour in his excellency’s person, who hav-  
 “ ing done already considerable services to  
 “ his crown, he intended to enter with him  
 “ into a strict confederacy, which should  
 “ stand firm as long as the sun and moon  
 “ should furnish the world with light.

“ It was therefore that his majesty was  
 “ very desirous to know his excellency’s in-  
 “ tentions, whether, after the taking of  
 “ *Columbo*, they should attack the king-  
 “ dom of *Jafnapatnam* or the isle of *Ma-*  
 “ *naar*, and whether it were not conveni-  
 “ ent to send some of his forces under cer-  
 “ tain *diffaves* thither immediately: That  
 “ he had received two letters from the be-  
 “ fore-mentioned places, which should be  
 “ communicated to his excellency. His  
 “ majesty also declared, That either next  
 “ sunday or thursday (which of these two  
 “ his excellency should pitch upon) he  
 “ would expect him at court, and that he  
 “ would send some of his courtiers to con-  
 “ duct him thither.

At the same time certain deputies from *Two let-  
 ters sent into  
 Columbo,*  
 his majesty brought along with them two  
 letters penned by Mr. *Hulst* our general, in  
 answer to those sent from *Columbo* to the em-  
 peror, and dispatched to his majesty; which  
 being well approved of by him, and signed  
 by his excellency in his majesty’s name,  
 were carried the next day into the city.

Soon after news was brought from *Mon-  
 tual*, that four hundred *Portuguese*, com-  
 manded by four officers, had been seen near  
 the sea shore on the other side of the river,  
 but hitherto had not made the least attempt  
 of passing the same. Abundance of the  
 inhabitants of the inland countries, who  
 perhaps had never had a sight of a man of  
 war, or any well-disciplined forces, flocked  
 thither (with his majesty’s permission) to  
 see them. About the same time we receiv-  
 ed a reinforcement of fifty men from *Pun-  
 tegale*, being all they could spare.

The before-mentioned letters sent in his  
 majesty’s name, and carried by some of his  
*Aratches* and *Lascaryns* into *Columbo*, were  
 at first received with a general salute of the  
 cannon and small arms; but being opened,  
 the inhabitants sufficiently testified their re-  
 sentment, telling the messengers, that in case  
 their condition was not so desperate, they  
 would play them another game before they  
 returned; of which usage the messengers  
 desired the general to make his complaint  
 to the emperor.

*Baldæus.*  
A violent tempest.

The same day arose a violent tempest, with rain, thunder, and lightning, which killed one of our sentinels, and struck three musquets, in the church of *Quia de Lobo*, all to pieces. The emperor was so complaisant, as to enquire the next day by one of his messengers, whether we had suffered any damage in our tents or works, and was answered, that God had preserved us from all the danger. The same day, being the 25th of *March*, two *Europeans* came over to us; one of them, a native of *Marseilles*, was overtaken by the way, and received nine wounds, so that he narrowly escaped to our works, but died the next morning.

The 26th a serjeant, a *Mistice*, came over to us, and reported, That two more of the same company watched only an opportunity to desert: That they had already distributed to each soldier his quota of provisions, viz. a *Parra* of rice *per diem*, for the month of *April*: That they were much afflicted with the dropsy and the *Beribery*, a swelling in the knees, which takes away the use of their legs.

Some fishermen taken.

Soon after commodore *Roothaus* sent in three fishermen, taken by our boats within musquet-shot of the water-fort. The seamen had fifty crowns given them (the usual reward for every *Tony* or fisher-boat) and twenty five more as an encouragement. These fishermen being the chief persons who supplied the city with provisions. Orders were also sent to the commodore, not to expose his seamen without an absolute necessity.

Some of our best workmen were also consulted about the erecting another battery against the bastion of *St. John*, in order to destroy their palisado work in the ditch, and to facilitate the bringing over of the gallery. The general told the emperor's dislike, that he stood in need of four or five hundred pioneers and workmen; but he declined the matter, telling him, That when he came to the emperor, he would doubtless not deny his request.

A Portuguese merchant comes into the camp.

About the same time a *Portuguese* merchant came in a boat cross the bay into our camp, in company of a *Negro* trumpeter. They reported, That they were reduced to great extremity in the place; that no less than one hundred thirty had been buried yesterday; and that if most of the *Portuguese* had not their legs swelled by the dropsy, they had deserted long before this.

The 29th of *March* the enemy were preparing to attack the redoubt of *Paul Meno* two hours before day. But the *Negro* pioneers with the sentinel retreating in time, and giving the alarm, they retired, after having exchanged some musquet-balls without doing any harm. Four deputies arriving soon after to enquire the occasion of such smart firing, they were shewn the

works, and told, That we wanted four or five hundred *Colys*, or labourers. Three other fishermen were also brought up by the seamen, who had the usual reward given them.

At the same time the *Popkensburgh* yacht arriving from *Wingurla*, brought the following advice:

*Baldæus.*  
News from Goa advised by Leonard Williams.

That *Don Rodrigo de Lobo*, *Conde de Seicredo*, viceroy of *Goa*, and his secretary, with three of his domesticks, having been poisoned, died within four or five days after. His death being concealed for some time, *Manuel Mascarenhas Homem*, formerly governor of *Ceylon*, was (pursuant to the king's orders) constituted two days after viceroy in his stead: but the *Fidalgos*, or gentlemen, not being satisfied with his person, they expected daily a revolt (just as it happened against him at *Columbo*, 1652.) However, not long after the viceroy's death, the merchants of *Goa* began to load all the yachts that were there, as also one galeon and a carrack, whilst the governor was busy in equipping of men of war and other vessels, intended for *Ceylon*, offering twenty *Seraphyns* (or *Dutch* guilders) to every soldier that would lift himself. Our resident of *Wingurla* further advised, That they had sent from *Goa* one hundred sixty ships, and among them sixteen men of war, the 8th of *February*, to the north, to fetch provisions and some other necessary commodities; and that the said fleet had tarried four or five days in sight of *Wingurla* by reason of the contrary winds. That three *Patachos*, or yachts, were sailed for *Mosambique*; but one being leaky, was forced to return to *Bombassa*; two more to *Macassar*, two more to *China*; and one carrack and a galeon, viz. the *Bon Jesus* and *Nossa Senhora de Gratia*, set sail the 19th of *February* for *Portugal*, aboard of which were carried the following gentlemen, being accused of certain crimes against the government, viz. *Don Bras de Castro*, late governor general; *Don Lewis de Souza*; *Don Pedro de Castro*; *Manuel de Souza Cabraer*, master of the artillery; *Diego de Salvaar*, captain major; *Estevaon de Melo*, late governor of *Bassyn*; *Charles Hudfart*, a rich merchant; *Dr. Caldero*; and *Jeronimo Lobo de Falbetta*. In the *Bassyn* (under the jurisdiction of *Goa*) remained prisoners, on account of being concerned in the declaring *Don Bras de Castro* viceroy, *Don Rodrigo Monsanto*, a captain in the *Bassyn*; the *Veador de Fazendas*, or sur-intendant of the merchants; and *Leon Corre*.

He advised, That the before-mentioned carrack and galeon had aboard a very large cargo of stuffs and callico's, of cinnamon, indigo, pepper, bezoar-stones, cloves, &c. And that several of the richest merchants of

*Baldæus*, Goa having embarked all their effects aboard the said two vessels, were gone privately along with them to *Portugal*.

Two days before the yachts the *Ziericksee* and *Naerden* arrived before *Goa*, four *Patamars*,\* with a *Portuguese*, came to that place to bring advice of the desperate condition of *Columbo*; and that they stood in great need of the so-long-expected succours. But the government of *Goa* finding a great aversion in the *Portuguese* soldiers, as well as the *Negro* seamen, to go to *Ceylon*, especially in this dangerous season, they pretended to have received letters from *Dan Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, governor of *Columbo*, with advice, That the *Dutch* had been forced, with the assistance of *Raja Singa*, to raise the siege; and to make this news pass for current, the new viceroy *Manuel Mascarenbas Homem* got the governor of *Columbo*'s hand counterfeited, and ordered for three days successively ringing of bells, illuminations, bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy to be made for its relief.

By the same letters from *Wingurla* advice was brought, That our ships designed for *Persia* and *Suratte*, were sailed from thence; and that according to the intelligence received from *Dufely*, (a *Mahometan* city not far from *Goa*;) the so-long-expected squadron, consisting of between twenty and thirty ships, was to sail within three days with men and

\* *Patamars* are Indian advice-boats covered all over for the carriage of letters, which they tie round in wax cloths to the masts. *Patamars* are also flying foot-posts.

provisions for *Ceylon*: though this proved *Baldæus* afterwards only rhodomontade.

He further added, That after the departure of the before-mentioned vessels bound to *Persia* and *Suratte*, frequently yachts had been sent to the river of *Goa*, to get intelligence of the motion of the said squadron: that as far as they could learn, they stay'd only for the return of the before-mention'd fleet sent out to fetch provisions from the north; when they intended to force all the seamen, before they could set foot ashore, aboard the men of war, in order to carry them, together with seven or eight hundred *European* soldiers, and good store of provisions, to the isle of *Ceylon*, for the relief of *Columbo*. According to the governor of *Wingurla*'s opinion, the said succours could not be ready before *April*; and that if by that time they had no certain news at *Goa* of the surrender of *Columbo*, they would, besides the before-mentioned squadron, gather all their naval and land-forces, and endeavour to penetrate, with the strong north wind, which commonly blows in that season, into the harbour of *Columbo* for its relief.

He further added, That there lay two galleons and a carrack at anchor in the river of *Goa*; one whereof, which lay near *Marmagon*, would scarce be fit to go out this season. Lastly, That the yacht the *Roman* lay ready to sail upon the first news he should receive of the going out of the said squadron for the relief of *Columbo*, to give us timely notice of their coming.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*Letters betwixt the Emperor and General. Several Deserters come over to us. The General invited to the Emperor's Camp.*

THE 30th of *March* a good number of *Portuguese* passing the fens in two boats, called *Manchous*, attacked our forces in their works near the gate of *Mapane*; but after some firing on both sides, were forced to retire in confusion. Soon after a certain captain of a village was taken by our people, who was sent out to fetch in some fascines, intended to be made use of in strengthening the cortin betwixt the bastions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*. Two *Tonys*, or fisher-boats, were likewise brought in with five fishermen, and the seamen rewarded according to custom.

Letter from the general to the emperor.

At the same time the general writ a letter to the emperor, wherein he imparted to his majesty the news he had received concerning the intended relief of *Columbo*. In the evening two *Portuguese* deserters that came from the bastion of *St. Stephen*, (having sent the sentinel upon an errand,) gave us a tolerable

account of the condition of the city; and the next day another *Portuguese* deserter bore the marks of their extremity in his countenance, which was very meagre. The seamen also brought in four fishermen more; who making up the number of fifteen in all, they were sold for slaves by the sound of trumpet, to reimburse us the money that was given to the seamen for the taking of them.

The first of *April* the disavoes of *Ourve* and the four *Corles* came at the head of a troop of one hundred *Lascaryns*, divided into certain companies into the camp; and bringing along with them a letter from his majesty to the general, neatly laid together, they were received with all possible marks of honour. The letter ran thus:

“YOUR excellency's letter, dated the 24th of *March*, I received the same day; wherein you declare your readiness

Fifteen fishermen sold for slaves.

The emperor's letter to the general.

*Baldæus.* “to serve our imperial majesty upon all occasions; which, together with the proofs we have received thereof ever since your landing in this island, could not but be highly acceptable to our imperial majesty. Your excellency declares, that you will reserve what you have further to propose till the time you shall be admitted into our presence. Our dearly beloved director-general being so near our camp, has nevertheless not as yet appeared in our presence, which we easily pass by in regard of the affection our imperial majesty bears to your person. We have sent the *diffaves* of *Ouve* and of the *Four Corles* to conduct you hither. When they are arrived, your excellency may order the *diffaves* of the *Four Corles*, and of the *Seven Corles*, and of *Saffragamme*, to take care in the mean while of the forces, and what else you shall find most requisite for our service, and to chuse one of them (whom you please) for your conductor, not questioning, but that (according to your wisdom and experience) you will provide for the security of our forces, and our dear *Hollanders*. God conduct your excellency with his blessing, that our imperial eyes may see your person, which happy hour and day I expect with joyful eyes; assuring your excellency, that whatever you shall propose to us will be as acceptable to our ears as the most harmonious musick in the world.”

At *Reygamwatte*, April 1. 1656.

*Consultations about the general's going to Raja Singa.*

*Two more cannon planted on a battery.*

*Sixteen de-jesters.*

It was then consulted what method was most convenient to be taken, and what preparations were necessary in order to attend the emperor with the utmost splendor; his *diffave* having (by his majesty's orders) appointed the next following wednesday for the general's reception. But before his departure he ordered two twelve-pounders to be planted upon the battery against *St. John's* bastion, where the next day a seaman was killed, and a soldier shot by the same ball through the hat, without touching his head, or any other part. The same day sixteen *Lascaryns* well armed, coming over to us from the bastion of *St. Steven*, were overtaken by some *Portuguese* forces, with whom there happened a smart skirmish before they could get clear, two of them being wounded. They were employ'd in our works near the gate of *Rajuba*.

In the afternoon the *diffaves* of *Ouve* and the *Four Corles* came with a numerous retinue to attend the general, leaving it to his choice whom of the two he would pitch upon to conduct him to his majesty. After some discourse the *diffave* of *Saffragamme* was named by his excellency for that purpose, and ordered to get every thing in rea-

*Baldæus.* dine's for their departure against the next morning. News was brought at the same time, that seven *Canaryns* were taken by some of the emperor's forces above *Negumbo*, coming in a fisher-boat from *Columbo*.

The 4th of *April* in the afternoon, advice being given that his majesty was come on horseback to the pass of *Welecande*, the general was preparing to meet him there; but as they were just ready to take horse, certain *diffaves* came post with a message from the emperor, desiring the general not to come till to morrow, because his majesty was returned immediately.

Accordingly the 5th of *April* the general *The general sets out on his journey to the emperor.* set out on his journey, in order to wait on his majesty, attended by the two factors, *Edward Ooms* and *Ysbrand Gotskens*; the fiscal *Lucas van der Dussen*, *Cornelius Valkenburg* secretary, *James van der Rhee* the interpreter, *George Bloom*, and *Don John de Costa*, accompany'd by the imperial *diffaves* of *Ouve* and *Saffragamme*, and a company of firelocks under captain *John Hartman*; Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, major *Van der Laan*, the *diffave* of the *Four-Corles*, besides several officers of note, conducting them as far as to the pass of *Nacolegamme*, his majesty being then encamped upon the river of *Reygamwatte*.

The first testimony of respect shewed to *Honourable reception of the general.* the director-general of his majesty, was the offer of three fine and well-accounted horses, for the courtiers to make use of them at pleasure. These were followed by five tame elephants, with their guides, who were ordered to keep in the van. Then came a considerable number of noblemen and officers, at the head of their respective troops, paying their respects to his excellency, and asking after his health. As they approached the imperial head-quarters they were met by some of the chief men of his majesty's court, accompany'd by a vast number of soldiers, umbrella-carriers, trumpets, musicians, eleven elephants, and two fine horses, with saddles, bridles, and other ornaments beset with gold and precious stones, to compliment his excellency in his majesty's behalf. Thus they marched on through a guard of fusileers and bowmen ranged on both sides for a quarter of an hour together, till they came to a house prepared for the general's reception, neatly furnished, the outward-rooms being hung with hanging of a white linen cloth, and the bed-chambers with gold stuffs. Here the general entered with his retinue under a salvo of firelocks, placed on the other side of the river near the imperial palace. They had scarce arrived here two hours, but his majesty's *diffaves* came to enquire after the general's health, being informed that his excellency was seized with an ague, which had made him resolve

*Baldæus*. to come to him in person, had he not received nearer advice, that his dearly-beloved director was on the mending-hand, of which he expected the confirmation with the utmost impatience. These compliments were returned by the general with the utmost demonstrations of respect and duty, telling the diffaves, That he was highly desirous to appear in the presence of so famous and potent a monarch so soon as possible could be, his presence being absolutely necessary in the camp.

*The general prepares for his return.*

Next day being the 6th, great store of provisions of the best kind were brought in boats for the general and his whole retinue. In the afternoon some courtiers brought word to the general in private, that his majesty being seized that morning with a sudden illness, could (to his great affliction) not speak with his excellency that day. His excellency reply'd, That he was heartily sorry his presence was so absolutely necessary in the camp, that he could not without great hazard stay, since it was uncertain how soon his majesty might recover; for which reason he desired leave to depart for this time till a better opportunity, desiring that four horses might be laid by the way, which, as soon as his majesty thought convenient, might carry him with all speed to court; whereupon orders were given to *John Hartman* to prepare for the march; which was done accordingly the same night.

Soon after we understood that his majesty had been forced to have been let blood in the arm; and that he had shewed a great deal of sorrow for the intended departure of the general, telling his courtiers, That being sensible how necessary his presence was in camp, he would either the next morning, or at furthest in the evening, admit him into his presence, in case he found the least abatement of his illness. In the mean while the general sent the following letter to his majesty:

*Most Serene Emperor,*

*The general's letter to the emperor.*

“ THREE days being already passed since I came hither by your majesty's command and desire; but not being able hitherto to appear in your majesty's presence, I most humbly beg leave to return to the camp, the whole burden whereof rests upon my soldiers, promising to be ready to attend your majesty, whenever you shall think fit to send for me; and living in constant hopes, that in case some miscarriage or other should happen in my absence, the same

“ will not be alledged against me, and put *Baldæus* upon me as a blemish to blot out the remembrance of my former service. God protect the emperor.

*April 7. 1656.*

Your majesty's most humble servant,

*Gerard Hulst.*

This done, the general ordered *Ysbrand Gotskens* and *Don John de Costa*, with some of his trusty *Lascaryns*, to take a view of the king's guards upon the road, with an intention, that in case he saw no certain prospect of going to court to day, (as indeed there was but little appearance he should, considering the emperor's indisposition,) he would privately go post to the camp. The 8th<sup>o</sup> of *April* the following letter was delivered to the general from the emperor.

“ THE persons sent to enquire after your excellency's health, delivered to me, with a great deal of satisfaction, your excellency's letter wrote on friday last at four a-clock. I was extremely pleased to hear you were in health, and retained the same inclinations for our service. It was on the other hand no small affliction to me, that you had stay'd so long in my court, without being able to see you. I assure you, that the same has happened far beyond my wishes or intention; but it seems to have been so ordained by God, that your excellency should be a witness of my illness, and at the same time have an opportunity of receiving the present sent to you by the prince, (born by God's providence for the welfare of my subjects,) and deliver'd into my hands before my departure from *Candy*. Your excellency may prepare your self against to morrow, when I will send word for your appearance in my presence; which done, you shall have liberty to return into the camp: when I will also issue my orders for the furnishing you with all things requisite for the accomplishment of such measures as shall be taken betwixt us. After my recovery I intend to come in person into your camp, for which reason I have commanded the diffave of *Ouve* to prepare my quarters there. No more, but that our imperial majesty does not cease to pray to God for your excellency's welfare.

*April 7. before break of day.*

*Raja Singa*, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.





*A Draught of the most Splendid Audience given by the Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candy &c. to Gerard Hult of Dutch General. vol. 1. p. 67.*





CHAP. XXXV.

*The General's most magnificent Entry: He is admitted into his Majesty's Presence. What passed at their Interview. The General's Return: His Unfortunate End.*

*Baldæus.* **A**BOUT noon, just as the general was at dinner, we heard a noise of drums, trumpets, and other musick on the other side of the river; and soon after saw some of the chief courtiers of the emperor, with three of the choicest horses of his stable, adorned with most magnificent saddles, bridles, and other accoutrements, to advance in very good order towards us; some persons of the first quality marching before to invite his excellency to court. The general ordered immediately his guards to pass the river with the presents, with an intention to follow them in person with his whole train; where his excellency was complimented by the dîffaves of *Ouwe* and *Matule*, the

captain of his majesty's *Guard du corps*, and a great number of other courtiers. The whole cavalcade was ordered in the following manner: His excellency's guards led the van, fifteen ensigns and standards being by the first ranks carried trailing upon the ground to shew the spoils of their enemies. These were followed by his majesty's horses and musicians, and then by five tame elephants: without the gate of the palace were ranged a vast number of musketeers; and passing over the bridge they found the guard in the outward-court ranged on both sides, through which they marched into the imperial palace.



*His audience.*

The doors being shut after them, all the *Hollanders* there present were conducted through a large square into a spacious hall, (called by them *Mandonoe*;) on the west-side whereof they found his majesty seated

in great pomp upon a chair of state, mounted some steps from the ground. No sooner had they entered the hall, but all the great courtiers paid their reverence by falling flat with their faces upon the ground, and the *Dutch* upon

*Baldæus.* upon their knees, till his majesty was pleased to order them to rise by a nod. Then they began to approach the imperial throne, adorned with most precious tapestries of gold, (called by them *Alcatives*;) coming to the middle of the hall, they fell upon their knees, a second time, according to the custom of the eastern nations, till his majesty was pleased to arise from his seat, and commanded the general to come nearer, who made the following speech to his majesty:

*Most Potent Monarch!*

*His speech to the emperor.*

“YOUR most humble servant approaches your imperial throne with a most violent passion, in confidence of your generous inclinations and wonted clemency, which has encouraged me to address myself to your majesty (whose name is renowned throughout the world) with a most sincere wish, that God Almighty will be pleased to bless your most illustrious imperial majesty, and the prince, with a long and happy life for the welfare and protection of your subjects.

“I am come hither to renew and confirm the most sincere confederacy established betwixt your most potent majesty and the *Dutch* nation; and to desire, That whatever differences or disturbances may have happened hitherto betwixt your imperial majesty and our nation, may be buried in eternal oblivion, in order to establish an eternal peace and confederacy, which may be as durable as the bodies of the sun and moon. It can't be denied but that several misunderstandings have happened betwixt your majesty's officers and those of our company; but these ought now to be removed even out of our memory, at a time when we are so profuse of the blood of our countrymen, to force our common enemies out of this isle, and ready to give your majesty every day new proofs of our sincerity and hearty inclinations towards you.”

*What passed betwixt him and the emperor.*

His majesty appeared highly satisfied with what his excellency had said, ordering him at the same time to rise; which he seemed not to understand, and at the same time offered certain presents, being, as he said of little value in themselves; but nevertheless much regarded by the most potent emperors and monarchs, to wit, some standards taken from those very enemies who had for many years together so cruelly and barbarously oppressed his majesty's subjects, especially in the *Low-Lands*. His majesty then, speaking of the presents sent to his excellency by the prince his son, his excellency acknowledged the same with extraordinary re-

verence, pointing at the same time at a *Baldæus* jewel he wore upon his breast, presented him before by his majesty; and so approaching the throne, he kneeled upon a cushion laid upon the step of the throne, and touching his majesty's hand, told him, That he thought it the greatest honour he ever was capable of receiving, to be admitted to kiss his majesty's hands.

The emperor took a *Gargantimbo*, or collar of gold, which he threw about his excellency's neck, and drawing his own ring from the first finger of his left hand, he desired he should extend his finger, and wear it in remembrance of his majesty, who put it upon his finger. His excellency was so surprized at this extraordinary favour, That he had scarce power to put out his middle finger of his left-hand, telling his majesty, That this finger having had the misfortune to be disfigured by his enemies, was now abundantly recompensed for his pains by the honour his majesty had been pleased to bestow upon him.

Then retiring somewhat backwards, and standing upon a tapestry, he declared to his majesty, “That he was sent into this isle

“with full power by the general and council of the *Indies*, to propose to his majesty, whether he would be pleased to continue the antient alliance, (made with Mr. *Westerwold*;) or have the same renewed, and some other articles added; assuring his majesty, That whatever should be agreed upon should be kept inviolably on their side.”

Unto which his majesty replied, “That he was highly satisfied with his proposal.”

Then the general giving a short account of their success against the enemy, his majesty said, That he had heard of the same to his signal satisfaction; and that he had a present from the prince his son for his excellency: whereupon approaching the throne a second time, his majesty presented him with a garter of gold, which he said had been worn by the prince himself.

This done, our presents being ordered to be brought in, Captain *Hartman* entered with fifteen of his stoutest soldiers, each of them trailing one of the enemy's colours upon the ground; which being thrown carelessly down in the hall of audience, a white buckler, formerly belonging to the *Portuguese* governor *Antonio Mendes d' Aranba*, was laid upon them, as also an *Indian* scymetar, the hilt whereof was of agate and gold curiously wrought, which his excellency declared to be intended for the prince, wherewith to defend his subjects (when come to riper years) against all the enemies of the crown, not excepting

*Extraordinary honour done to the general.*

*Certain propositions made by the general.*

*Is presented with a garter.*

*Baldæus.* ing the *Hollanders* themselves, if they deserved it. Wherewith his majesty seemed so highly satisfied, that he put the scymetar next to his throne.

The presents sent by the company to his majesty were as follows :

Two very fine *Persian* horses, one *Turky* gun, two *Persian* bows, with their arrows and quivers richly embroidered, one *Japoneſe* gown very rich ; two greyhounds, two *Persian* sheep, two rock-goats of *Viſtapour*, one piece of *Sandal-wood*.

Those for the young prince were :

One very fine *Persian* horse, two fuzees with very curious barrels, one silver basin, wherein were laid two pieces of *Persian* stuffs wrought with gold, two silver boxes of *China*, one hog-stone, called *Pedra de Poſco*, one piece of sandal-wood, &c.

Whilst the presents were delivered, his excellency begged his majesty's pardon for having detained him so long ; and as the time of his stay could be but short, he told him, That he had three things more to propose to his majesty, (whereof the want of the pioneers was one,) desiring, that he would be pleased to hear the same from the mouth of *Ysbrand Gotskens* in private; he being the only person whom he had entrusted with the secret. The emperor then commanded all his courtiers to withdraw; desiring that our officers might be ordered to do the same : which being done accordingly, his excellency again approached the throne ; and having by his interpreters, *George Bloem* and *Cottemaley*, discoursed with his majesty a quarter of an hour, he desired leave to depart to the camp ; which being granted, he was re-conducted with the same pomp to his lodgings.

*The general takes leave of the emperor.*

The same evening the general sent to the emperor by *George Bloem* two noted partisans, who had done a great deal of mischief in the country under *Gaspar Figeiro*, to dispose of them at pleasure. Mr. *Bloem* was received by the emperor in a private room, and presented with a golden chain and ring.

*He returns to the camp.*

The 9th of *April*, early in the morning, the general took horse, and came pretty early with his whole retinue to *Nacclegamme* ; from whence he was conducted by Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* and Mr. *John van der Laan*, with two companies, to the camp.

At his arrival there he found the gallery *Baldæus.* fixed in the ditch, (without any considerable loss,) and every thing else in a good condition.

The 10th, in the afternoon, the general *Takes a view of the works.* took a view of all the works ; and among the rest commanded captain *Henry Gerard* to set up a ladder, and take a view of the condition of the enemy on the other side of the ditch : he found the enemy had made an entrenchment extending towards the sea-shore, with a ditch before it, eight foot deep ; upon which having planted two pieces of cannon, they were likely to prevent our fixing the miners on that side, our trenches being carried on directly against that place. Whereupon it was agreed to make a breach in the wall on this side of the ditch, and to plant a cannon there, in order to ruin the said entrenchment.

About sun-set his excellency returning to the same place, to encourage the workmen both by his words and example, the *Portuguese* began to use their utmost endeavours to set fire to the gallery, throwing all sorts of combustible matter upon it, which the general perceiving, he advanced with the rest to assist in extinguishing the fire ; but whilst he was busy in the midst of the gallery, in performing his duty with his breast open, he was heard on a sudden to cry out, *Good God, help me ! O help me !* Which captain *Joachim Block*, who stood hard by, hearing, and finding him all over bloody, he carried him, with the assistance of major *Van der Laan*, from thence to a bed, where, without speaking one word more, he expired. His wound being searched, they found it to be done by a musquet-bullet, which passed in under the right-shoulder, quite through under the right-arm.

*The Portuguese set fire to our gallery.*

*The general wounded.*

*Dies.*

This was the unfortunate end of this most excellent person, in the vigour of his age, descended of a good family, and of great experience, both in civil and military affairs ; being for the rest of a very affable conversation, eloquent, and well-versed in divers languages. He was, besides this, of a very good aspect, tall, and well-made, brisk, and indefatigable in what he undertook : and to be short, *Nature and industry had framed so exact an harmony betwixt his soul and body, that few men can pretend to the same degree of perfection.*

*His character.*



G. Fluck fecit

A. Blaeuw sculp.

His Excellency GERARD HULST, first Counsellor, and Director Generall of y<sup>e</sup> INDIES, Comander in Chief of all the Sea & Land Forces sent to CEYLON, and the Coast of the INDIES.

C H A P. XXXVI.

*The General's Death notified to the Emperor; who sends his Envoys into the Camp. Mr. Adrian van der Meyden succeeds him. A Portuguese Captain comes over to us.*

*Baldæus.* THE same night *George Bloem*, interpreter, being dispatched with a letter to the emperor; to carry the doleful news of the general's death, his majesty sent the 11th of April the diflaves of the five and seven *Corles*, to take a view of his corpse. It being also agreed in a council of war, that the same should be conducted by the factor *Ysbrand Gotskens* and captain *John Hartman*, under a guard of twenty firelocks, to *Puntegale*, (nine German leagues thence,) the same was done accordingly with a great deal of splendor. The same night his majesty sent the diflaves of *Matule* and *Adigar*, attended by divers other courtiers, to condole the death of his dearly-beloved director-general. They were very inquisitive, whether he was slain by some of his own people, or by the enemy, or by some unexpected accident. Being shewn the place where he received his wound, they crawled thither, trembling for fear upon the ground; from whence they took a handful of earth, and desired that no body should set a foot in that place.

*His corpse carried to Gale. Envoys sent from the emperor.*

*Take a view of the place where he was wounded.*

His corpse was deposited in a vault under ground at *Gale*, till 1657. when by order from *Mr. Van der Meyden*, it was interred with great solemnity in the church there near the pulpit, his arms, buckler, sword, and spurs being hung against the wall. In the year 1658. the said corpse being transported from thence to *Columbo*, was put into a stately monument there, with an inscription upon it, containing in substance, *That he had purchased the conquest of Columbo by his death, for the honour of his native country.*

After the decease of the general, the burden of the supreme command of the siege was laid by unanimous consent upon the shoulders of *Mr. Adrian van der Meyden*, governor of *Gale*, who had the good fortune to see the city reduced in the next following month of *May*.

*Mr. Van der Meyden succeeds the general in that dignity. A letter from Wingurla, concerning the Portuguese succours.*

The 13th of April a letter was brought to the camp from *Leonard Johnson*, dated the second, at *Wingurla*, intimating, That twenty two frigates, under the command of *Francisco de Seix Cabreira*, with all sorts of provisions, and eight hundred Portuguese landmen aboard, were sailed from *Goa*; whereupon the commodore *Rootbaus* and *Peter de Bitter* being sent for, to consult what

was best to be done, it was resolved (in order to prevent their bringing into the city the intended succours) to attempt a vigorous assault upon the bastion of *St. Stephen*, for which purpose four brave officers were chosen; who, with eighty volunteers, (who had offered themselves for a reward of fifty crowns a-piece,) were to make the attack.

The same evening the *Flussing yacht* coming to an anchor in the road, soon after *Adrian van der Maart*, her captain, came ashore, and told the general, That about three days before, meeting with the Portuguese Squadron near *Coulang* and the cape *Comoryn*, he had attacked one of their frigates so successfully, that he saw her sink before his eyes, sixteen Portuguese only, with captain *Simon Souza* being saved of all that were aboard her; that soon after he had lost sight of them all, supposing they were returned to the cape *Comoryn*, it being his opinion, that as the wind stood, they must before this have been near *Columbo*. In the night time, a certain Portuguese captain, one of the *Fidalgos*, or gentlemen, who had been concerned in declaring *Don Bras de Castro* viceroy of *Goa*, came over to us, having been detained prisoner in the bastion of *St. Stephen*, and made his escape with four of his servants through *Don Francisco de Rolyn's* house, by means of a boat. He entertained the new general for a considerable time. It was in the mean time resolved to delay the assault upon the bastion of *St. Stephen* for two or three days. Our interpreter, *George Bloem*, returned also with the following letter of condolance from his majesty.

*Baldæus.*

*The Flussing yacht meets the Portuguese fleet.*

*A Portuguese gentleman comes over to us.*

*Raja Singa Rajou, most potent emperor of Ceylon, wishes health to Mr. Adrian van der Meyden, governor of the imperial fortrefs of Gale.*

“ YOUR letter, dated in the evening at seven a clock on monday, the 10th of April, did arrive in the imperial camp about midnight, and was delivered to our imperial majesty on tuesday about noon. The death of our director-general has caused an excessive affliction in our imperial heart. Whilst our beloved director was at our court,

*Letter of condolance from the emperor.*

*Baldæus.* “ I was unwilling (according to the singular love I bore to his person) to let him know my illness; but being now on the mending hand, I am forced to hear of his death, which now we must commit to providence, and submit to his will. Our imperial majesty has likewise understood by your excellency’s letter, that you are invested with the same power as our beloved director-general was. It is a general received custom in the courts of all the great monarchs, that in case a person of note, and in good esteem with them, dies, his successor appears before the said monarch, and receives his confirmation and blessing at his hands. As you have always been serviceable to us, it is our pleasure that you come to court, (in the same manner as the director-general did,) in order to receive the honours due to your merits; being sensible that you have rendered us considerable services, without having received any reward hitherto; wherefore it is my pleasure, that when you resolve to come, you give notice thereof beforehand what day you have pitched upon, in order to receive you with the same respect as the director-general, your predecessor. I doubt not in the mean while, but you will be very careful in your high station. At the closing of this letter, advice is brought, that the *Portuguese* expect every day succours, which has made me give strict orders to keep a strict guard, both by sea and land.”

In the camp and court of *Regamwaste*, 15 April, 1656.

*Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

*Eleven Lascaryn, three Topasses, two Portuguese deserters.* In the night two *Portuguese*, three *Topasses*, and eleven *Lascaryn* deserters, gave a doleful account of the miserable condition of the city, and of the sickness and mortality that reigned there. The sixteenth we played most furiously against the gate of *Rajuba*; and the general having sent advice of the expected succours in the city to the emperor, gave orders to commodore *Rootbaus*, to keep the *Flussing*, *Popkensburgh*, and *Lion* yachts in readiness, to pursue the enemy’s squadron. About the same time a *Portuguese* captain came over to us, with eighteen *Lascaryns* and three *Topasses*: his pretence was, That having received an affront from the governor, he had taken this method to revenge himself. *Diedelof van der Beek* writ from *Mapane*, that the poor starved wretches in the plain betwixt our works and the city, butchered one another, two women having lately de-

More deserters.

voured their new-born babes. The 19th of *Baldæus*, April a letter was delivered to the general from the emperor.

“ YOUR excellency’s was delivered to me after midnight; by which you declaring your readiness to serve me; the same was received with singular satisfaction, knowing that your excellency, ever since your landing in this isle, has shewn a more than ordinary inclination for our service. Your excellency being now, through God’s mercy, put into this high station, it is expected you should give more signal proofs thereof than before. You also mention the expected *Portuguese* succours, and the success of our faithful *Hollanders* against them. I hope in God, that this victory will prove the forerunner of others. What I writ in my last, concerning your care in the camp, was not intended as if I questioned your conduct, but because it belonged to me to mention it. You further advise, that the enemy’s squadron has orders to sail directly for *Columbo*; but considering the ill treatment *Manoel Mascarenbas Homem*, the present viceroy of *Goa*, met with at *Columbo*, (whilst governor there,) it seems to me most probable, that he has sent this fleet rather to be worsted by the *Hollanders*, than with a real intention to relieve *Columbo*.

“ Your excellency says, That one *Nicolao de Moura*, captain-major of the city, is come over to us: I desire you would give a good entertainment to all such as come to us with a sincere intention. The other news has been very acceptable to me: God, I hope, will crown our endeavours with success. Your mentioning the late deceased director-general’s name has renewed my grief; and as I loved him entirely, so I must recommend to you the jewels which were presented to him (whilst living) from our imperial majesty, that the same may be sent into *Holland* to his next kindred; it being our will and pleasure to give upon this occasion a convincing proof to our *Hollanders* of the most sincere affection we bear them. For though the unfortunate death of the said director has robbed him of the opportunity to execute those designs he had projected for our services, yet his counsels, care, and watchfulness, will remain for ever in our memories. I am very solicitous to know what method you intend to take in reducing the city, whether by force or famine. If you intend to take it by assault, let me know of it two or three days before-

The emperor’s letter to the new general.

He orders the late general’s jewels to be sent into Holland.



*Baldæus.* “ before-hand secretly. My illness has hitherto prevented me from prosecuting my resolution of coming into the camp, to take a view of all the works of the *Hollanders*; however, I am resolved to come nearer to the camp; which, as soon as it is done, I will give you notice thereof, and desire your presence there, in order to concert measures with you before you return to the camp. No more, &c.”

Reygamwatte, 28 April 1656. *Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

*P. S.* “ It is desired that the captain who sunk one of the enemies frigats, and forced the rest to return back, may come along with the general to the emperor, in order to make himself known to his majesty.”

The superscription was,

*Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*, wishes health to *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor of our imperial fortress of *Gale*.

In the afternoon a cessation of arms being ordered for some time, the following summons were sent into the city.

*Summons sent into Columbo.* “ **H**AVING by the present siege reduced the citizens of *Columbo* to the last extremity, and bereaved them of all hopes of the so-long-expected succours from *Goa*, we thought fit to summon the city a second time in the name of his imperial majesty, *Raja Singa*, and of the honourable the *Dutch East-India* company. For the Squadron sent the 11th of this month from *Goa* by the new viceroy *Manoel Mascarenhas Homem* (*Conde de Secredo*, his predecessor dying the 13th of *January*) to the relief of *Columbo*, being pretty well provided with provisions, but very indifferently manned, was engaged so briskly by our people, that some of their frigats were lost, others much damaged, and the rest forced to retire in confusion to *Tutecoryn* and *Manaar*. Ac-

“ cording to the opinion of your own captain *Simon de Souza*, and some others, that are our prisoners, most of the men aboard them are likely to desert, for fear of falling into the hands of our ships that are cruising thereabouts; and the rest will scarce be able, by reason of the *Mousson*, to reach this place. Perhaps you may flatter your self, that the same *Mousson* will oblige our ships to leave before long, as well those parts as this bay; but if you rely upon this point, we declare our selves innocent of all the grievances and sufferings put upon the poor citizens, who will, besides this, be thereby put in danger of losing all they have; whereas at present they may expect honourable conditions, which they cannot hope for hereafter. We recommend this to your excellency’s consideration, and your person to God’s protection.”

*Baldæus.*

In the imperial camp before *Columbo*, 18 April 1656.

*Adrian van der Meyden.*

The following letter was sent in answer to the former.

“ **T**HE letter sent to me by the most noble general *Gerard Hulst*, dated the 9th of *November* last, I answered at that time; which, as it cannot be unknown to your excellency, so the same answer may serve to your letter; neither the change of war, nor want of provisions having given me sufficient occasion hitherto to alter my resolution, which is, to take care of and defend the city to the utmost of my power, for the service of the king my master. God protect your excellency.”

*The answer.*

*Columbo*, April 19. 1656.

*Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

Being convinced by this letter, that nothing but force could reduce them to reason, the cannon were ordered to play again as before.

CHAP. XXXVII.

*Many Deserters. Letters from the Emperor. Ysbrand Gotskens sent to his Majesty. Resolution taken to assault the City. Succours arrived from Batavia.*

**T**HE 21st of *April*, seven *Lascaryn* deserters reported, That the citizens and soldiers beginning to murmur for want of

rice, it was resolved to give to each citizen and soldier three fourths, and to each *Topas* and *Lascaryn* an half *medide per diem*, besides

*Baldæus.* fides their former allowance. Soon after a *Portuguese* deserter related, That they had barricadoed up most of the streets, and planted cannon in them. About the same time the new general received the following letter from the emperor.

RAYA SINGA RAYOU, &c. ¶

*The emperor's letter to the general.*

“ OUT of your letter, dated the 19th  
 “ of April, I have (with a great deal  
 “ of satisfaction) understood your good  
 “ health, and good inclinations for my ser-  
 “ vice, as well as of major *John van der*  
 “ *Laan*, and the rest of the chief officers.  
 “ Before the arrival of the late director-ge-  
 “ neral (of blessed memory) I had taken a  
 “ resolution within my self to come and  
 “ take a view of your camp; but being  
 “ then prevented by my illness, I still con-  
 “ tinue in the same resolution, not only to  
 “ view the works there, but also to be a  
 “ spectator of the brave actions performed  
 “ there for my service. My faithful *Hol-*  
 “ *landers*, who are come hither from far  
 “ distant countries, have for several months  
 “ last past endured many miseries, not with-  
 “ out much effusion of blood; and as I am  
 “ stedfastly persuaded that both I and our  
 “ imperial family may promise our selves  
 “ the same and more for the future, so shall  
 “ I think it no trouble to come so far into  
 “ the camp, to be an eye-witness (to my  
 “ great satisfaction) of the brave actions  
 “ performed there for our imperial majesty's  
 “ service. That no notice has been taken  
 “ hitherto by this court of the captain-ma-  
 “ jor, is to be attributed to his being em-  
 “ ployed day and night in the company's  
 “ service. Some foolish people are much  
 “ deceived, if they judge that there can be  
 “ the least separation of interest betwixt our  
 “ majesty and the company, the wiser sort  
 “ being convinced that our interest is the  
 “ same. The said major *John van der*  
 “ *Laan* has done me considerable service  
 “ ever since his coming into this isle; and  
 “ therefore I declare, That since the late  
 “ director-general appeared at this court, I  
 “ did lay aside all animosity, in considera-  
 “ tion of his great qualities and services;  
 “ so that now the said major who has spill-  
 “ ed his blood more than once, and been  
 “ wounded with bullets in my service,  
 “ shall be made sensible of the love and  
 “ affection I bear him, whenever he comes  
 “ into my presence. What you mention  
 “ about *Mascarenhas*, is no less than the  
 “ truth, and an undeniable one, to con-  
 “ vince the world, that God will take re-  
 “ venge of such as offend their sovereigns,  
 “ which induces me to believe, that this  
 “ war, we jointly carry on against our  
 “ enemy, will be blessed by God with suc-  
 “ cess. I was very glad to understand by  
 “ your excellency's letter, that the jewels  
 “ presented by me to the director-general  
 “ have been sent to *Batavia*, in order to be  
 “ transported from thence by trusty per-  
 “ sons into *Holland*. The said director-  
 “ general having done me such signal ser-  
 “ vices, ever since his coming into this  
 “ country, I intend so soon as the war is  
 “ brought to a conclusion, to send a letter  
 “ with the first ship to the states-general of  
 “ *Holland*, to give them an ample testimo-  
 “ ny thereof. The resolution taken in the  
 “ council of war is very acceptable to me:  
 “ but as your excellency in his high sta-  
 “ tion has the chief management of such  
 “ matters as tend to our majesty's ser-  
 “ vice in your hands, so I am most in-  
 “ clined to follow your advice. The meth-  
 “ od proposed for the reducing of the  
 “ city has been debated in our imperial  
 “ council; but as the same must be expres-  
 “ sed in a different language (which carries  
 “ along with it a considerable alteration)  
 “ I will pass it by in silence, earnestly re-  
 “ quiring you, that whenever the said re-  
 “ solution is to be put in execution, to send  
 “ me advice of it, that I may assist you  
 “ there in person. You are of opinion  
 “ that it would be more convenient for me  
 “ not to come into the camp, till after the  
 “ taking of the city; but what business  
 “ have I in the camp then, unless it be to  
 “ see the conditions performed; whereas  
 “ the late director-general had given me  
 “ his word, that the city should be deli-  
 “ vered into my hands. In the letter I  
 “ sent to your excellency, I desired that  
 “ the captain who had sunk the *Portuguese*  
 “ ship should come along with you to our  
 “ court; and you having made no mention  
 “ of him in your answer, I am at a stand  
 “ to guess the reason thereof. The auk-  
 “ ward answer of the *Portuguese* in *Colum-*  
 “ *bo* to your summons, shews them to be  
 “ void of sense; and I, who am well ac-  
 “ quainted with their bravadoes, look up-  
 “ on it as an infallible sign of their distress,  
 “ being convinced, by my own experience  
 “ in divers engagements, that when they  
 “ were most at a pinch, they would brag  
 “ most. I have for a considerable time  
 “ considered with my self, whether I should  
 “ write a letter to those in the city, but  
 “ for fear of a haughty answer, I resolve  
 “ to let it alone. No more, &c.”

The 22d of April,  
1656.

Raja Singa Rajou, most  
potent emperor of  
Ceylon.

The

*Baldæus.* The following letter was inclosed, and directed to the *Sabandaar of Gale, Don John de Costa.*

“ HAVING been informed by several of our messengers sent from hence with letters, That since the arrival of the late director-general of blessed memory, you have given all imaginable satisfaction in reference to his person, I intended to have sent you a present at that time ; but that the said director’s departure (which was so sudden, that my servants did not overtake him before he came to *Krabenhof*) prevented it. But when the new general shall appear at court, you, as well as the rest of the officers, shall not be forgot. You have been an eye-witness of the respect paid by me here to the director-general ; and when ever the new general makes his appearance before us, the same shall (not without great reason) be increased, our imperial majesty having received more signal services from his excellency, whereof I would have you give notice to him at the first opportunity. If you should happen to discover any error in such letters as are sent from this court, you shall excuse them to the general. You shall also put him in mind, that we stand in need here of an anvil, and a pair of smith’s bellows ; and as there is frequent occasion for writing, do not forget to let us be furnished with some white paper ; you may send also some *China ware.* Farewel.”

*At the Court of Reygamwatte, April 23. 1656.*

*A Topas deserter brings a letter from a merchant in Columbo.*

The 24th of the same month, a *Topas* deserter, named *Lazaro Henrico*, who came over to us, during the siege of *Caleture*, but afterwards run over again to the enemy, (notwithstanding he was well entertained by the late director-general,) brought a letter from *Manoel Fonseca de Monis*, a merchant of *Columbo*, directed to major *Van der Laan*.

Mr. *Van der Laan*,

“ I Beg of you to believe what I am going to tell you concerning the present condition of the city. Be careful not to venture a storm, they having provided retrenchments in all posts, well provided with cannon, besides four mines, to be discovered to you by my servant. The rice is sold still at three *Seraphyns*, and is very scarce. If you intend to hasten the surrender of this city, send somebody from *Caleture* hither, to convince them that they are still living there : this being the reason why they would not hither-

“ to hearken to any conditions. I send my *Baldæus.* servant with this letter to you, to shew the same to the general, though it is rumoured abroad here that general *Hulst* is dead ; but I don’t believe it. The next thing I have to request, for God’s sake, and as you tender our friendship, is to preserve and secure the bearer hereof, being resolved likewise to come over to you, which I cannot do at present, being so narrowly watched ; but hope to be with you in a few days. God grant you a long life.”

Your Servant and Slave,

*Manoel Fonseca de Monis.*

Whereupon it was resolved to secure the said *Topas* aboard a ship till further order.

Soon after *Ysbrand Gotskens* was dispatched to his majesty, to represent to him some matters of the greatest consequence, and to know his sentiments. It was not long before he returned in company of the dislates of *Saffragamme*, and the *Four Corles*, and the *Curupele Apobami*, and gave an account of his negotiation to the general *Van der Meyden* ; and among other things, That his majesty was well satisfied with the resolution taken *April 21.* but seemed to be inclined to have the assault delay’d till Sunday the last day of the month, when he intended to be an eye-witness of it.

The 23d of *April*, it being resolved to give the general assault the next following night, especially upon the bastions of *St. Stephen* and *Clergos*, and (in case they succeeded) afterwards upon that of *St. Philippo*, every thing was preparing for the execution thereof, and every one ordered to his post.

The following instructions in writing were given to each commanding officer in chief, which they were strictly to obey.

“ THOSE that are ordered to give the assault upon the bastions, shall be obliged to fix the scaling ladders themselves, and use their utmost endeavours to make themselves masters thereof, and to maintain themselves there. In case the bastion of *St. Stephen* be taken, the commanding officer shall let the trumpet sound the tune *William of Nassau*, as a signal that God has blessed us with victory on that side. So soon as the assault begins from the redoubt, betwixt *St. Stephen* and *St. John’s* bastion, the companies of *John Hartman*, *George Gebel*, *Henry Gerard*, and *James Baker*, shall be in a readiness to second them, as occasion requires.

“ During the assault, the *Javaneſe*, *Bandaneſe*, *Lascaryns*, *Topasses*, with some *Europeans*, shall endeavour to pass the ditch,

*Baldæus.* “ ditch, in order to force the enemy from their works at the foot of the bastion of *St. John*, and shall be commanded by captain *N. Scherf*, *Arent Johnson*, *N. de Wit*, *N. Chample*, and *James van Driel*. “ Whilst the assault continues upon the bastion of *St. Stephen*, major *Van der Laan* shall with his forces attack the gate of *Rajuba*; and in case God bless us with success, no officer, of what degree soever, shall presume to grant leave or suffer any of his soldiers to leave their colours, or enter the city, being forewarned that the enemy have planted their cannon there, charged with small-shot.

Dated Apr. 27. Subscribed, by Command from the General,

*Adrian van der Meyden*,  
*James van Rbee*, Secretary.

*It delay'd till another time.*

Immediate notice of this resolution was given to the emperor; but there happening no small differences and heats in the council of war that was held that evening about the execution of this design, the same was thought fit to be deferred to another time. Scarce was the council broken up, but a *Lascaryn* deserter coming from *St. John's* bastion, reported, That this evening they had reinforced the ordinary guard of the bastion of *St. Stephen*, with thirty of their choicest men, called *Valiantons*, or *bravoes*, by them, besides ten other soldiers; which made us imagine that a *Javanese* deserter, who had got perhaps some scent of the matter, had discovered our design to them.

*Three ships arrived from Batavia.*

At the same time news was brought of the arrival of the yachts the *Red Lion*, *Avenhorn*, and *Pelican*, who left *Batavia* in *March*. The 28th of *April*, the lieutenant *Christopher Egger*, *James Viry*, *Martin Scholtes*, and ensign *Brewer*, were sent in the night-time to view the ascent to the bastion of *St. Stephen*; they gave an account that they had found them well upon their guard there, and the ground being sandy would afford no firm footing. The 29th of *April* a letter was brought into the camp from *Abraham van der Mart*, sent by the *Lion* yacht

*The condition of St. Stephen's bastion viewed.*

from the isles of *Tutecoryn*, with the joyful news, That the *Portuguese* Squadron being met by the *Dutch* the 19th off of *Tritchia* nadour and *Caypatnam*, they were forced to retreat betwixt the isles of *Tutecoryn*, where they were blocked up by our ships, and *Van der Mart* gave no small hopes of preventing their coming out again, provided he were reinforced in time with two or three nimble yachts. Letters were at the same time delivered from the head-factor, *Reynier Serooskerke*, concerning the preparations of the *Portuguese*; and that they intended to pass the *Mousson* on the coast of *Malabar*: That the traffick of the company at *Calecoulang* was in a good condition; and that he intended to buy up a good quantity of pepper and other commodities against the year 1657. News was also brought from *Batavia*, That a succour of two hundred and twenty five men was sent from thence to *Ceylon*, who within a few days were to come by land hither from *Gale*. At the same time we received a letter written in *Latin* by the serjeant *Severin Dolander*, which being thrown over the ditch, required a speedy answer.

“ *SEVERIN* wishes his ensign health: The message brought me by the father was very acceptable to me. I and my comrades are above half dead, of seventy four there being no more than ten left, and these in a most miserable condition for want of bread, wine, and meat, being not used to feed upon rice; therefore we desire to be supplied with the same (if possible) for the preservation of our lives, and the recovery of our strength; in return whereof I will acknowledge you the preserver of my life, as long as I live. Mr. *Cornicularius* is also very near death's door; but perhaps a little bread and wine might recover him. I beg you once more, for God's sake, not to forget us, and to deliver it to the before-mentioned father, who is our trusty friend. “ God protect you.”

*Severin Dolander.*

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Ships sent to Tutecoryn. Raja Singa dissatisfied. Prisoners exchanged. Letters from Raja Singa. The Bastions of St. John and St. Stephen taken by Storm, not without a considerable Loss.*

*A reinforcement sent to the Dutch fleet near Tutecoryn.* THE council having taken into deliberation the condition of the enemy's fleet near *Tutecoryn*, it was resolved to dispatch thither forthwith the yachts the *Mars*,

*Rabbit*, the *Roman*, and *Lion*, besides two other vessels, under commodore *Roothaus*. At the same time an answer was ordered to be sent to the *Dutch* prisoners in *Columbo*.

YOURS







*Baldæus.* "YOURS we have received by the father, and understood your miserable condition: these are the chances of war, the best comfort you can have in this extremity with your fellow-prisoners. At your earnest request we send you a bottle of Spanish wine, ten new-baked loaves, and a piece of meat and bacon; the effects and money designed for captain Simon de Souza, who is kept among the prisoners at Caleture, are put aboard the ship: and because one of the Portuguese soldiers did this forenoon call from the bastion of St. John to one of our sentinels, that the governor was willing to exchange ten of his men, that are our prisoners, for your ten, we have sent word to the governor Antonio de Souza Coutinbo, that as soon as he will discharge you, we will send back ten Portuguese prisoners from Caleture."

May 1. 1656.

Adrian van der Meyden.

*An offer for the exchange of prisoners.*

Accordingly the 2d of May, in the forenoon, a Portuguese captain, named Domingo Coelbo, delivered a letter to ensign Peregrin in our service, offering, that in case we would exchange eight Portuguese prisoners at Caleture for the serjeant and seven soldiers, they would send them to us; which was denied, and in lieu thereof offered seven common soldiers and one officer in exchange for them. About the same time his majesty sent back a letter, which he seemed highly displeas'd at, with another as follows.

*An angry letter from the emperor.*

"YOUR letter writ to some of my courtiers last monday was delivered to them before sunset; what you relate of major Van der Laan's going to Mapane, to observe what pass there, and that finding those that were come out of Columbo, to be supplied underhand with provisions, he commanded to fire among them, and to secure the Modeliar Jazondere, who had been accessary to the matter, has been very acceptable to me, as tending to my service. The letter delivered to me by Curupule Meynda, written upon half a sheet, I did not think fit to read, much less to answer, being filled with nothing but insipid stuff: if perhaps a sudden mutiny, or accident, or any other misfortune, had happened in the camp, I could have excus'd such a letter, in respect of the love and inclination I bear to the Hollanders, my most trusty servants; but every thing being in a very good condition, I cannot sufficiently admire what could induce George to write such a letter. Truly the general (who has the supreme command there) ought not to have been so careles in this matter, such

"a neglect being not very suitable to the conduct that may be expected from a person entertained in the service of a great monarch; wherefore I send you this letter, together with the *Ola* [letter] in order to have it read in the presence of the general, and to let him know word by word the true contents thereof."

Thursday, May 2. 1656.

Considering the nicety of the Cingalese and Malabars in this point, it must be confessed, that more caution ought to have been used in this respect.

Towards evening the Portuguese sent our eight prisoners out of the city, half dead for want of food, three of them being so weak, that they could neither go nor stand. They unanimously depose, That there had been a great disorder among the officers, which had prevented their marching to the bastion of Clergos, after they had entered the city, as they ought to have done, the same being guarded only by fifteen men. But whilst they staid in expectation for orders from the sea-captain Lippens, (of whom they spoke very indifferently,) they were attacked both in front and rear by a great number of Portuguese, and charged so furiously, that scarce twenty six of them escaped, without being either killed or wounded, after they had spent all their powder and ball. They added, That what had been related of their having fell to plundering, was not true; that they were secured in a warehouse belonging to Lewis Tavera, where they had the same daily allowance of rice with the king's soldiers; and that they had fed, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, upon the flesh of elephants, bufflers-hides, nay, upon dogs, cats, and rats: that most of the seventy four prisoners died for want of good food, and according to all appearance these eight would not live long. They further said, That as they were going out of the city, they saw a body of four or five hundred men, some Europeans, some negroes, near St. John's gate.

The 4th of May the emperor Raja Singa sent the following letter.

"About three years ago captain Foris Harvendonk, with some other officers and soldiers entring into our service; and their time being expired since, for which they had agreed with the company, I resolv'd with my self (since I had no great occasion for them here) to send them to the camp. An account of what services the said captain had done me, may be seen in a letter written by him (according to my command) to the late director-general, immediately after his landing



*Baldæus.* “ landing near *Columbo*. He had neither before nor since the same sense he had when he writ that letter; which then induced me to a resolution to bestow certain favours upon him before his departure. But his insolent behaviour having drawn upon him several chastisements, without any hopes of amendment, I thought fit to remove him from his station, and to put *Francis Has* (who happened then to come as a messenger with letters to our court) in his place. This man having lived for some time among the *Portuguese* our enemies, seemed to have laid aside all the modesty of the *Portuguese*, and addicted himself to all sorts of villanies, which made me discharge him from my service, and to restore the before-mentioned *Joris Hervendonk* to his former place. I would not have my *Hollanders* entertain such an opinion of me, that I would let any one who has served so long in our imperial court, be dismissed without a reward; for whoever gains our imperial favour, shall never depart unrewarded: but such as are not willing, or cannot apply themselves to that study, may be sure that they will be sent away like this person. The reason why the said *Francis Has* staid in *Candy*, is not unknown to your excellency; but as he is a *Hollander*, it is but just he should be dismissed at his due time. I will not say all concerning him what I could; my discourses will give your excellency a more ample account of him, or when your excellency appears at this court, you will be further satisfied in this matter. No more: God protect your excellency.

At *Reygamwatte*, *Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.  
May 4. 1656.

It is beyond all question, that the differences arisen betwixt this *Joris Hervendonk* and *Francis Has* gave occasion to many disturbances; *Hervendonk* being accused of having, by his insinuations, been the occasion of *Francis Has*'s detention in *Candy*, even to the year 1656. from whence, perhaps, he may not be discharged whilst he lives. These and some other accidents had put the emperor's mind into such a ferment, that for three days together he shewed all the marks of a severe displeasure, even to the best of his Courtiers, so as to turn even his face from them. But his majesty's letter delivered to the new general, *May 6*. seemed to leave him in a much better humour.

RAJA SINGA RAJOU, &c.

Another letter from the emperor.

“ YOUR excellency's letter dated the 3d, was delivered to me on thursday the 4th, wherein you express your

“ sorrow for the mistake in the letter I *Baldæus.*  
“ sent back with my last letter: as among  
“ all other foreign nations, our imperial  
“ majesty has chosen the *Hollanders*, as the  
“ fittest to be employ'd for the increase of  
“ our glory, fame, and empire, by reason  
“ of their fidelity, (which render them ve-  
“ ry dear to me, beyond my own subjects,)  
“ so when they commit any mistake, it  
“ touches me so sensibly, in regard of  
“ the other nations that frequent our court,  
“ that I cannot forbear to make them sen-  
“ sible of their error, even upon the least  
“ occasion, in order to their amendment for  
“ the future. If therefore your excellency  
“ will apply yourself to such things as tend  
“ to our imperial service, the same will be  
“ highly acceptable to us. Our beloved  
“ director-general, of happy memory, did,  
“ during that small time he continued in  
“ our empire, follow this rule with the  
“ greatest exactness imaginable: but being  
“ snatched away on a sudden by death, we  
“ were deprived of the opportunity of re-  
“ warding his services according to our  
“ wish. And as the said director-general  
“ has not been wanting, in leaving certain  
“ marks of the methods and customs to  
“ be made use of in our service, so it will  
“ be no difficult task for your excellency to  
“ follow his footsteps. Your excellency  
“ mentions the resolution you have taken  
“ of attempting a second assault upon  
“ the city, by reason of the approaching  
“ season, which does not permit our ships  
“ to tarry longer with safety in that road;  
“ and that the enemy is much lessened in  
“ his strength since the last assault: all  
“ which, as it is altogether reasonable, so I  
“ approve of it with much satisfaction. On  
“ the other hand, our present illness is no  
“ small affliction to us, which bereaves us  
“ of the opportunity of appearing there in  
“ person, and being an eye-witness of this  
“ engagement, and to be nearer at hand to  
“ second you with our troops, in case there  
“ should be occasion; but let come of it  
“ what will, we are resolved to be in the  
“ camp by next Sunday. If your excellency  
“ thinks fit to stay for our coming, it is  
“ well; but if not, and that an opportu-  
“ nity presents of gaining the place with-  
“ out impairing our honour and reputation,  
“ I am satisfied, living in hopes, that God  
“ Almighty will crown our endeavours with  
“ victory. Your excellency mentions, at  
“ the end of your letter, that you have ex-  
“ changed eight of your people that were  
“ prisoners in the city (the remnants of se-  
“ venty four) for as many *Portuguese* your  
“ prisoners. I am very glad you sent word  
“ of it, that it may not be alledged against  
“ the *Hollanders*, that they treat with the  
“ enemy without our knowledge. In the  
“ mean

*Baldæus.* "mean time I am desirous to know how the rest died, whether for want of food, or being well looked to in their sickness; and further, what instructions you have sent to the Portuguese by those that were sent into the city; if it be a secret worth knowing, your excellency will be pleased to reveal it to us. Ever since the death of our director-general, no sound of the drum has been heard in our camp; but in our march nearer to the enemy and your camp, it will be requisite to make use of our drums and other warlike musick; whereof we thought fit to give notice to your excellency. No more for the present: God protect your excellency's person."

*Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent emperor of Ceylon.

The Dutch enter the city.

Are forced to retreat to the bastion of St. John.

This letter being read in council, it was resolved to give the assault the 7th of May about seven or eight a-clock in the morning, and to make the fiercest attack upon the bastion of *St. John*; which was put in execution accordingly, *Martin Scholtes* lieutenant of the fusileers of *Gale* (now captain in *Gale*) being the first who with undaunted courage mounted the breach, and being bravely seconded by his men, they entered even into the city; but being surrounded on all sides by a great number of Portuguese, were forced to retreat to the bastion of *St. John*, where at last they maintained their post, after having three several times repulsed the enemy, who endeavoured with all the force they could bring together to dislodge them from thence, (our men being constantly relieved with fresh troops,) till the evening, when the firing somewhat ceasing, they took that opportunity of entrenching themselves with fascines and earth towards the side of the city, being nevertheless still exposed to the enemies shot from the water-fort and the bastions of *St. Stephen* and *Couras*, which cost us many a brave soldier.

In the beginning of the assault the disavves of *Saffragamme* and of the *Four Corles* came into the trenches with the *Cingalese* forces; and soon after his majesty sent likewise the

disavves of *Ouve* and *Matule*, the *Adigar Baldæus*, *Amracon*, and *Curupele Apobamy*, at the head of a great number of *Lascaryns*: but these brought along with them more confusion than real assistance, the *Cingalese* being always better at making a noise and plundering, than fighting.

We had no sooner fixed our guards upon the bastion, but a negro slave (called *Cassers*) brought us advice, That in the last assault the enemy had, the captain-major, the city-major, and a good number of their best men wounded, and betwixt forty and fifty killed. We employ'd the greatest part of the night in fortifying ourselves with palisadoes and earth-works on the bastion, in discovering the mines, and planting some cannon: to facilitate which, it was ordered that a false attack be made at two a clock in the morning, and with break of day we saw the prince's standard display'd there in token of our victory; which, however, we had purchased at a dear rate, being even then much exposed to the enemy's shot from three bastions. Upon a general muster we found two hundred and ninety wounded, eighty sick, and eighty six killed; so that we had in all not above one thousand two hundred and eighty seven Europeans left fit for service. However, *John Maatzuyker*, a lieutenant, brought a supply of seventy five men into our camp, and thirty more from *Candy*; besides these lieutenant *Didelof* was posted with sixty six men at *Milagre*, and at *Montual* sixty eight.

Among the slain were the following officers, whose names well deserve to be transmitted to posterity: *Christopher Egger*, *Jurian Gebel*, *James Viry*, *James Scherb*, *Jurian Smith*, *Paul Meno*, *Warnaer van der Heyde*. Among the wounded, major *Van der Laan* wounded by a splinter on his shoulder, and near the ear; captain *Henry Gerard Gluwingb* mortally wounded in four places; *James de With* wounded with a ten pounder in the thigh, of which he died afterwards; *Martin Scholtes* in the arm; *John Cowper* in both hands; *James Alenbier* in the leg; *Paul Ketelaer* in the hand; *John Bartels* in the belly; *Herman Wynantz*, &c.

Slain and wounded in the assault.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

*Our Cannon upon the Bastion of St. John turned against the City. The Portuguese offer to capitulate. Articles for the Surrender of the Place. The Ratification. The Portuguese march out of the City.*

*Baldæus.*  
Our cannon ready to play from the bastion of St. John.

THE 10th of *May*, having planted our cannon upon the bastion of *St. John*, against the city, the general and major *Van der Laan*, came in the afternoon to take a view of them. Soon after we saw the enemy put out a white flag, and captain *Manuel Cabreira de Pontes* delivered the following lines to major *Van der Laan*.

“CAPTAIN *Manuel Cabreira de Pontes*, the bearer hereof, comes to desire a passport for three persons of note to come into your camp, to treat with you concerning some matters of moment. God protect your excellency.

Columbo, May  
10. 1656.

*Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

Major *Van der Laan* having told him, That he would deliver it to the general, asked him, Whether he desired a formal passport in writing, or would be satisfied with his parole. The *Portuguese* officer replied, That his parole was sufficient; so they parted, and all hostilities ceased.

Within two hours after, our people were ordered to call to those in the city, and to ask them why they did not send their deputies; but they answering, That they would not come without a passport, the same was sent with all possible speed; but it being then pretty late, they excused themselves, that it was not customary to stay a night out of a fortress at such a conjuncture. Whereupon we began to fire again, till next morning about eight a-clock, being the 11th, when the deputies came into the camp, *viz. Lorenzo Feriera de Britto*, late captain-major of *Puntegale*, *Hieronimo de Luzena Tavares*, late *Viador das Fazendas*, i. e. sur-intendant of the merchants in *Columbo*, and *Diego Leitaon de Souza*, secretary of the city, who delivered to the council the following articles:

Articles proposed by those of Columbo.

I. THAT a cessation of arms shall be agreed on till the 20th of *May* next, in order to see the issue of the expected succours, which if it arrives before that time, and is strong enough to raise the siege, this treaty shall be of no effect. In the mean time, no correspondence or commerce is to be allowed on either side, except what is done by messengers; for the performance

whereof, hostages are to be given on both sides.

II. In case of a surrender of the city, the churches and images shall not be defiled, and the priests and friars shall have full liberty to take along with them, without any molestation, all the images, relics, sacred vessels, silver lamps, and other church ornaments, belonging to the performance of divine service, not excepting the moveables belonging to each clergyman in particular.

III. The governor and deputy-governor, *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, and *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, as likewise the son of *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, shall be treated with all due respect and civility, and have full liberty to leave the city, with all their moveables, gold, silver, rings, jewels, servants, *Portuguese* pages, and slaves of both sexes; and to remain in their houses till they imbarck, under the special protection of the general, who shall be obliged to provide them (for their money) with provisions during their stay here, and with necessaries for their voyage, as likewise with convenient shipping for themselves and their families, with able seamen, arms, ammunition, and what else may be requisite for that purpose, whenever the same shall be required.

IV. The major of the city, captain-major of the garison, and serjeant-major, and the late deceased captain's family, shall receive the same treatment.

V. The captains of foot, reformado's, and other officers, of what degree soever, shall march out with all the marks of honour, ensigns displayed, matches lighted, balls in the mouth, and with their baggage, and shall be provided with shipping to transport them beyond sea, to the *Indian* shore: they are in the mean while to be maintained by the *Dutch* general, out of the superplus of the money belonging to the king of *Portugal*, or for want of such, at his own charge, or of the company, till the time of their transportation, and they shall not be molested, either by sea or land.

VI. The *Ovidor*, judge, and other officers of the exchequer, the head-factor, alcade-major, or chief magistrate, and the farmers of the king's demesns, shall enjoy the same favour granted to the major of the city.

VII. All

*Baldæus.* VII. All gentlemen, cavaliers, and the chiefest citizens and inhabitants, shall have liberty to challenge the same conditions granted to the city-major; and, if any of them are inclined to remain under the jurisdiction of the *Hollanders*, they shall be left undisturbed in the full possession of their houses, estates, villages, and every thing belonging to them, and be treated in all other respects like the natives of *Holland*. For the free exercise of their religion, they shall have a church, with a convenient number of clergymen allowed them; and if hereafter any of them shall think fit to go to some other part of the *Indies*, they shall be at liberty to sell both their real and personal estates, or otherwise dispose of them without molestation. They shall also be provided with shipping at the publick charge, except such as have ships of their own, who shall be free to traffick where they please, paying the usual customs.

VIII. All foreign merchants, both *Europeans* and negroes, that were come to *Columbo* to traffick, shall be free to depart with their vessels, goods, gold, silver, and other merchandizes, bought up here, especially the cinnamon bought for the king or the city's use, whether aboard a ship, or not. Provisions shall be likewise provided them for their money, and a safe retreat; and in case they stand in need of seamen, they shall be supplied with them.

IX. The negro inhabitants, both married and unmarried, and even the foreigners, of what condition soever, shall enjoy the same freedom granted to the *Portuguese* citizens.

X. All the *Modeliars*, *Aratches*, and *Lascaryns*, that have hitherto been in the king of *Portugal's* service, (notwithstanding they have left the service of the company, or of his majesty,) shall be at liberty to depart with their moveables whither they please.

XI. XII. *Simon Lopes de Basto*, a *Portuguese* by birth, but since in the service of the *Dutch*, shall be pardoned for his offence in coming over to us, and be free to depart in company of the governor. Likewise all *Dutch* deserters that have taken service in the city, shall not be molested, but have liberty to march out along with our forces.

XIII. All sick and wounded soldiers, or inhabitants, shall be entertained there at the charge of the company, (if the surplus of the king's money proves insufficient,) till they recover their health, and afterwards provided with conveniences for their transportation.

XIV. Upon the surrender of the city, after the *Dutch* are put in possession thereof, their general shall take effectual care that no affront or mischief be done to the governors, other persons of note, soldiers, and

inhabitants, and their families, but the same shall be protected by the said general, as well within as without the city, against all violences from the king of *Candy's* forces.

Sign'd, *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*.

After mature deliberation in the council, the following articles were, in answer to the former, delivered the 12th to the three deputies, in the name of his imperial majesty of *Ceylon*, their high and mightinesses the states-general of the *United Provinces*, the governors of the *East-India* company, and of *John Maatzuyker* governor-general, and the council of the *Indies*.

THE city shall be surrendered this day before noon, without any further delay, upon the following conditions.

*Articles granted to the Portuguese.*

What was desired in the second article, in relation to the clergy, is granted, and two places shall be appointed for them to be in till their departure.

To the third article it is answered, That it is not in the power of the general to have the governors, &c. transported at this time to *Tutecoryn* or *Manaar*, but that it shall be done with the first conveniency, or else to *Cochin* or *Wingurla*. But in case they have a mind to be transported to the other shore, the same shall be performed by some of the company's ships, within fifteen days after the date hereof. They are allowed to carry along with them all their slaves of both sexes, and those belonging to the governor's son, *Christovaon de Souza*, in hopes that they will not take any but their own, as likewise all their moveables, gold, silver, rings, and jewels; and they shall be protected in their houses till the time of their departure.

The officers mentioned in the fourth article shall be treated according to their respective dignities, and be protected against all harm. They may take along with them their gold, silver, clothing, and what else they carry about them; but as to their slaves of both sexes, they shall be considered according to their respective qualities. In what they carry about them, shall be comprehended beds and bed-clothes, hangings, tapestry, bolsters, quilts, &c. The officers and reformadoes shall march out with the usual marks of honour, and be transported to the coast of *Coromandel*, with as much of their moveables as their slaves or other servants (allotted them by the general's favour) shall be able to carry.

The soldiers shall march out with their baggage, colours displayed, matches lighted, ball in their mouth, and drums beating to the general's quarters, where they shall surrender their arms under the great stand-

*Baldæus*. dard, and from thence, with the first conveniency, be transported into *Europè*. Such as are married or born in the *Indies* shall be transported to the coast of *Coromandel*, and be maintained till the time of their departure at the charge of the company.

The officers mentioned in the sixth article shall partake of the same favour granted to other persons of note; the city-major and head-factor to be comprehended in the same.

All such as intend to submit to the jurisdiction of the *Dutch* shall be civilly and favourably treated, and remain in the quiet possession of their estates; but in case they have a mind to depart, their goods are left to the discretion of the general.

The chiefest of the citizens and married *Portuguese*, with their children, who are not inclinable to stay in this isle, shall, at the time of their departure, receive the same treatment as the officers; but the natives of the isle shall be left to the disposition of the general.

The *Modeliars*, *Aratches*, and *Lascaryns*, shall receive the same treatment as the *Dutch* deserters.

All sick and wounded persons, whether inhabitants or soldiers, now in the hospital, or any other place of the city, shall stay there till the recovery of their healths, and be furnished with what they desire.

All the officers, inhabitants, soldiers, and unmarried women, shall be protected by the general against all violences and oppressions.

The general does also agree, That if any ships approach the city for its relief betwixt this and the 30th of *May*, notice shall be given them of its surrender, with orders to depart, and shall be protected, at least, till they are out of sight of *Columbo*. The 11th of *May* 1656.

Signed,

*Adrian van der Meyden,*  
*Peter de Bitter,*  
*Ysbrand Gotskens,*  
*John van der Laan,*  
*Edward Ooms,*

I *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor-general for the *Dutch East-India* company in the isle of *Ceylon*, with the rest of the members of the council, promise and engage, by these presents, That, in case the deputies bring back this capitulation, approved as such by the governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* and his council, we will punctually observe all the articles contained therein, without the least limitation or exception; and further grant such favours as are in our power to allow of. In confirmation whereof

we have, in conjunction with the said deputies, signed the same in the *Dutch* camp before *Columbo*, the 12th of *May* 1656.

Signed on our side by

*Adrian van der Meyden,*  
*Peter de Bitter,*  
*Ysbrand Gotskens,*  
*John van der Laan,*  
*Edward Ooms,*  
*John Hartman.*

On the enemy's side by

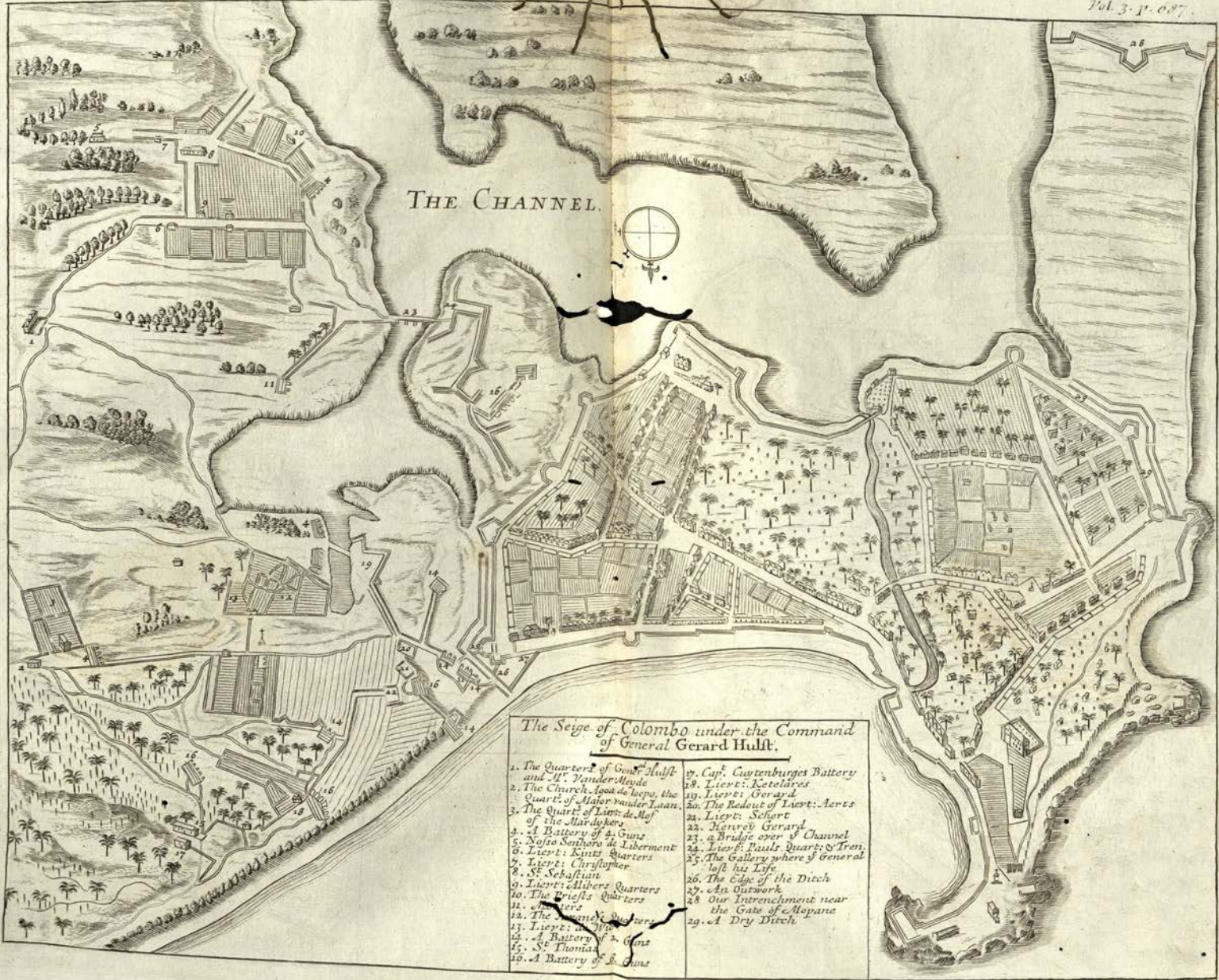
*Antonio de Souza Coutinho,*  
*Francisco de Melo de Castro,*  
*Antonio de Silva,*  
*Gaspar de Ronga Pereira,*  
*Laurenzo Ferreira de Britto,*  
*Hieronimo de Luzena Tavares,*  
*Diego Leitaon de Souza.*

In the morning about nine a clock the deputies returned with the capitulation approved and signed as before, with a letter of intercession from the governor and deputy-governor for *Simon Lopes*, who had deserted our service. The capitulation being signed once more, and the council dismissed, *Ysbrand Gotskens* and *James van der Rbee* our secretary of war, were immediately after dinner sent into the city, to demand the keys from the two *Portuguese* governors, and to take account of all the arms, ammunition, and provisions, as also to settle certain matters concerning the marching out of the troops pursuant to the capitulation.

Accordingly there marched out of the place *Antonio de Melo de Castro* captain-major at the head of the king's troops, consisting in fourteen companies, and thirty six captains, (called *Reformadoes* by the *Portuguese*,) with their ensigns displayed, drums beating, matches lighted, and ball in the mouth, marching through our forces ranged on both sides, to the general's quarters, where having surrendered their arms, they were conducted to the place prepared for their lodging that night. These were followed by the citizens, sick, wounded, and cripples. In the mean while their chief engineer discovered to two of our deputies four mines on the side of the bastion of *Rajuba*, betwixt the bastions *St. Stephen* and *Clergos*, each whereof being filled with four barrels of gunpowder, the trains were removed, and sentinels placed near them.

This done, our forces marched into the city, followed by the general major *Van der Laan*, and the rest of the head officers. Near the sea-shore, not far from the bastion of *Couras*, the governor and deputy-governor (both





THE CHANNEL.



*The Siege of Colombo under the Command  
of General Gerard Hulst.*

- |                                                                    |                                                 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1. The Quarters of Genl. Hulst<br>and Lt. Vanderheyde              | 17. Capt. Caytenburgs Battery                   |
| 2. The Church, Spout de Toepo, the<br>Quart. of Major Vander Lian. | 18. Lieut. Ketelares                            |
| 3. The Quarters of Lieut. de Mes<br>of the Mar-dekers              | 19. Lieut. Gerard                               |
| 4. A Battery of 4 Guns                                             | 20. The Redout of Lieut. Aeres                  |
| 5. Nofio Sanchoro de Libermont                                     | 21. Lieut. Selgort                              |
| 6. Lieut. Kruys Quarters                                           | 22. Henry Gerard                                |
| 7. Lieut. Christoffer                                              | 23. a Bridge over of Channel                    |
| 8. St. Sebastien                                                   | 24. Lieut. Pauls Quarters & Tren                |
| 9. Lieut. Allibers Quarters                                        | 25. The Gallery where General<br>lost his Life  |
| 10. The Priests Quarters                                           | 26. The Siege of the Ditch                      |
| 11. The Priests Quarters                                           | 27. An Outwork                                  |
| 12. The Priests Quarters                                           | 28. Our Intrenchment near<br>the Gate of Mopane |
| 13. Lieut. de Wille                                                | 29. a Dry Ditch                                 |
| 14. A Battery of 2 Guns                                            |                                                 |
| 15. St. Thomas                                                     |                                                 |
| 16. A Battery of 2 Guns                                            |                                                 |





*Baldæus.* Both venerable aged *Portuguese* came with their retinue to salute the general. After some compliments on both sides, orders were given to our forces where to take their posts, and to disarm all the *Lascaryns* in the city. Towards evening the prince's standard was planted in the water-fort, and the great cannon discharged round the place as a signal of our victory. Thus the city of *Columbo*, not inferior in strength to most of

*Baldæus.* *Europe*, fell into the hands of our nation, after she had been one hundred and fifty years in the possession of the *Portuguese*. In acknowledgment of which a thanksgiving-day was appointed the funday following, being the 14th of *May*, which was celebrated accordingly, and the thanksgiving sermon was preached by the reverend *Francis Wyn-garten* in the church of *St. Francis*, since called the *Town Church*. *A thanksgiving sermon.*

An Account of the Siege of *Columbo*, taken from their own Journals; and (for the publick Good) communicated to the Author by *Matthæus van den Broek*, formerly a Member of the Council of the *Indies*, now Governor of the *East-India* Company. Faithfully translated from the *Portuguese*.

A true Account of the Siege of *Columbo*, carried on by *Raja Singa*, King of *Candy* and the *Hollanders*, till the Surrender of that Fortrefs under *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho* Captain General in the *Ile* of *Ceylon*.

IN the month of *September* 1655. ten *Dutch* ships came to an anchor near *Negumbo*, two more being out at some distance at sea, having landed eleven companies of *Europeans* of eighty men each; and being joined by a good number of negroes, they marched to the pass of *Betal*, but, by reason of the violent rains, were forced to return to *Negumbo*. Mr. *Gerard Hulst*, the *Dutch* general, having reimarked his forces with some others taken out of *Negumbo*, failed with the before-mentioned twelve ships to *Columbo*, where much about the same time we had received a supply of provisions in three galliots sent from *Cochin* by the brave and faithful *Simon Gomes de Silva*, governor of that place. Our governor *Coutinho* took part of the rice, in order to carry it to *Caleture*, where they stood in great need of it, but was prevented in his design by the shallowness of the river. The 22d of *September* we received another supply from *Tutecoryn*, consisting in twenty eight sail, under the command of *Nicholas de Moura*, the fleet being chiefly laden on the account of private merchants.

The enemy having left six of their best ships before *Columbo*, failed with the rest to *Caleture*; whereupon our governor gave orders to captain *Gaspar Figueira de Serpe*, then encamped upon the frontiers of the king of *Candy*, to come to *Columbo*, which he did accordingly *October* 7.

Without the city were at that time encamped the famous dissave *Francisco Antunes* towards *Mature*, and *Alvares Rodrigo Borralbo*, sent out with three companies to get intelligence of the enemy, who, from the 23d of *September* to the 15th of *October*, laid before *Caleture*, and had raised three batteries against it.

Our governor being sensible of the condition of the place, sent thither a convoy of provisions, commanded by *Nicholas de Moura*, under a good guard of *Europeans* and negroes, landed by *Manoel de Gil*, dissave of *Negumbo*, who has so often signalized himself in our king's service in the isle of *Ceylon*. This brave man attempting to pass the river with twelve of his choicest men, (the boat holding no more,) was so warmly received by some of the enemies forces, that, after they had killed several of his men with their fire-arms, he was forced to retire; the commander in chief followed his footsteps, contrary to the opinion of captain *Domingo Coelbo de Alla*, who would fain have persuaded him to advance as near as he could to *Caleture*, to incommode the enemy in the siege. Upon this occasion *Alvares Rodrigo Borralbo* did considerable service, in sending intelligence from time to time of what passed, till at last this whole body came back to the city.

It being then resolved to succour *Caleture* to the utmost of our power, and four galliots being at the same time arrived from the viceroy of *Goa*, we made up a body of six hundred *Portuguese*, the command whereof was committed to *Gaspar Figueira* to attempt the relief of the place in conjunction with some *Cingalese*, notwithstanding the enemy's force consisted of three thousand *Europeans*, besides a good number of *Bandanese* and *Cingalese* sent to their assistance by the king of *Candy*.

Accordingly *Gaspar Figueira* encamped with his troops the 16th of *October* two leagues from *Caleture*, having received advice before, that the enemy were already possessed of the pass on this side, and had posted three companies there. Pursuant to this

*Baldæus*. this intelligence he ordered six companies, under the command of *Domingo Sarmiento* and *Francisco Antunes*, to attack the enemy in the night, which they did accordingly with incredible bravery for a considerable time, but very indifferent success; for instead of being engaged with three companies of eighty men each, (as they supposed,) they found the enemy much superior in number, to charge them so furiously both in front and flank, that they were put into confusion, with great slaughter, before they could recollect themselves. *Figueira* being by this time come up with the rest of his forces, unadvisedly attacked the enemy a second time; but these opening their ranks on both sides, discharged two cannon among our forces, which occasioned such a confusion, that the enemy improving their advantage, once more put us to flight. *Figueira* and his lieutenant *Manoel Cabreira* were for trying their fortune once more; but finding the flower of their forces either slain or dispersed, and no means left to make them return to the charge, they thought fit to retreat and bring off their wounded men; among whom were *Sebastian Pereira*, and *Joseph Antunes*, the only two that escaped alive of eleven captains. Of the reformadoes, *John Cordeiro*, *Manoel Fernandes de Miranda*, *Manoel de Santjago Garcia*, with two hundred common soldiers came off alive.

*Figueira routed.*

Consternation occasioned by this defeat at Columbo.

This ill success caused an unspeakable consternation in the city of *Columbo*, where there was nothing to be heard but outcries and lamentations in the streets; the shops were shut up, and the gates kept close, with strict orders that no body should appear armed without doors. The next thing to be done, was to give an account of their present ill condition to the viceroy of *Goa*; and the same being (at their earnest request) committed to the care of *Damian Vieira*, a jesuit, and *Manoel Saraiva*, an inhabitant of *Manaar*, the last of these two went no further than from *Columbo* to *Manaar*, from whence he dispatched the letters to *Antonio Amiral de Menezes* at *Jafnapatnam*, a neglect that deserved a very severe punishment.

By this time the hospital was filled with the sick and wounded soldiers, where brother *Golsal*, an *Austin* frier, did both the duty of a devout, religious, and charitable layman. The number of those that died here for want of good looking after, being scarce inferior to what was lost in the engagement.

On the other hand, the *Dutch* had purchased this victory with very little loss on their side; notwithstanding which, major *Van der Laan* (a mortal enemy of the *Portuguese*, and a zealous heretick) having received a wound in the cheek, took a most

barbarous revenge from all the *Portuguese* he met with, who were all massacred in the woods (sometimes twenty and thirty together) by his orders in cool blood, he having been often heard to say, *That if the Portuguese were at his disposal, he would cut them all off at one stroke.* Their general *Mr. Hulst*, being of a more compassionate temper, ordered quarter to be given to the new-listed forces; but this heretick told him, *That they ought to be cut to pieces, in retaliation of what they did to the Dutch, whom they never gave any quarter: however; through the general's mercy above sixty of the new-listed men had their lives given them.* In this engagement the brave *Francisco Antunes*, who had rendered his name so famous in *Ceylon* by his many victories, also lost his life in a wood, who deserved to have had a *Mausolæum* erected to his memory.

Thus the enemy by this victory becoming master of the field, afterwards soon made himself master of the whole island of *Ceylon*, the city of *Columbo* (after the loss of *Caleture*) expecting no less than to be reduced to the utmost extremity: for after they had endured for some days all the inconveniences of hunger in *Caleture*, *Antonio Mendes d' Aranba* represented to his soldiers, *That they had rather try the utmost, than to perish for want of food, exhorting them to fight their way with sword-in-hand through the enemy.* He prevailed at last so far with them, as to agree with him in his resolutions; but the appointed time approaching, they found themselves so enfeebled for want of good food, that not being able to put their design in execution, they were forced to surrender, upon condition that they should march out with their arms, &c. Thus the king of *Portugal* lost at once a strong fortress, one of his most experienced officers in the whole isle, and two hundred and fifty choice men, through the mismanagement of some who preferred their own interest before that of his majesty.

The 17th of *October* the enemy marching directly to *Columbo*, posted themselves in sight of the city near *St. Sebastian*, where *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, the then governor, together with *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, ordered immediately some works to be cast up, to hinder their approach: but the 18th they were so vigorously attacked in these intrenchments, that they had enough to do to escape to the city, and to cut down the bridges behind them.

We then applied our selves to the strengthening of our batteries, whilst the enemy killed all they met with without the city, and immediately fell to the raising of their batteries; which was no difficult task for them to do, being backed by an army of twenty

*Baldæus*  
This must be looked upon as a calumny.

*Surrender*  
of *Caleture*.  
The garrison was kept in prison at *Gale*.

The *Dutch* come before *Columbo*.

*Baldæus* or thirty thousand men under *Raja Singa* king of *Candy*, and furnished by him with pioneers and other necessaries in abundance.

*The several posts assigned upon the bastions.*

Our governor and *Francisco de Melo de Castro* did leave no stone unturned for the defence of the city; they visited the magazines and armouries, and furnished with arms all such as were capable of bearing them, not excepting even the old men and school-boys. The posts on the bastions were assigned to the following commanders: on the bastion of *St. John*, *Manoel Correa de Barros*; on that of *St. Sebastian*, *Francisco Gorian de Fialbo*; on that of *Madre de Deos*, *John de Pavia de Quintal*; on that of *St. Conception*, *Domingos Peixoto*; on that of *St. Hieronymo*, *Alphonso Carvalho de Souza*; on that of *St. Antonio*, *Manoel Carvalho de Maya*; on that of *St. Jacob*, *Manoel Nunes*; on that of *St. Austin*, *Luis de Paiva Quintal*; on that of *St. Laurence*, *Antonio de Silva*; on that of *St. Crus*, *Caspar d' Aranja Pereira*; on that of *St. Francisco Xaverio*, *Manoel Caldeira de Brito*; and on that of *Galvoca*, *Dominges Pires*; who all gave sufficient proofs of their bravery in their respective posts during the siege, as did likewise father *Damian Vieira* a jesuit, especially in the attack upon the garden of *Antonio de Mota*, and some houses standing upon an eminency at *St. Thomas*, in which, though they were repulsed the first time, yet the next day our forces, commanded by *Alvaro Rodrigo* and *Manoel Caldeira*, being seconded by some companies posted on the other side of the ditch, made themselves masters of it, being of no small conveniency to us, to hinder the approach of the enemy.

Notwithstanding this the enemy advanced apace under favour of their artillery, of which they brought great store daily from their ships. And on our side we found the bastion of *St. John* most exposed, we strengthened the same with masts, earth, and fascines; we made also a covered way from the wall to the brink of the ditch; the same was done near the bastions of *St. Sebastian* and *Rajuba*, both clergy-men and lay-men, without distinction of persons, imploying themselves in this work, and furnishing materials for so useful work, especially *Caspar Figueira de Serpe*, who having great store of baskets, spades, and other such like instruments, sacrificed them all for the publick service.

*The enemy play from their batteries.*

The 20th of *October* the enemy began to salute us with twelve great pieces of cannon from three batteries, viz. three from that of *St. Thomas*, five from that at *Agua de Lupbe*, and four from that of *St. Sebastian*, from whence they sent eight hundred bullets, eighteen, twenty, twenty-four, and twenty-eight pounders, in one day into the city. But though the enemies bullets did considerable execution, some of the king's unfaithful servants did more mischief by intro-

ducing adulterated coin, and engrossing the provisions, under pretence of the king's service, for their own lucre's sake.

There were at that time not above one thousand three hundred souls, young and old, *Europeans* and *Indians*, viz. five hundred that received pay, and among them, some married, some unmarried, some children and *Topasses*; three hundred married people who served without pay, four hundred *Lascaryns*, and about sixty labourers; the whole number of the *Europeans* not amounting to above five hundred men. The governor, with the consent of the whole city, pitched upon *Antonio d' Abreu*, an inhabitant of *Ne-gapatnam*, to be sent to *Goa*, to give an account to the viceroy of the city. He was favourably received by the viceroy, who told him, that he had already sent a squadron under *Manoel de Magalbais Coutinho*, to carry a supply of provisions and men thither, brought together for that purpose by *Antonio Amiral de Meneses* at *Manaar*. But this convoy came no farther than the cape *Comoryn*, and could not make the cape, though some were of opinion it was rather for want of will; so he returned to *Columbo*, where the viceroy being dead in the mean while, the whole face of affairs was changed, and *Columbo* lost for want of timely supply.

*Number of people in the city.*

*Antonio d' Abreu sent to Goa, to give an account of the condition of Columbo.*

The before-mentioned three batteries being raised above two hundred paces from our walls, they erected another against the bastion of *St. John*, within four hundred paces of it, from whence they battered us most furiously with three demi-cannon. Immediately after, one of our engineers, a *Hollander* by birth, named *John de Rosa*, deserted to the enemy: 'tis true, he was no great conjurer in his art, yet did us considerable mischief. For the enemies batteries played so furiously upon our out-works, that in two days time they were all laid level with the ground, and our bastions and walls were so forely battered, that with much ado we could stop the breaches, which was done by continual and indefatigable labour, each soldier and officer employing the intervals they had, when they were not upon duty, in working like the meanest labourer.

*One of our engineers deserts.*

The governor *Antonio Coutinho* spent day and night in visiting the works, animating his soldiers both in words and his example, leaving his habitation, and contenting himself with a small tent near the bastion of *St. John*, where the enemies made their greatest effort. Afterwards he took up his quarters in a warehouse, scarce undressing himself all the time the siege lasted, and employed much of his time in keeping an exact account of the stores, and distributing provisions with his own hands, without which precaution the city could not have held out half so long. *Francisco de Melo de Castro*

*Care and conduct of the governor.*

*Baldens* followed his footsteps, having not been seen without his clothes and arms for seven months together. The city-major *Manoel Marques Gorjaon* did assist them in his station, as did likewise *Caspar Figueira de Serpe*, the disflaves of the *Corles* of *Negumbo*, and of *Mature*, *John Coelbo de Castro*, *Manoel Gil*, *Manoel Seixas*, and *John Banba*, who were present in all places where there was the most danger to encounter. The clergy, but especially the capuchins, were very assiduous in confessing the soldiers, in praying and doing all manner of good offices, without intermission; and some of them would not be backward in being upon the guard with the soldiery, and give the enemies ample proofs of their valour.

The enemy thundered so furiously against the bastion of *St. John*, that it appeared like a heap of rubbish; then they turned their fury against the horn-work of *St. Stephen*, and the adjacent point; but *Manoel da Veiga*, the commanding officer on the bastion of *St. Stephen*, *Francisco Gorian Fialbo*, *John Ferrao d'Abreu*, *Gonzal Martinho Piemental*, *Manoel Carvalho*, and others employed in the defence of the works towards *St. Sebastian*, were indefatigable in repairing the breaches, and rendering the bastions tolerably defensible.

Bravery of the besieged.

*Hieronymo Lucena* shewed the same care in the bastion of *Madre de Deos*, till he was relieved by *Lewis Tavera de Cunha*; and the wall which extended towards *St. Sebastian* being found very weak, the general recommended the defence thereof to the four captains of the *Galliois* lately come from *Goa*. These ordered an intrenchment to be made there of a hundred and fifty yards long, one broad, and six foot high. Father *Damian Vieira*, the jesuit, being employed in furthering this work, a bullet taking away a great piece of the wall, struck him on the head, so that he fell dead upon the ground; but soon recovering himself, he fell to his work again, his servant constantly attending him with a sword and fusée, wherewith he did considerable execution, being commonly one of the foremost in charging the enemy. Finding that the bastion of *Xaverius* (otherwise called *Couras*) began also to be sorely battered by the enemy, the care thereof was committed to an old famous soldier, *Manoel Radrigos Franco*, who soon put it out of all danger.

The city summoned to surrender.

The 29th of *November* the *Dutch* general, *Gerard Hulst*, sent a drummer, with a white flag, with a messenger into the city, to summon our governor to a surrender, who delaying his answer till next day, the nemy fired most furiously with his cannon all that night; but the next morning went *Diego de Souza de Castro*, and *Thomas Pereira Leite* with an answer, the last perso-

nating a drummer, in order to get some intelligence of the condition of the enemy but they were upon their guard, and therefore sent a captain and a lieutenant, attended by two soldiers, to receive our governor's letter, wherein he told the general, That he wanted neither will nor power to defend the place to the utmost for his king's service, being still sufficiently provided with powder and ball, and other necessaries; and to add the more weight to his words, we fired most furiously all that night.

The *Dutch* repaid us in the same coin, sending us commonly a present of eight hundred cannon-ball, and nine hundred granadoes every day. The 12th of *November* they celebrated the feast of *St. Martin*, the pope, by a new invention of fireballs, whereof they sent a good number into the city, and seconded the game by a general assault. For early in the morning, three of their stoutest ships appearing in sight of the city, one of them, called the *Mara of Enchuyser*, entered the harbour, carrying the red flag in her stern; and coming to an anchor within musquet-shot of the bastion of *St. Crus*, gave us several warm salutes, under the found of drums and trumpets; but *Manoel d'Abreu Godinho* and *Antonio de Silva*, the commanding officers on the bastion of *St. Laurence*, did ply them thick with their cannon, that having first brought by the board all her masts, they made soon after so many holes in her sides, that she was ready to sink, and a few of her crew made hard shift to escape in their long-boat. The other two ships seeing the other so ill treated, did not think fit to follow her footsteps, but made the best of their way to the road, alledging in their behalf, that they were not able to come up with the other.

General assault given upon Colombo.

At the same time they attempted the assault on the land side. Mr. *John van der Laan* assaulted, with seven companies, the gate of *Acouras*, advancing boldly with sword in hand to the very faces of our people, the foremost of which began to give way, and in all likelihood the rest would have followed their example, had not father *Antonio Nunes*, a jesuit, with his drawn sword, threatened such as were ready to fly with present death, nay, his comrade, *John Cordeiro*, wounded one of his soldiers, as he was flying, with his long rapier. Soon after *Caspar Figueira de Serpe* coming with fresh supplies, this so animated our soldiers, that they not only stopped the enemies fury, but also made them give way in a little while after. In this action an ensign and serjeant acquired immortal honour, and *Manoel d'Almeida*, though a very old soldier, yet did not leave his post till he had received eleven wounds. *Felicia de Seixas* and *Contrao de Seixas* lost their lives with their swords

*Baldæus* swords in their hands; *Manoel Guerreiro*, i. e. the warrior, did great service with his cannon from his redoubt, he being an expert cannoneer.

*The Dutch repulsed.* Major *Van der Laan* seeing there was no likelihood of succeeding, founded a retreat, leaving the ground covered with the dead carcasses of the *Hollanders*. The enemy received also considerable damage from the tower where *Diego de Souza de Castro* commanded, and no question much more might have been expected, had we been provided with good gunners; for it must be confessed that we wanted not officers of courage and experience, but only such as understood the mathematicks and the art of gunnery; an instance of which might be given in one of our gunners, who having double charged a cannon, did wound one of our captains, and two others, viz. *Thomas Ferreira Leite* and *Pedro Gonçalves Salgado*; though for the rest, their fidelity ought not to be passed by in silence, it having been observed, that not one of our cannoneers deserted to the enemy, but most of them lost their lives in the service.

*Not one Portuguese cannoneer deserted.*

The gate of *Rajuba* was attacked with eight hundred choice men by general *Hulst* in person, who endeavoured to mount the walls with scaling-ladders. As they passed the bridge, they were sorely galled from the bastions of *St. Stephen*, *St. Sebastian*, and that of *Madre de Deos*, the defence whereof being committed to *Rodrigo Boralbo*, *Antonio de Mota d'Oliveira*, and *Manoel Cabreira de Ponte*, they gave such a hot salute with their firelocks from behind their pallisado works to the *Hollanders*, that many of them were laid dead upon the ground. A certain cannon of stone did them considerable damage, and would have done more, had it not burst in pieces. Three times they renewed the assault with incredible fury; and as often were they repulsed with an unspeakable bravery. At last, general *Hulst*, to encourage his men, cried out aloud, *Soldiers, the prince's standard is set upon the bastion of St. John*, (which in effect was not so,) and so with a curse, (*Sante Diabo*, i. e. holy devil,) he snatched a ladder out of a fellow's hand, but finding no body ready to follow him, whilst he was encouraging his men, and fixing his ladder to the very gate, he was wounded in the thigh, and so forced to retreat. On the side of the lake, or fens, (called *Lagoa* by the *Portuguese*;) two hundred and forty men were embarked in eight *Chinese* boats brought from *Batavia*, for that purpose. They were met by *Domingos Coelho d'Alba* in five *Maucohs*, or barges, who fought with them courageously for some time, but was forced at last to suffer them to land, but retired into a pallisado work near *Maria Telles*, from whence

he, with *Sebastian Caldeira*, and five or six more (the rest being run away) fired briskly upon the *Hollanders*, who at last finding a hole or gate near the house of *Sebastian Caldeira*, they forced their way, notwithstanding the brave resistance made by *Manoel Rodrigues Franco*, *Guardian de Varo*, and *Francisco Rebello de Palfares*, who sent a good quantity of hand-granadoes and fire-balls among them, the said *Guardian* having received two wounds by musquet-balls. The *Dutch* forcing their way into a narrow street, were there met by *Manoel Fernandes de Miranda*, who, though sorely wounded, yet continued fighting with his sword and buckler, till exhausted of his strength by the loss of blood, he was ready to drop, and would infallibly have died upon the spot, had not *Francisco de Lemos* carried him off. In his place succeeded *Diego Leitao de Souza*, who discharging a musquetoon on the corner of a street among the *Dutch*, made them halt; the same was done by father *Damian Vieira*, the jesuit, who with another musquetoon made such a havoc among the enemy, that these two stopped their farther progress, till *Antonio de Leao* appeared at the head of a good troop of soldiers; he being provided with another musquetoon, charged the enemy so briskly, (as they were endeavouring to break into the backside of some gardens,) that they were forced to retreat back into the narrow street, where he maintained the fight (though his musquetoon, by reason of its being too frequently charged, struck him down to the ground) till *Antonio de Melo de Castro* came with his whole company to his relief, when after some firing, quarter being offered to the remnants of the *Dutch*, they accepted of the same; so that seventy four, though most of them wounded, were made prisoners of war, whereof eight only returned into the *Dutch* camp afterwards, the rest dying in the city, many whereof were converted to the catholic faith, by the indefatigable care of the jesuits, and especially of *Damian Vieira*.

This was the success of the general assault begun early in the morning, and not ended till two in the afternoon, during which the governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* and *Francisco de Melo de Castro* kept in person the guard, with some other officers of note, in the market-place, from whence they dispatched their orders, as occasion required. The city-major, *Manoel Marques Garian*, did likewise appear in all places where the danger was most pressing; and *Caspar Figueira* was very careful in sending what succours he could spare from the bastion of *St. John*. In short, the streets, breaches, the lane, and ditch, were all tainted with the blood of the *Hollanders*, and the

*Baldæus*. the ground covered with colours, arms, drums, scaling-ladders, and dead carcases, their loss being computed at no less than a thousand men, and among them many brave officers. On our side we had not above thirty men killed, though the enemy, to dissemble their loss, gave us a general salvo of at least a thousand musquets. The next day father *Damian Vieira* going without the walls, in order to bury the dead, was saluted by three firelocks from the enemy, which made him retire, and defer his charitable resolution till the next following night. We observed a black flag in one of their works, as a signal, that they would give quarter to no body without exception, the same order having been given them likewise before the assault begun. We got no less than thirty pieces of cannon out of the ship that lay under the water-fort, which were planted on our works. Some refreshments were also distributed among the soldiers, though, to confess the truth, the publick stores being very low, every one provided for himself as well as he could, without any regard to the poor soldiers. However, about eighteen days after father *Damian* (by order from the general) went with some Dutch prisoners aboard the vessel, where they found some casks of wine, and some meat and bacon.

*Some provision taken out of the Dutch vessel.*

In the mean time the enemies were not idle, but daily increased their works: they made a covered way, within forty paces of *St. John's* bastion from west to the east, in form of a redoubt, upon which they planted six great guns, viz. three against the bastion of *St. John*, and the other three against that of *St. Stephen*. From thence they carried on their trenches to the sea-side, from south to north, closed with another redoubt, which being provided with two pieces of cannon, much annoyed the wall betwixt the bastion of *Couras* and *St. John*. This made the governor *Coutinho* order some of the citizens to raise a kind of an intrenchment of about two foot thick and three high, behind it. From the second redoubt the enemy carried on their trenches into the open field; and at last added a third redoubt, from whence they could batter the wall betwixt the bastions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*; which being likewise forced to be strengthened by some works of earth and fascines, no body, not even the governor himself, were sparing in laying hand to so useful a work, which being four hundred ells in length, each division had its share allotted, in order to bring it the sooner to perfection.

*Domingo Coelho d'Ala*, assisted by *Caspar d'Aranja Pereira*, *John d'Andrade Machado*, and *Don Francisco Rolim*, all inhabitants of

the city, did great service with their slaves, *Baldæus*, in the *Manchous*, or boats, in protecting our workmen on that side, as well as the slaves; and, to be short, there was no body so young, no body so old, that was exempted from continual labour or watching.

The *Dutch*, on the other hand, carried on the trenches from the redoubt with six guns, to the hill of *Aqua de Lupe*, and made another trench from the redoubt in the plain, which was to meet another redoubt thrown up on the front of the bastion of *St. Stephen*, beyond the lake or fens. They also raised another battery in the garden of *Antonio de Mota*, against the bastion of *St. Stephen*, and another near the before-mentioned redoubt of six guns, in a parallel with that in the plain, and another just at the foot of the bastion of *St. Crus*, which being so near the ditch, was likely to be a thorn in our eye, there being nothing but the ditch betwixt us and the enemy, so that we could throw stones at them, and often talked with one another.

About the same time *Caspar Figueira de Figueira Serpe*, desired leave to lay down his commission, not to shun the danger or trouble of his station, but because many of the gentlemen and subaltern officers refused to obey his command; so he was discharged, and *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, nephew to the late governor *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, who had behaved himself with more than ordinary bravery in his post during the siege, put in his place.

As we shrewdly suspected the enemy to have a design of undermining the bastion of *St. Stephen*, a cavalier was ordered to be raised near it, in case the same should succeed. This was done by the contrivance of a certain *Indian* merchant, of the coast of *Coromandel*, who also ordered the redoubt, demolished since the last general assault, to be repaired. By the direction also of another certain merchant, (who was surveyor of our magazine,) a countermine was contrived, which did us great service. It was a most deplorable thing to have in such a fortress as this, not so much as one *Portuguese* engineer, nay, not so much as a *Covetousness* good carpenter of our nation, the defectness of whereof can be attributed to nothing else, *some of the officers* but to the covetousness of some of the king's officers, who put the money designed for that use into their pockets, and at the same time put it to the king's account: neither were our fortifications in such a condition as they ought to have been; for whereas we had had sufficient time to inclose that part of the city near the sea-side, called *Galvoça* (comprehending a third part of the whole) with strong walls, and to render it impregnable, by reason of the natural

*Baldæus.* natural situation thereof being accessible only in certain places in small boats, they had planted only some coco and palm-trees there, which perish, and are washed away by the waves in a short time. Thus the bastions which ought to have been faced with stone, were only made of earth, which are not durable, and easily spoiled by the water-floods; the effects whereof were then obvious enough, from the hospital to the gate of the jesuits college, which comprehends a very large tract of ground. Besides this, the carriages of our great guns were so rotten, that most of them after the first discharge broke to pieces; so that we were forced to take the wood from the houses, nay, even out of the churches (as we did in that of *St. Domingo*) to make new ones.

My pen wants words to express the affronts put upon the holy images by the heretics, whereof I will give you only one instance. They took the image of the holy apostle *St. Thomas*, and after they had cut off the nose, ears, and arms, set it up for a mark to shoot at; afterwards they knocked it full of great nails, and so shot it out of a mortar *November 16.* into our ditch, whence it was taken up and carried to the jesuits college, by father *Damian Vieira*, and two reformed officers, *Manoel de Seixas*, and *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*. But the *Franciscans* laying claim to it, they carried it in publick procession to their church, and placed it upon the high altar. Father *Francisco St. Mattheus* solemnized the day with a learned speech.

The 20th of *November* the holy *Thomas* blessed us with the arrival of a certain *Portuguese*, a native of *Aveiros*, named *Simon Lopes de Basto*, who for certain reasons being retired from *Goa* to *Wingurla*, had served among the *Dutch* in a very good station in the camp; but finding his countrymen in distress, left all and came over to us, and did us most singular service in the siege.

The enemy carried on their trenches from the foot of the bastion of *St. Crus*, to the edge of the ditch, with an intention to fix their miners under the bastion of *St. John*; but we made a countermine, and defended the ditch on the other side with a good breast-work, to secure our people against the grenades which the enemy threw in without intermission. This post being recommended to the care of *Domingos Coelbo*, he strengthened the same by pallisadoes, from whence he commanded the passage over the ditch with his fire-arms; and *Manoel Rodrigues Franco*, and *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, would often skirmish with the enemy on their own bridges; two whole companies under the said *Coelbo* and *Diego de Souza de Castro* being appointed to second them as necessity required.

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The 10th and 11th of *January* the enemy *Baldæus.* advanced to the ditch in two places, viz. through the before-mentioned breast-work, and somewhat lower: from the first place they played with a great cannon; and on the other side, having made a great breach through the wall, they threw fascines, logs of wood, baskets with earth, and such like materials into the ditch; and the better to cover their workmen, and afford an easy passage to their soldiers, they fixed their gallery: but *Emanuel Guerreiro*, at the head of his company, *Domingos Coelbo d' Alla*, *Emanuel de St. Jago Garcia*, and *Diego de Souza Castro*, did receive them so courageously, that from ten at night till break of day, there was nothing to be heard or seen but firing, both at the entrance of the mine, and from the bastion of *St. John*, from whence *Don Diego Vasconcelbos* did considerable mischief to the *Dutch* with his great cannon, who meeting with so unexpected a reception, thought fit to retire with considerable loss, leaving most of their materials behind them, which were brought into the city. We lost only two men in this action; and the *Dutch* for ever after were not so forward to come so near us, but plyed us chiefly with their cannon-balls, stones, and bombs; whereas we had but one mortar, which was useless to us (for want of expert cannoneers) till *Simon Lopes de Basto* came over to us, who now and then saluted the enemy with stones out of that mortar, who answered us briskly though most of them broke in the air, and did no other mischief but to some houses that were miserably shattered. One of the enemies bombs happening to fall entire upon the ground, *Matthias d' Albuquerque*, a native of *Goa*, standing hard by, took it up, and threw it into the next *Dutch* mine, with an unparalleled courage, with such success, that it blew up into the air immediately.

The 28th of *January* four ships arrived from *Gale*, and soon after two more, which, with the fourteen that were in the bay before, made up twenty in all. The same day the *Dutch* planted a cross upon the redoubt, called *Conception*, under the tripple discharge of their cannon and small arms. This redoubt had been made by the direction and assistance of the governor, the master of the ordnance, and several of our best officers, and the slaves. That day two new-listed men, belonging to *Don Rodrigo de Castro's* company, deserted to the enemy; and *Fernaon Martinho de Souza* the governor's son, a gentleman who had given several proofs of his courage, was unfortunately shot with a musket-ball in the head on the bastion of *St. John*, of which wound he died soon after. About the same time died also *Antonio Barboza Pinheiro*, one of our captains of the artillery, a person of indefatigable care,

*Baldæus*. care, and who had signalized himself upon many occasions, both in the field and the city.

The 1st of *February* two other new-listed foldiers of *Manoel de Veigas's* company deserted to the enemy, and the 6th nine ships returned from the bay to *Gale*. By this time we began to be reduced to great extremity for want of provisions, a little measure of rice being then sold at half a *Seraphyn*; so that we saw the poor wretches (as well *Europeans* as *Negroes*) drop down dead in the streets: the *Berbery*, bloody-flux, and spotted fevers, being grown so common, that few were free from them. To be short, we were in a constant conflict with three most dreadful enemies, the plague, hunger, and sword. To add to our affliction, the heat was so excessive for want of rain, (which usually falls in *Ceylon*;) that many were stifled for want of air, which made us drive about three hundred of these miserable creatures (unfit for service) out of the city on the 8th, who were forced to return by the *Dutch* the 9th. The 12th, five hundred *Negroes* were forced out of the city, but were sent back by the *Hollanders* the same day. The 17th we saw divers gibbets erected without our walls, on which they did hang divers of the miserable creatures that were forced out of the town. We had so many dead in the city, that we wanted room to bury them. The 19th two of our foldiers deserted; one whereof being taken, was hanged up immediately. The 23d fifty negroes (the remnants of the last five hundred) returned to the city. The 27th, the bridge made by the enemy on this side of their trenches, was set on fire from the bastion of *St. John*; but the fire was soon quenched. The 29th the besieged made a kind of a covered way, near the gate of *Rajuba*, from the bastion of *Madre de Deos*, to that of *St. Sebastian*.

The 2d of *March* our city-major was sent in a small vessel to *Manaar*, to sollicite for succours there, in case any should have been lately arrived from *Portugal*; for at *Goa* they thought of nothing less than *Ceylon*; for they did not want either men or ships to send to *Macassar* or *Mosambique*, but could find none for *Columbo*; for though the cinnamon was upon the king's account, the rest of their cargo belonged to private persons, who would not venture their ships for the publick without extraordinary rewards.

The same day an advice-boat arrived from *Gale*, and we made the beginning of a *Cavalier* on the bastion of *Madre de Deos*; but finding that the enemy were raising a battery against it, it was not brought to perfection. Two *Portuguese* and nine *Lascaryns* deserted. The 3d the enemy began to open their trenches on the side of the

*Mapnese* fields. The 6th one *Dyke* deserted, and the 7th another did the same, leaving the boat, where were some *Canaryns*, who returned. The 11th another foldier belonging to *Alvaro Rodrigo Borralbo's* company, went over to the enemy who received that day a reinforcement of ten ships.

The 12th early in the morning we found that the enemy had posted himself upon an eminency at the foot of the bastion of *St. Crus*, just over-against our redoubt, and that they had carried on their trenches a good way into the field. A foldier of *Manoel Cabreira* deserted to the enemy. The 13th we sent away four *Pachas*, or advice-boats. The 14th we discovered three sails, with some sloops, which occasioned great joy in the city, thinking that it had been the so-long-looked-for succours, but soon found our mistake. The same day two *Dutch* deserters and a boy came into the town. The enemy having strengthened their battery against the out-works of the bastion of *St. Stephen* and *St. John*, they laid, the 16th, one side of *St. Stephen's* bastion level with the ground.

The famine increased every day, a fig-tree or a papey-tree was now sold for fifty *Pardaus*: herbage we had none; some roots there were, but miserably dry, by reason of the heat of the season, which caused a great mortality.

The 17th an *Aratche* and two *Lascaryns* went over to the enemy; and perceiving that they had raised an eminency, in order to erect a redoubt and battery near the gate of *Rajuba*, we demolished the same by planting a twenty eight pounder against it. We had an advice-boat sent us from the northern-quarter, and about mid-night the enemy alarmed us by a false attack. The 20th five soldiers being taken that were going over to the enemy, four of them were hanged immediately, the fifth, who had discovered the rest, escaping with his life.

The 21st we made a countermine about ten foot from the enemies, which was carried to the palm-trees planted on the fortifications; whilst *Simon Lopes de Basto* master of our ordnance, *Manoel Fernandes da Miranda*, *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, father *Damian Vieira*, and several other *Portuguese* officers, were employed in encouraging the workmen; one of our cannon-balls fell among some grenadoes and other fire-works, which caused a great alarm in the whole city, and the brave *John Pereira Corte Real* a native of *Negapatnam*, who had signalized himself upon a thousand occasions in the service of our artillery, here lost his life, being generally regretted by all who knew his merit. The 22d and 23d, the enemy continued to perfect their works near the gate of *Rajuba*, against which we played with a demi-cannon from behind the wall of *St. Stephen's* bastion.

The

*Negroes forced out of the city.*

*Columbo neglected by those of Goa.*

*Baldæus.*

*Famine increased.*

*Four deserters hanged.*



*Baldæus.* The 24th, two messengers from the king of Candy brought a letter to the governor, and another to the inhabitants of *Columbo*, in answer to a letter sent to that king at the beginning of the siege. They appeared in mourning apparel, to intimate (according to the custom of that court) how much concern'd his majesty was at the many injuries and affronts put upon him during the late war. They contained in substance, That the king summoned them to a surrender, promising all the inhabitants the free possession of all their estates, villages, &c. for their sustenance, as the only means to deliver them from the miseries and oppressions they now groaned under, alledging, That the same were the effects of God's just vengeance for their ingratitude, shewn upon so many occasions to his imperial majesty, in return of the many benefits they had received at his hands, and not admitting his ambassadors sent to them with proposals of an alliance. These letters were likewise subscribed by the *Dutch* general *Hulst*, which being read publicly, the messengers were dismissed with much respect, but were scarce got out of the city, when they were overtaken with a most dreadful storm of rain, thunder, and lightning.

The 25th *Alvaro Rodrigo Borralbo* killed a soldier as he was going over to the enemy.

*They send an advice-boat for news.* The 26th an advice-boat was dispatched to get intelligence whether there were any hopes of succours for *Columbo*; but all the news we could learn, was, That the viceroy of *Goa* (the only person we put our confidence in next to God) was lately dead; which though it was doleful news for us, yet was it resolved to hold out to the last extremity; which was performed to the greatest nicety, the *Dutch* never being able to become masters of the place, till most of us were consumed either by the sword or famine. Advice was also brought us, That bonfires had been made at *Goa*, upon certain advice brought by some negroes (under protection of the *Dutch*) taken at *Putelaon* in *Ceylon*, that *Columbo* was not in so desperate a condition as had been represented, which they had reported upon the credit of a certain *Dutch* master of a vessel.

The 27th of *March* one of our serjeants was devoured by a crocodile in the fens, his cloaths and arms being found afterwards. At this time a *Parra* of rice was sold at twenty five *Seraphbins*, or gilders; and all our church-yards being filled with dead corps, we were forced to have another consecrated for that purpose.

The 28th in the morning the enemy had thrown up another redoubt near the wall of the gate of *Rajuba*. One of the inhabitants, a native of *Cranganor*, went over to

the enemy from the bastion of *St. John*, being forced thereunto by hunger, which was grown so excessive, that dogs, cats, and rats, and other such like things, were sold at a very high rate.

*Baldæus.* Cats and dogs sold at a great price.

The 31st two soldiers and a *Lascaryn* went over to the enemy. The next morning we saw some small batteries raised against the redoubt of *St. John's* bastion, where our people had made some entrenchments, raised like steps of ten paces high, cover'd with a breast-work, like a cover'd-way, called *Aleapaon* by the *Portuguese*. At the same time we began to work on a countermine, within twenty paces of the enemy's mine at *St. John's* bastion. The same day above fifty of our sick died in the hospital, besides what were daily found dead in the houses and streets, the ammunition-bread being by this time become a most precious commodity.

The first of *April* one of the enemy's advice-boats came into the road. The second seven *Lascaryns* deserted, and ever after twenty or thirty a-day went over to the enemy. The 3d two *Dutch* yachts came into the road, aboard one of which was a surgeon. At the same time a *Parra* of rice was sold for fifty nine *Seraphbins*, or gilders; but the worst was, that there was not enough of it, and could not be purchased but with ready-money. The governor's steward (though without his knowledge) \*refusing to part with any without ready gold, to the great disreputation of his master, who, though a gentleman of great honour, yet was highly blamed for committing a thing of such moment to the management of so avaritious a person.

\*Semper invenitur mercator mercatorum calamitatum. *Basil.*

The 4th of *April* the enemy had raised a new redoubt and battery, provided with two pieces of cannon, near the gate of *Rajuba*; wherewith they had so battered our palisadoes, and other wooden fences, that there was no safe passing betwixt the fortifications and the wall on the other side of the ditch. The enemy received a succour of two ships, and the next day four more. The enemy made their approaches with so much circumspection, that they advanced to the ditch (where it was dry) with the loss of a few of their men, who improvidently exposed themselves to our fire-arms.

The 6th we began another countermine, and the 7th the enemy threw abundance of fascines and faggots into the dry ditch, and set fire to our palisadoes; which was soon quenched by the industry of our men; whilst the *Dutch* were employ'd on the other side to cut a breach with pickaxes in the wall; but were soon chased from thence by our firelocks, not without considerable loss.

The 8th of *April* we began another countermine; which being fenced with a kind of

*Baldæus*. of palifado beams covered with earth, to resist the enemies fire-works, was carried on under the conduct of the master of the ordnance *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, the serjeant-major *Antonio de Leao*, *Diego de Souza*, and *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*. The same day at least seventy sick persons (most Europeans) died in the hospital; many of the negroes lay dead in the street for want of room to be buried in, which produced a most nauseous scent. The hunger was increased by this time to such a degree, that they began to feed upon mens flesh; several mothers murdered their own children to feed upon, two whereof were executed. It was a most doleful spectacle to hear the poor miserable wretches cry out in the streets for bread; some imploring heaven for assistance, others cursing those who were the occasion of their misery, others expiring and breathing their last in the houses and streets.

Utmost extremity for want of provisions.

The 9th *Domingo de Ramos* forced a multitude of poor wretches out of the town; but these being driven back by the enemy, and exposed to our small-shot, perished either by them, or by famine upon the shore.

The enemy advanced this day briskly with their trenches, as we did on our side in our retrinchments.

The 10th we set fire to the enemy's gallery; which, however, did not succeed according to expectation, for want of sufficient fuel; but father *Damian Vieira*, *Manoel Guerreiro*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto*, did kill many of the enemy upon this occasion.

The 11th we planted a cannon betwixt our palifadoes against their gallery; but they had strengthened it so well that we could effect nothing of moment. One of our soldiers run over to them.

The 12th we began two other mines with incredible labour, but indifferent success, for want of skilful engineers. Four selected men were posted in the redoubt of *St. John's* bastion, who defended that post, which was within a few rods from the enemy's works, with a great deal of bravery, as they did in most other places, notwithstanding we were reduced to a very inconsiderable number, there being not above five or six men left in some companies, as those of *Diego de Souza de Castro*, *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, and *Don Diego de Vasconcelbos*, who performed wonders in the defence of the bastion of *St. John*.

The 13th the enemy having received a reinforcement out of two yachts, they labour'd very hard in their mine on the bastion of *St. John*, under favour of their cannon, which play'd incessantly. At that time father *Damian Vieira* killed a stout *Hollander*, who had the direction of the work, which

advanced apace, though we ply'd them very warmly with our fireworks. Two of our soldiers deserted to the enemy.

The 18th we began to work on our countermine from the foot of the bastion of *St. John* towards that of *St. Stephen*, under the direction of father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes de Basto*, and *John Ferreira d'Abreu*, whilst the serjeant-major *Antonio de Leao*, *Diego de Souza de Castro*, and *Ruy Lopes Coutinho* ply'd the enemy with the fireworks, and other combustible matter.

The same day we got intelligence by an advice-boat, That the so-long-expected succours, under the command of *Francisco de Seixas Cabreira* was come upon our coast; it consisted of twenty one ships, and two galliots with provisions, one whereof was upon the king's account, the other of *Simon Souza*; a gentleman of honour, who took compassion of our present condition. They set sail from *Goa* the 29th of *March*, but as they were endeavouring to make the cape *Comorin*, one of the galliots, in which was *Simon de Souza*, was attacked so furiously by a *Dutch* vessel coming from *Caleoulang* with pepper, that after having lost her mast she funk, *Simon de Souza* being narrowly saved with a few soldiers, and carried to *Columbo*.

News of the defeat of the succours designed for Columbo.

The *Dutch* ship then falling in among the rest, fought so manly, that she forced our ships to retreat into the harbour of *Tutecorin*; from whence they could not come to *Columbo* till *August*; though if the said fleet had arrived safely, they had brought scarce rice enough to serve only for a little time.

About the same time father *Damian Vieira*, *John Ferreira d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto*, went with some other officers, (called *Reformadoes* by the *Portuguese*;) into one of our mines. Father *Damian*, and lieutenant *Nunes* going about six paces before the rest, to discover whether any of the enemies were at hand, and being mistaken by their comrades for *Hollanders*, these discharged their musketoons upon them; notwithstanding which the jesuit escaped miraculously the danger, without receiving the least hurt. This happy escape was attributed to the prayers of father *Frey Luys*, a *Capuchin*, to whom such as were going upon some desperate enterprize used to commend themselves.

A strange escape.

The 15th *Nicholas de Moura* escaped out of prison, (where he was detained ever since the business of the count *d'Obidas*;) and with five *Mistices* went over to the enemy, as did much at the same time a serjeant and a soldier. About eighty paces from the gate of *Rajuba*, the enemy battered part of our wall betwixt the bastions of *Madre de Deos* and *St. Sebastian*, from a battery of five pieces

*Baldæus.* pieces of cannon, from whence they shot three hundred and fifty cannon balls against it in one day.

The 16th we made a false alarm to try whether every one would repair readily to his post: two new-listed soldiers took this opportunity to desert, and being now destitute of men to work in our mines, no body was excused from that service, from the governor to the private centinel.

The 17th the enemy having fixed another cannon upon the battery, before the gate of *Rajuba*, they laid the wall level with the ground; our people being so weakened by famine, that they were not in a condition to carry thither any fascines or earth to repair it. At the same time *Manoel Fragoza*, a reformed captain, who had done signal services in the *Indies*, and especially in *Ceylon*, went over to the enemy, because his pay (which was given to others who much less deserved it) was refused him, nay, he could not even get sustenance for his money, which put him upon this desperate resolution; two common soldiers, natives of *India*, deserted at the same time. There died such a vast number every day in the hospital for want of necessaries, that many of the soldiery chose rather to abide with their companies, where they expired in fight of their comrades.

Great mortality at Columbo.

The enemy received a succour of two ships, a yacht, and a galliot, whereas the poor besieged had not the least relief in seven months.

The 18th Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor of *Gale*, sent us a letter, (their general being lately dead,) and to terrify us the more, presented all his forces in order of battle, betwixt his trenches; but our men, commanded by *Alfonso Correa*, *Joan Ferraoon d'Abreu*, *Manoel Pereira Matoso*, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Simon Lopes de Basto*, and father *Damian Vieira*, made a vigorous sally the next following night out of the gate *Rajuba*, when *Francisco Asca*, a reformed captain, took the opportunity to desert us.

The 19th *Diego de Souza de Castro* was sent with an answer to the governor's letter; and the son of *Manoel de Souza* went over to the enemy.

The 20th a soldier deserted from the bastion of *St. Crus*, on which side the enemy had attacked us with the greatest fury ever since their loss sustained there, under the command of *Caspar d'Aranja Pereira*, who succeeded *Manoel d'Abreu Godinbo*, after his post was assigned him, behind the wall, betwixt *St. John's* and *St. Stephen's* bastion. The city-major having four buffers left, which had drawn a waggon for a considerable time, had them killed for the use of the garrison, who, after the meat was consumed, feasted also upon the hides, which they cut into small pieces.

The four last buffers.

The 21st the enemy had drawn a line of *Baldæus.* communication from the battery, near the gate of *Rajuba*, to the lake. At the same time five persons were wounded by one of their bombs, and captain *Manoel Guereiro* mortally, who had killed many a brave *Dutchman* with his fusée during this siege. *A bomb kills five persons.*

The 22d the enemy having set fire to our countermine, the brave *Joan Ferraoon d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto*, were the chiefest that gave their assistance in quenching of it, amongst a shower of bullets and hand-grenadoes. At the same time a *Topas* went over to the enemy, the only one that deserted of that kind, though we had a good number of them among us, who for the most part died with the *Portuguese* in the defence of the city.

The 23d, father *Damian Vieira*, *John d'Abreu*, *John Pereira*, (inhabitants of *St. Thomas*,) *Simon Lopes de Basto*, *Manoel Pereira Matoso*, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Joseph Coelbo*, and *Manoel Ferreira Gomes*, got early in the morning cross the fens, in order to surprize one of the enemy's works, but were so warmly received, that they were glad to retreat, and fight their way through the *Dutch*, who had inclosed them on all sides.

The 24th a *Tony* was sent to get intelligence; the enemy fired most furiously from their battery against *St. Stephen's* bastion, and the gate of *Rajuba*, where the wall being laid level with the ground, the houses suffered much by their cannon.

The 25th the enemy planted two pieces of cannon at the extremity of their trenches against *St. Stephen's* bastion; and *Raphael de Torres*, a prisoner for debt, escaped out of prison.

The 26th the *Dutch* continued to play without intermission upon the bastions of *St. John*, *St. Stephen*, and *Madre de Deos*. The same day nine *Portuguese* were buried in one pit, or grave, there being no place left to bury them in. A candil of rice was sold at that time for two thousand five hundred seraphyns, or guilders, and a candil of wheat for three thousand four hundred guilders, and happy was he who could purchase it; for you would see women throw their babes into the streets for want of suck and other sustenance, and others to part with their jewels for a slender measure of rice, a commodity more precious at that time than all the precious stones. During this general calamity, the city-major *Manoel Marques Gorian* shewed himself a true patriot in all his actions, but especially in distributing what rice he had left among the soldiers, which if he had sold, must have amounted to a considerable sum of money at that juncture;

Great extremity in Columbo.

*Baldæus*, but he was willing to part with all, in hopes to preserve the place for his king. At the same time a false attack was made near the gate of *Rajuba*.

The 27th, one of our serjeants belonging to captain *St. Jago's* company, deserted to the enemy. At the same time we saw them carry on their trenches from the battery raised against the gate of *Rajuba*, towards the bastion of *St. Sebastian*: their batteries continued to play without intermission day and night. The same night father *Damian Vieira*, with seven more, made a salley upon the said trenches, and carried off most of the tools of their workmen. *Simon Lopes de Basto* took this opportunity of sending two spies into the enemy's camp, who being discovered, had much ado to save themselves, being forced to pass through a shower of the enemy's bullets: they returned the 29th, and brought advice of the death of general *Hulst*, and the commodore \* of the *Dutch* fleet.

\*He means Dirk Ogel, the vice-commodore. † Called the Lion, which brought the news of the defeat of the Portuguese succours.

At the same time an advice-boat, † carrying three guns, came into our harbour, aboard whereof was the fiscal. An alarm was ordered to be given at four in the morning, with the sound of drums, trumpets, and other warlike instruments, and a general discharge of our cannon and small arms.

The 30th, father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes de Basto*, *John Pereira*, *Alphonso Correa*, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, and *Joseph Coelho*, went out to take a view of the enemy's works, and advanced within ten paces of them, which they found defended by a kind of breast-work made up with hurdles; notwithstanding which, they attacked them with sword-in-hand.

The 1st of *May* the enemy desired to have their prisoners exchanged for some of ours, which being agreed to, the second we delivered up eight of their prisoners, the only remnants of those taken in the last general assault, in lieu of which we had as many of ours restored to us: they then began afresh to play most furiously from their mortars and cannon.

The 3d, at seven in the morning, father *Damian*, *John d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto*, went without the fortifications, to gather up the bullets near the bastion of *St. Stephen*, which used to be taken up by the enemy in the night time. Father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes*, and two more, made another salley, to level some of the enemy's works, but without success. The same day two soldiers went over to the enemy.

A successful salley.

The 4th, father *Vieira*, *Simon Lopes*, *Francisco Valente dos Campos*, *Antonio Madeiro*, *John Pereira*, *Manoel Pereira Matoso*, *Alfonso Correa*, *Manoel Ferreira Gomes*, *Manoel Nuguera Freire*, and *Thomas Ferreira Lete*, made a vigorous salley, and with sword-

in-hand attacked the enemy's batteries raised against the outworks of *St. Stephen*, *St. Sebastian*, and the bastion of *Madre de Deus*, with such success, that they ruined them entirely, and set fire to the fascines, hurdles, and other wood-work that sustained them, notwithstanding the *Dutch* came with a considerable body to the relief of their countrymen, but were repulsed, not without a considerable loss, and among the rest, one of their bravest officers, who was buried under a tripple salvo of their firelocks; so that our people remained masters of the posts, and returned victorious into the city.

The 5th, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, *John Pereira de Lago*, and father *Damian Vieira*, (who never staid behind upon such like occasions,) made another salley, but not meeting with any enemy where they expected him, returned without effecting any thing.

The 7th, about six in the morning, (it having been rainy before, which is a rarity here at this season,) the enemy made an assault upon the bastion of *St. John*, defended by *Don Diego Vasconcelbos*, and two youths, *Don Constantino de Meneses*, and *Diego Jaques*, both under fourteen years of age, all the soldiers being swept away by famine; for within these two months, above four hundred men died in our hospital, and our so-long-expected succours being blocked up at *Tutecoryn*, we were past all hopes of succours; whereas at *Goa*, there was nothing to be heard of but divertisements. To be

short, the enemy made themselves masters of the bastion, after having killed the captain and the two youths, who defended themselves like lions, set upon by a multitude of *Dutch* dogs. This done, they turned the cannon against the city, whereby many of the *Portuguese* that were hastening to its relief, were slain in the streets. The second bastion, assaulted at the same time by the *Dutch*, was bravely defended by *Manoel Figueiros*, who with two pieces of cannon killed abundance of them; but being constantly seconded by fresh troops, especially of the *Cingalese*, they sent such showers of arrows and bullets among our people, that they were forced to quit that bastion also.

From thence marching into the city, they were met at the entrance of a street by the commander in chief, *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, *Diego de Souza de Castro*, father *Anthony Nunes* the jesuit, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, *John Pereira*, *Vincente de Silva*, *Francisco Valente dos Campos*, *Alfonso Correa*, *Sebastian Pereira*, *John Ferraon d'Abreu*, *Antonio de Magalbanes*, and an ensign under captain *Alla*: these, though few in number, but many in valour, charged the *Dutch* with incomparable bravery. The *Portuguese* *Alexander Manoel Marques Gorjaon*, making the

\* Martin Scholtes first entered the breach.

*Baldæus*. the best of his way over the dead carcases, that covered the ground, singled out a *Dutch* captain of a gigantick bulk, who shot him with a pistol through the body; notwithstanding which, he run him through with his sword, and sent him immediately to the other world; then pushing on his fortune, made the *Dutch* give ground, and having rallied his men, secured the post for that time. The *Dutch* renewed the charge five times successively, but were as often courageously repulsed by *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, and those few that followed him; and being resolved either to conquer or to die, they broke in with sword-in-hand amongst the enemy, and again possessed themselves of the first bastion, and soon after also of the second. The first who entered the last, was *Antonio de Magelbanes*, who fought with an uncommon zeal against the enemy; for before they became masters of our cannon, he ply'd them very warmly from behind the wall, (the only defence he had left,) so that it cost them many a brave fellow before they could make themselves masters of it; and being now posted again upon the same bastion, he was bravely seconded by two demi-cannons from the new bastion, and a smart shower of fire-works, which set the circumambient air into such a flame and smoak, that at a distance it appeared like the mouth of hell.

A sharp engagement in the city of Columbo.

At the same time the governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, and *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, did all that could be expected from brave men on the *Couras*, or the bastion of *Xaverius*, both by way of command, and by charging the cannon in person, and performing the duty of common soldiers. The fathers *Philippo* and *Pedro de Castelbranco*, both *Austin* friars, were not behind-hand with the rest, in giving their utmost assistance for the defence of the place, being appointed to keep a watchful eye upon the enemy, whenever they were going to alarm, or amuse us with false attacks.

It must certainly be confessed, that this engagement was one of the most remarkable that ever happened in the east, considering that a few, and these most wounded, sick, or weakened by famine, did engage a much greater number, continually sustained by fresh troops, from six a-clock in the morning, till eight in the evening, during which time the enemy was repulsed, not only once, but five several times, by a much inferior number, who having not the least relief or time to breath, were forced all that time to endure the danger and fatigues of the action, which cost the enemy above four hundred men killed, besides those wounded and burnt by our fire-works. On our side we lost also the flower of our forces, some whereof were slain, others wounded,

Incredible bravery of the Portuguese.

Their loss.

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and burnt to that degree, that they were disabled from bearing of arms for a considerable time after. Among the slain, were *Diego de Vasconcelbos*, who had given a thousand proofs of his bravery in this siege; father *Antonio Nunes*; the jesuit, a pattern of virtue, who signalized himself not only all along on the bastion of *St. John*, as well as in other parts of the city, by encouraging the soldiers, comforting the sick, and burying the dead: he was shot at the gate of the bastion with a musket-ball, received afterwards a deep cut, and at last slain by a hand-grenado, after he had killed several of the enemy with his musketoon. At the same time died in the bed of honour (after they had given a thousand proofs of their bravery) *Alfonso Correa*, *Vincente da Silva*, *Francisco Valente de Campos*, *Sebastian Pereira*, and that brave sea-commander *Sebastian d'Abreu Godinho*, besides an ensign, a native of *Bazain*, belonging to captain *Alla's* company; *Manoel de Seixas*, an inhabitant of *Columbo*, and *Antonio Caminha d'Alzevedo*, were forely burnt; *Diego de Souza de Castro* was mortally wounded with two bullets, notwithstanding which, he would not retire from the engagement till he received a deep cut. *Manoel Caldeira de Britto Vidave* was wounded by a musket-ball, as were likewise *John Ferrao d'Abreu*, *Andreas de Seixas*, *Manoel Nogueira Freire*, *Manoel de Souza*, and *Manoel Segaldo*. *Laurence Days*, a native of *Columbo*, was wounded with no less than three musket-balls; *Ruy Lopes Coutinho*, *Domingos Pires*, inhabitants of *Negapatan*; lieutenant *Arrais*, captain *St. Jago*, *Manoel Correa*, commander in chief upon the bastion of *St. John*; *Francisco Pereira*, *Simon Lopes de Basto*, and many more were miserably burnt. Most of these received their wounds by the accidental setting on fire of a vessel filled with gunpowder, through the carelessness of our own people. The reverend father *Paulo* was wounded, as he was furnishing the combatants with fire-works, as was likewise father *Manoel Velles*, who was touched by two bullets, without receiving the least harm by them; a grenado did also fall just before his feet, without doing him the least harm, as he was busy in defending his post with *Alvaro Rodrigues Boralbo*, at the gate of *Rajuba*.

*Baldæus*

Father *Damian Vieira*, with his company did considerable mischief to the *Dutch* from the church of *St. Domingo*, being bravely seconded by *Caspar Aranja Pereira*, knight of the cross, and an old servant of the king, (who succeeded the city-major in his place,) with nine or ten of his followers, this being the place most exposed to the enemy. The commander in chief *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, no less annoyed them from the new bastion, and with their shot

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*Baldæus*. so scoured the streets, that there was no safe passage for the *Dutch* and *Cingalese*.

The *Dutch* without the town, did on the other hand exert their utmost efforts against the old bastion, which being almost laid level with the ground, the wall without served for a breast-work; and being continually supply'd with fresh troops of the *Candinese* and others, put our men, but few in number, most of them sick, wounded, or half-starved, and, besides that, but ill provided with ammunition, very hard to it on that side. For by this time we had not only but few men, but also not above fifteen days provisions left, and scarce so much gunpowder as would suffice for two charges of our artillery.

Consultation about a surrender.

Things being come to this pass, it was debated in the council, (consisting of thirty-four persons,) whether it were not best to think of a surrender; thirteen were of opinion rather to die upon the spot, than to treat with the enemy; but the most being of a contrary opinion, and nine of them positively insisting upon it, that it would be most conducing for the king's interest, that seeing the place was no longer tenable, to preserve the remnants of these brave fellows, who had behaved themselves so courageously, it was agreed to enter upon a treaty.

Accordingly the 10th, *Manoel Cabreira* was sent with a letter to Mr. *John van der Laan*, concerning the conditions of the intended treaty; an answer to which being sent the 11th, *Laurence Ferreira de Britto*, *Diego Leitao de Souza*, and *Hieronymo de Lucena* were dispatched as plenipotentiaries, to demand a cessation of arms till the 25th of *May*, against which time we expected the so-long-desired succours. But the enemy, who were not ignorant of our present circumstances, would hearken to no other conditions, than to surrender the city the next day by twelve a-clock at noon, which if we refused, they threatened to give us no quarter; so that we were forced to obtain the best terms we could, without any longer hesitation, the articles whereof being drawn up in haste (for want of time) I had not the opportunity to peruse them; and therefore can only tell you upon this head, that *Columbo* was forced to surrender, though I cannot precisely tell upon what terms.

Is surrendered.

No sooner was the news of the treaty divulged among the people, but nothing was heard but dreadful outcries and lamentations. The ecclesiasticks (or at least the most cautious among them) hid the images and relicks, and unfurnished the altars, for fear they should be defiled by the hereticks, as had frequently been done before upon such like occasions. The *Dutch* having taken possession of the bastions, our garrison,

consisting of ninety soldiers and one hundred armed inhabitants, including officers, nay, even the lame and maimed, marched out, some with their swords and muskets in one hand, and a stick or a crutch in the other.

*Baldæus*.  
The garrison consisting of one hundred and ninety men march out.

The *Hollanders* seeing these poor remnants, most of which appeared more like skeletons than living men, were astonished at their bravery, in the defence of a place they had been forced to purchase with so much blood. Ten *Dutch* companies marched into the city, at the head of which appeared the general *Adrian van der Meyden*, and Mr. *John van der Laan* on horseback, not to reckon the *Cingalese* sent to guard the governor of *Columbo's* house; which was no sooner done, but a messenger was sent to him to demand *Simon Lopes de Basto*; being not in a condition to refuse him, he ordered immediately the said *Simon Lopes*, with a certain *Aratche* of *Negumbo*, and some *Dutch* deserters, to be delivered to him, who were all hanged on a gibbet soon after in sight of the *Portuguese*, who were forced to be eye-witnesses of the miserable exit of this *Simon Lopes*, who for the signal services he had done them in the siege, deserved to have had a monument of brass erected to his memory. To the shame of those be it spoken, who ought to have endeavoured to afford him a much better recompence for his past services, and rather exposed him in a boat to the chance of the seas, than to a certain shameful death.

The *Hollanders* were sufficiently sensible of the bravery of the *Portuguese* during this siege, which lasted seven months, (without receiving the least succours or supplies,) by the loss they sustained of their bravest soldiers and best officers, which amounted to three thousand men, besides the wounded and maimed; besides that, the charges of the siege amounted to more than would have built such another *Columbo*.

The general and Mr. *John van der Laan* were no sooner settled in their habitations, but they gave liberty to the soldiers to plunder the place (contrary to their parole) for one day, which was extended to five by Mr. *Van der Laan*, viz. from the time of their coming into the city, till the time we marched out, which was performed by the hereticks with the utmost rigour; nay, whilst our soldiers were embarking, and the inhabitants within three days after, they continued their robberies even upon the sea-shore. Almost all our people went aboard along with them, except a few who staid behind with the governor and deputy-governor; and some, that (by great promises) were engaged in the king of *Candy's* service, which, perhaps, has happened by a singular providence of God, as a means to influence that

This is a gross falsehood, a soldier having been whipped at that time for stealing.

*Baldæus.* that king's counsels, in order to expel the *Dutch*, one time or other, out of the isle of *Ceylon*.

Our people were transported to *Negapatana*, where they were most kindly received and provided with medicines, cloathing, and other necessaries by the inhabitants, till they received their pay : after the arrival of *Antonio Amiral de Menezes*, governor of *Jafnapatnam*, who at the same time intreated *Antonio Mendes d' Aranba* (who after having been detained a prisoner at *Gale*, was now come to *Negapatan*.) to go along with him to *Jafnapatnam* in the quality of his deputy-governor, as not questioning but that he should be the next, against whom the enemy would exert their utmost efforts ; which he accepted of ; though considering the fatigues and miseries he had endured of late, he might very well have excused the same, as well as the rest of the soldiers ; who, notwithstanding this, half-sick, and half-starved as they were, did embark for one of the most dangerous places in *Ceylon*, to give fresh proofs of their bravery.

This was the end of this siege, one of the most remarkable in all its circumstances that ever was heard of, considering that a place of that bigness was defended by so slender a number for the space of seven months (without the least supplies) against a powerful force of the *Dutch* and *Cingalese*, who first defeated the *Portuguese* forces (composed of the flower of their men) in two smart engagements ; so that the whole number of the *Portuguese* was at last reduced to two hundred souls. The account of this siege being spread among the eastern moors and pagans by several persons, who had been eye-witnesses of the great actions performed there, did beget an incredible reputation of the bravery of the *Portuguese* among those nations, though the same proved unfortunate in the end.

Thus his majesty of *Portugal* lost a place, and with it a whole kingdom, three times

bigger than *Portugal* itself, and much richer and more plentiful, the very center of the world, the richest tract of land under the sun, and with it (probably) all that is in the possession of the *Portuguese* to the south of cape *Comoryn*. His majesty lost a considerable squadron of ships sent to the relief of *Columbo*. The first squadron intended for this expedition did come no higher than the cape *Comoryn*, the pretended succours from *Manaar* came to nothing : and the second squadron promised by the viceroy of *Goa* in *January*, did not set sail till the 29th of *March*, and was forced to retreat without effecting any thing.

The want of money was alledged as the main reason of this delay, when it is sufficiently known, That the king had both ships and money enough at *Goa*, which could not have been better employ'd than for the relief of a place of such vast importance. We know what vast sums *Nuno Alvares Botalbo* consumed at *Mosambique* ; which was nevertheless not disapproved by the king of *Castile* ; and why might not the same be expected from the king of *Portugal* ? To conclude, *Columbo*, and with it, the whole isle of *Ceylon*, being lost for want of succours, all such as have deserved well in the defence of that place ought to be rewarded for their services, as those who have been neglectful in their duty for the preservation thereof deserve condign punishment at his majesty's hands. And as nothing is more common, than that courtiers employ their favourites in places of trust, (without any regard to merit,) and afterwards to conceal their miscarriages from the king ; it is for this reason, that we lay this account at your majesty's feet, taken from the journal kept at *Columbo*, and other authentick records, confirmed by the testimony of many persons of credit, both ecclesiasticks and laymen, that were present from the beginning to the end of this siege.

*Some per-  
tences for  
the not re-  
lieving of  
Columbo.*

*Address to  
his Portu-  
guese ma-  
jesty.*

C H A P. XL.

*The Origin of Columbo. Arrival of the Portuguese : Their Engagements with, and Conquest of the Moors. They fortify Columbo. Raja Singa dissatisfied.*

*Origin of  
the city of  
Columbo.*

THE city of *Columbo* is an antient city, seated at six degrees one half of north latitude, in a pleasant country, near a delightful river ; which, questionless, induced the *Portuguese* to fix upon this place for their chief residence in this island. For *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, having been fully informed concerning the condi-

tion of *Ceylon*, ordered a fort to be erected there, for the better establishment of his affairs there, and to curb the emperor. *Lup. de Britto* being sent thither with a good number of soldiers and workmen, *John Silva* delivered the said fort up to him. For *Zoares* who was lately sailed with twenty ships and seven hundred land-

*Baldæus*. men to Ceylon (after *Laurence d'Almeyda*, who some years before entered into a confederacy with the king of Ceylon) had just before made an agreement with the governor of *Columbo* about a settlement in that place, which he looked upon as the most proper for a fortification, both in respect of its situation, and the plenty of the best cinnamon that grows in the whole isle, being seated in the form of a crescent, and affording safe anchorage for ships, provided they are not too bulky.

Accordingly it was agreed to erect a fortification there, under pretence of securing the commerce of the *Portuguese*, but in effect to curb the king and the natives. He who reigned at that time in the isle being a *Brahman*, was not a little jealous of the *Europeans*; but being sensible to what pitch of greatness the king of *Cochin* was lately arrived by the assistance of the *Portuguese*, he gave his consent, though not without some reluctance, and consequently was of no long continuance: or the *Saracens* who were chased thither from the continent, and had settled their traffick in this isle, found means, by the promises of great sums of money, and of their assistance, to entice the king and court to oppose the designs of the *Portuguese*, who intended to enslave them, under pretence of settling their commerce; for which purpose they raised some works, and having mounted some iron cannon upon them, seized some *Portuguese* that came ashore, without suspecting any harm.

Treaty betwixt the Portuguese and the Cingalese.

Is soon broken.

The Portuguese rout the Cingalese.

*Zoares* coming ashore with his workmen, in order to raise the intended fortifications, was surprized to find some forts erected by the *Cingalese*; and having received certain intelligence, that the same had been done at the instigation of the *Moors*, he easily guessed that nothing but force was likely to establish the *Portuguese* in Ceylon. Accordingly having landed his men, he attacked the enemy, who at a distance somewhat galled his forces with their arrows; but after they came to a close engagement, the *Cingalese* were quickly put to the rout, and pursued by the *Portuguese* with considerable loss: the *Portuguese* had many wounded, but few killed, among the last was the brave *Patieco*, lately come from *Malacca*.

*Zoares* having allowed one day only to his people to refresh themselves, began the next morning an entrenchment, reaching from the harbour to the sea-side, without the least opposition: within this he ordered a fort to be erected, whereupon having mounted his cannon, and strengthened it by a wall that surrounded it, he soon made the king repent of his inconstancy, who sent his envoys to *Zoares*, asking pardon for what was passed, and desiring that the former alliance might be renewed: but *Zoares* refused to

hearken to these propositions, demanding satisfaction for the affront, and a yearly tribute to be paid to king *Emanuel*; which the king of Ceylon (who dreading the *Portuguese*) not daring to refuse, it was agreed that he should pay to *Portugal* an annual tribute of one hundred twenty four thousand pound weight of cinnamon, twelve rings set with the most precious rubies and saphirs, and six elephants, under condition that king *Emanuel* should assist the king of Ceylon and his successors, both by sea and land, against all his enemies.

The treaty being thus concluded, *Zoares* continued his fortifications; which being brought to perfection with the assistance of the *Cingalese*, he left *John de Silva* with a good garrison there, and *Antonio Miranda Azevedo* with four ships to guard the coast; which done, he returned in December to *Cochin*, where he was received with all imaginable demonstrations of joy. *Lup. de Britto* (before mentioned) succeeding *John de Silva*, brought along with him abundance of workmen and bricklayers, who made a kind of mortar of the sea-cockles, and lined the fortifications with a strong wall, deepened the ditches, and added what works they thought necessary for the accomplishment thereof.

This created no small jealousy (not without reason) in the *Cingalese*, which was increased by the insinuations of the *Moorish* merchants, who told the king, That their prophecies were like to prove too true, since he was now made sensible, that these foreigners had not only excluded all other strangers from the traffick of this isle, but also had made him a tributary of *Portugal*, and shortly would make him their vassal, if he did not in time hearken to the counsel of his friends.

These insinuations had the desired effect; for the king not only cut off all supplies of provisions and other necessaries from the fort, but the common people being also incensed by these discourses, murdered several *Portuguese*, who ventured a little too far without the fort. *De Britto* at first dissembled the matter, finding he could no longer contain his soldiers (burning with revenge) he chose one hundred and fifty of his best men and with them assaulted the city of *Columbo* (which lay near the fort) just about noon, when most of the inhabitants were asleep to avoid the heat of the day, and at the first alarm betook themselves to their heels, leaving the city to the enemies mercy.

*De Britto* seeing himself master of the place without the least opposition, forbid his soldiers to plunder, or commit any other outrages; but ordered the women and children to be tied to the posts of the doors, with an intention to convince the *Cingalese*

*Baldæus*

Force the king to pay a yearly tribute.

Is ill digested by the Cingalese.

*Britto* surprises *Columbo*.



*Baldæus.lese* that he was not come like an enemy to destroy, but like a friend to preserve them. But as he had but little reason to rely upon their generosity, he thought fit to make a trial of their inclinations; so he ordered some houses that lay next the *Portuguese* fort to be set on fire: this had the desired success; for the *Cingalese*, out of the affection they bore to their wives and children, had gathered all their force, in order to relieve them at any rate; but finding their houses on fire, run first with all speed to quench the flame, whereby *Britto* got leisure to retreat in good order into the fort, and to provide himself against the intended assault, which however could not be done without some loss, above thirty of his men having been wounded in the retreat.

However *Britto* reaped no other benefit by this enterprize, than that the *Cingalese* (exasperated to the highest degree) besieged the fort with twenty thousand men; and though they were often bravely repulsed, yet did they persist in their resolution, in hopes of reducing the place by famine, because the approaching month of *May* (the first of the winter-season) did bereave them of all hopes of succours. In the mean while the *Cingalese* did not cease to carry on their works to the very ditch, from whence they annoyed the *Portuguese* with their arrows, their number making up the defect of their force, which was not comparable to the *Portuguese* artillery and fire-arms. They also gathered up six hundred bullets that were shot at them from the fort, of which they made the best use they could.

Portuguese besieged in the fort.

But what most troubled the *Portuguese* was, that they were to fetch all their fresh water without the fort, and that they were extremely harassed with continual watching. However, they hoped to defend the place till the next summer, in hopes of succours, in which they at last found themselves frustrated; *Antonio de Lemos* coming only with one galley and fifty landmen to their relief, *Seguera* with the rest of the forces having staid behind.

Make a vigorous salley.

The *Cingalese* in the mean time had found means to erect two wooden towers filled with earth, which being placed near the ditch, they intended to make use of to cover their pioneers, whilst they were busy in filling it up. *Britto* was not a little startled at this device, and finding himself now reduced to such straits, as to be obliged to venture at all, he ordered *Antonio de Lemos* to draw as near to the shore as possibly he could, and to endeavour to ruin these towers with his great cannon, whilst he would make a salley with three hundred and fifty men, and attack the enemy with the utmost vigour. This was put in execution accordingly with such success, that the towers

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were intirely ruined, and the *Cingalese* *Baldæus.* beaten out of their works.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Cingalese*, encouraged by the *Moors*, who came to their assistance with an hundred and fifty horse, and twenty five elephants, resolved to try their utmost against the *Portuguese*. These elephants having turrets filled with men armed with cutlasses on both sides, did strike no small terror at first into the *Portuguese*, but afterwards turned to the disadvantage of the *Cingalese*; for these beasts not able to bear the wounds that were given them by the *Portuguese* artillery, soon turned their backs, and put their own troops into disorder, with a great slaughter among the *Cingalese* and *Moors*; who now beginning to despair of success, raised the siege immediately, and the king sent his ambassadors to *Britto*, to ask pardon for what was past, and to desire a reconciliation.

The siege raised.

Thus we see how the *Portuguese* have been forced to settle, or at least to maintain themselves in *Ceylon* by the sword; and the better to attain their end, it was their constant practice in the *Indies* to sow the seeds of division among those princes; an instance whereof is given us by *Maffæus* himself, in his history of the *Indies*.

The king of *Cota* had three sister's sons, who (according to the custom of the country) being his legal heirs, began to be very uneasy at the long life of their uncle, found means to remove him out of the way, and to divide the country betwixt them; but *Parea Pandar*, the eldest of the three, having murdered the second, *Maduyn* the youngest began also soon after to conceive a jealousy at his brother's proceeding, complaining that he was not rewarded according to his deserts, as having been the adviser and executer of the murder of their uncle. *Parea Pandar* finding his brother dissatisfied, thought it his securest way to fore-arm himself against him, and therefore entered into a treaty with the king of *Portugal*, to settle the succession of the crown upon his daughter's son, (with the exclusion of *Maduyn*;) directly contrary to the custom of that country. *Maduyn* exasperated to the highest degree at this proceeding, denounced open war against his brother; and after having ravaged the country through which he passed, laid siege to *Cota*.

Differences betwixt two brothers, fomented by the Portuguese.

The elder brother disdainng to be attacked in his city, marched out against *Maduyn*, and pitched his tent in an advantageous post: he had a troop of *Portuguese* in his camp, one whereof (whether hired thereunto by *Maduyn*, or by chance, is uncertain) shot him through the head. After his death, the *Portuguese* set his daughter's son upon the throne with the usual solemnities; but in consideration of his youth, and the weakness

*Baldæus.* weakness of his title, introduced contrary to the custom of the country, they much feared the hatred of the people, backed by the interest of *Maduyn*; they sent therefore for succours to *Noronba*, who soon after arrived with a good squadron of ships and three thousand men, under pretence of assisting the young king, (as *Maffæus* expressly tells us,) but in effect to make himself master of the treasure buried at *Columbo*, one hundred thousand crowns of which he carried off along with him.

In the mean while *Maduyn* fortified himself with all possible diligence in the city of *Ceta-Vaca*, nine leagues from *Columbo*, (according to *Maffæus*;) but *Noronba* having with little opposition taken and burnt the said place, returned victorious to *Goa*. What further became of *Maduyn*, is not mentioned by *Maffæus*, or any other historian.

What was found in *Columbo*.

Thus we have seen the beginning of *Columbo* under the *Portuguese*, and its surrender to the *Dutch* 1656. They found about six or seven loads of musty rice in the place, some packs of cinnamon, good store of *Areek*, some good, some not; twenty four light frigats, nine whereof were sunk; one thousand five hundred guilders ready money coined in the city; thirty three packs of clothes; twenty five bells of metal; sixty brass, and sixty eight iron pieces of cannon,

one mortar, and six lesser pieces; ten thousand cannon bullets of different sizes and weight; six thousand five hundred pound weight of good gun-powder, and one thousand one hundred fifty bad; a good quantity of brimstone and saltpeter. No sooner were we in possession of *Columbo*, but *Raja Singa* shewed his dissatisfaction by the following letter.

“ Yesterday and the day before yesterday, it was reported at our court, that there was a treaty on foot with the *Portuguese* about the surrender of the city, since which I have received intelligence, that the same is brought to effect. If it be true, you ought to have given notice thereof to our imperial majesty, which is the reason, I cannot as yet give entire credit to it: But in case it should be so, I desire to know with all possible speed the articles of the said treaty. Whilst our beloved director-general was alive, I writ to him concerning certain matters he promised should be performed, which I desire you to remember.”

From our imperial court at *Reygamwatte*, May 11. 1656.

Signed,

*Raja Singa Rajou*,  
Most potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Deserters severely punished. Raja Singa forbids all Commerce with the Hollanders. His Letter of Complaint. Divers Portuguese Ships taken. Raja Singa ravages and plunders the Lands and Subjects belonging to the Company.*

Deserters punished with death.

IT was now thought high time to punish such as had deserted our service during the siege. Among these *Simon Lopes*, a *Portuguese* by birth, who had fifty guilders per month pay in our service, and after we were repulsed in the general assault was gone over to the enemy, did lead the van, and was, notwithstanding all the intercessions of the *Portuguese*, hanged on a gibbet. Two other *Europeans* (whose names we will pass by in silence) underwent the same fate; and another was severely whipped, and forced to stand with a rope about his neck for twelve hours under the gallows.

The next thing to be done was to take care of the transportation of the *Portuguese*, among whom the ecclesiasticks and inhabitants of *Columbo* were sent beyond sea to *Mr. Laurence Pit* our governor, who was to dispatch them further to the isle of *St.*

*Thomas*. About that time we received a letter from *Raja Singa*, wherein he sufficiently testified his dissatisfaction. *Walraven Thomas* our book-keeper sent word from *Montual*, that he had sent the corporal *Hans Jacob Lambert*, ten *Mardykers*, and a serjeant to the pass of *Nacclegamme*, with orders to oppose the forces gathered thereabouts by the slaves of *Ouva*, of the four and of the seven *Corles*; which not agreeing with the sentiments of the general and his council, they ordered the said corporal to send back the *Mardykers* to *Montual*, and not to stop the passage of any of the royal forces, for fear of giving any occasion of offence to the emperor.

Notwithstanding this, we soon found the effects of the dissatisfaction of *Raja Singa*, who having cut off all means of receiving supplies by land from the *Sabandar*, *Don John*

*Baldæus.* *John de Costa* was dispatched to the diflaves of *Saffragamme*, and those of the four and seven *Corles*, who told him, that their people were at their full liberty (though we knew to the contrary) to bring their provisions to our market, but that they durst not give a visit to the general, without express orders from court.

*Two yachts come before Columbo.* The 22d of *March*, the yachts the *Mars* and *Lion* came to an anchor in the road of *Columbo*, aboard one whereof was the vice-commodore *Rootbaus*, who (upon the receipt of a letter from our head-factor, Mr. *Reynier Scrooskerke*, intimating that a small yacht laden with provisions, upon the king of *Cochin's* account, was gone from thence to *Columbo*) had left the yachts *Flissingen*, *Popkensburg*, *Sea-Coney*, the *Haddock*, and the *Roman*, with two other vessels on that coast, who were supplied with fresh provisions by the inhabitants of *Caylpatnam*. The inhabitants thereof being very desirous to renew their commerce with our company, they were then equipping two frigats there.

*Cingalese go over to the emperor.* About the same time notice was given us, that *Cannangere Aratchie*, a faithful servant of the company, had (to our great dissatisfaction) submitted to the king of *Candy*, and that ninety of the *Lascaryn* deserters had taken the way of *Angretotte*. These proved the forerunners of many ensuing misfortunes. In the mean while *Raja Singa* urged stiffly the surrender of *Negumbo* and *Columbo* into his hands, under pretence that these places belonged to him, by virtue of an agreement made betwixt him and the late director-general Mr. *Gerard Hulst*; upon which account he writ the following letter:

*Letter of complains from the emperor.* “OUR imperial majesty being very desirous to introduce the *Dutch* nation into our dominions, *Adam Westervold* came on this coast with a squadron of ships just as we had made our selves masters of *Batecalo*, when we thought fit to conclude a peace with him; which being confirmed by oath, was but slenderly observed by some officers afterwards; as for instance, by captain *Burchart Kocks*, alias *Coque*, (who was afterwards killed by a soldier at *Puntegale*.) and commissary *Peter Kieft*, who being sent as plenipotentiaries to our court, did confirm the before mentioned peace by oath: pursuant to which at their departure for *Gale*, they took along with them one of our diflaves, in order to deliver into his hand, the country of *Mature*. But at his coming there, they found means to render the same ineffectual, by finding out certain difficulties, which made the

“said diflave return to our court, to our great dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our beloved director-general did come into our kingdom from *Holland*, with full power to act as he should find it most suitable to our service, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friendship: pursuant to which, he desired us by word of mouth to bury all passed miscarriages in oblivion, promising at the same time, in the name of the prince of *Orange* and the *East-India* company, full satisfaction for the same; as also that the fortresses of *Negumbo* and *Columbo* (when taken) should be delivered into the hands of our imperial majesty, and certain *Hollanders* to be allotted in the said places for our service. It is upon this account that we sent our auxiliaries to assist our dearly-beloved *Hollanders* in the taking of *Columbo*; which being taken since, they are become forgetful of their promise, and do continue to do so to this day. Your excellency is left at your own liberty to do what you think fit, till notice of this proceeding can be given to the prince of *Orange*, and the honourable company: but I would have you remember that such as do not know God, and keep their word, will one time or other be sensible of the ill consequences thereof: I am sensible I have God on my side.

By way of Postscript was writ.

“TWO letters have been dispatched from our imperial court. Your excellency has writ in *Dutch* to *George Bloem*, but without mentioning any thing relating to our service. Your excellency may write such frivolous pretences to whom you please, but ought not to impose them upon our imperial majesty; it being in vain to alledge, that the director-general had received his instructions from *Batavia*, whereas he brought his full power along with him out of *Holland*. Such sinister dealings, as they create no small jealousy, so I cannot see with what face you can expect any further credit from us. I have taken care to have this translated into *Dutch*, that you may have no reason to plead ignorance. *George Bloem* shall stay here, till I receive your answer, when I intend to send him back with a letter. No more, &c.

From our imperial Court at *Reygamwatte*, May 11. 1656.

*Baldæus.* Unto which was annexed the following account, not thought fit to be inserted in the imperial letter.

“ THIS day, being the 22d of *March*,  
 “ his imperial majesty having sent  
 “ for me, ordered the letter writ in *Portuguese*  
 “ to be translated into *Dutch*, to  
 “ be sent, among others, to your excellency.  
 “ When I shewed the translation to  
 “ his majesty, he told me, That after the  
 “ arrival of the director-general in *Ceylon*,  
 “ he had sent word to him, That  
 “ several rebels sheltered themselves in  
 “ and about *Columbo*, especially one *Caspar Figueiro*,  
 “ who had done considerable damage to his  
 “ majesty’s lands ; as also concerning certain  
 “ presents sent to his court by the viceroy of  
 “ *Goa* ; some whereof were sent only by the  
 “ said director-general. His majesty further  
 “ desired me to give you to understand,  
 “ That it had been agreed not to recede in the  
 “ least from the literal sense of the treaty,  
 “ especially in what related to that article  
 “ concerning any city or place taken with the  
 “ assistance of his majesty’s forces ; whereas  
 “ your excellency had not as much as taken  
 “ the least care (since the taking of *Columbo*)  
 “ to send to his majesty his rebellious subjects,  
 “ nor any of the presents, except two *Persian*  
 “ cats, a ship, &c. delivered by me to his  
 “ majesty. The not sending of the rebels has  
 “ been very ill relished here.”

Raja Singa is angry with the Dutch. Our general took care to send a most obliging answer to the emperor’s letter ; which, however, was so far from giving any real satisfaction to *Raja Singa*, that, on the contrary, he conceived such a hatred against the *Dutch*, as made him engage with the *Portuguese* against them. For notice having been sent to our council by *Antonio de Motte* and *Manoel Fonseca de Moniis*, two *Portuguese*, that they had been solicited by *Raja Singa* to enter into his service, with promises of vast rewards, and the full enjoyment of the same revenues they had been possessed of before in their most flourishing estate, it was ordered that none of the imperial soldiers should be for the future admitted into the city, except such as should be sent in the quality of messengers from the king, or any of his slaves, to the general and council : thirty two men were also commanded to guard the passes near *Caleture*. Most of the *Portuguese* at *Columbo*, were sent under a convoy of a whole company to *Gale* ; and upon a scrutiny of the muster-roll, it was found that there were three hundred

men missing from among the *Lascaryns* of *Baldæus*. *Matule*, and many more followed their footsteps soon after.

The 30th of *May*, early in the morning, three *Portuguese* frigats being discovered near the shore, towards the side of *Galkisse*, we took in our prince’s flag, in order to entice them into the road. The commodore, who led the van, perhaps began to suspect the matter ; and therefore steered his course to the north ; but the other three were no sooner come within the reach of our cannon, but we sent out our small vessels to fetch their officers ashore. These told us, That they left the bar of *Goa* the 22d with six frigats ; and that two of them being separated from the rest by a most violent tempest near *Coulang*, were either lost, or perhaps had saved themselves in some port or other, one of them having been seen without masts. They added, that a *Portuguese* caravan was come to an anchor in the river of *Goa*. These six frigats had aboard sixty eight soldiers, besides good store of provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries, intended for the relief of *Columbo*, in case the squadron under *Francisco de Seixa* should miscarry. Their cargo stood us in great stead, considering the scarcity that was among us at that time.

The 1st of *June* we took another frigate and a yacht ; the officers whereof being likewise brought ashore, told us, That the city of *Cochin* had contributed a good sum of money towards the relief of *Columbo*. Their letters being opened, contained nothing material, except that they were embroiled with the king of *Cochin*.

Certain advice was brought to the governor, That the day before, as the before-mentioned ships of *Cochin* were passing along the shore of *Galkisse*, the imperial slaves of *Matule* and *Ouva* had been seen to give them a signal with a white cloth, and had taken abundance of pains to get aboard them, offering four hundred *Larynes* to the fishermen, if they would carry them aboard of one or the other ; that they had got ready two boats, but durst not venture through the waves. Considering the pains the emperor had lately taken to entice away some of the best officers belonging to the company, and divers outrages committed by the king’s *Lascaryns* in the park of the company ; these together, I say, seemed to us the infallible forerunners of the ensuing broils.

For it was not long before *Cornelius van der Duyn*, deputy-governor of *Mature*, sent word from thence, that the king’s officers and soldiers had forbid all the inhabitants thereabouts to furnish the *Hollanders*

*Baldæus*.landers with provisions, or to obey their orders, but to retire into the king's dominions; where they should have full liberty to make their excursions into our dominions, as they had done already at *Billigam*, *Mallimande*, and *Baigam*.

To prevent such like outrages for the future, three companies of forty men each were sent out of *Gale*, two of which were ordered towards *Accuras*, to protect the inhabitants against the inroads made by the king's soldiers, in the quiet possession of such lands as were granted to the company by the emperor; for by this time we began shrewdly to suspect, that most of the great ones were entered into a confederacy with the king against us; this appeared by the tergiversations of the *Adigar*, who passing by the way of *Angretotte* to *Mature*, pretended he was come by orders from our general, which was a manifest falshood: some of their proceedings may be seen out of the following letter.

“ *C*Attepitty *Apubamy* is come to *Mallimanda*, from whence he has sent an *Ola*, or letter, intimating, that he was come by the king's special order, to take possession of the country of *Mature* in his majesty's name, and to enjoin all the inhabitants, not to supply the *Dutch* with any provisions, or otherwise. He furiber said, that he had intended to have been with them before this; but being now come with full authority, he exhorts them to obey the emperor's orders, for the honour of his court, and of the dissave of *Mature*, which if they do, they may assure themselves of all imaginable favour from the court. The dissave of *Saffragamme* has sent the dissave of *Mature*, to assist you upon all occasions.”

In *Pasidum-Corle* and *Caleture* things went at the same rate, where they had taken *Cottencynde*, his mother, and brother, (besides many others,) prisoners, and carried them to the pass of *Caleture*. Their intentions appear by the following *Ola*.

“ *T*Udoculle *Mandonna Apobami* makes known to all the *Aratches*, *Lascaryns*, and the chief *Majorals* and colonels of *Caleture*, *Macoene*, and *Barbaryn*, That as soon as this *Ola* comes to their hands, they shall not keep the least correspondence with the *Dutch*, nor pay any duties to them, from the villages, (formerly granted to them,) or furnish them with labourers to work on their fortifications. Those that shall act contrary to the tenour of this, must

“ expect to be severely punished; wherefore come, and join with me.” *Baldæus*.

*Manoel Andrada* (who signaliz'd himself before *Jafnapatnam*, of which anon) was likewise advertised by a letter from his brother-in-law, That the king's forces had wounded a woman and a slave near the pass of *Caleture*; and that therefore he should keep a watchful eye over his *Lascaryns*. About *Negumbo* they play'd the same game, and *Raja Singa* had made his addresses to *Patangatti*, the colonel of *Coquielle*, in hopes by great promises to bring him over to his party. On a certain tree near the church of *Guia de Lobo*, was affixed the following paper:

“ THE city of *Columbo* is now taken; and was according to agreement to be surrendered to his majesty, but has not been performed; if any fatal consequences attend this breach of promise, we declare ourselves innocent thereof: but as we are well assured of his majesty's good inclinations towards the *Dutch* nation, so if you intend to send any deputies to treat with him, you shall have liberty so to do, and a passport for them.” *A paper affixed to a tree.*

Our general and council finding themselves under an absolute necessity of representing to *Raja Singa* the injustice of his proceedings in a letter, they told him, That these proceedings being directly contrary to their mutual intentions of annoying the *Portuguese*, and consequently tending both to his majesty and the company's prejudice, they desired that all hostilities might be laid aside, and instead thereof their former good correspondence be renew'd. They desired *Raja Singa* to send his answer, and with it an envoy, or one of his dissaves, unto whom they would deliver the fortrefs of *Negumbo*, after the fortifications are demolished. And to leave no room for any further pretences, the general acquainted the emperor, That in case his majesty would let him know what further satisfaction he required at his hands, he would be ready to comply with his majesty's demands, provided the same could be done without great prejudice to the company's service. But that in case his majesty thought fit to persist in his unjust oppressions of the *Dutch*, and others under our jurisdiction, he protested and declared, in the presence of God, and to all the world, That he was innocent of all the calamities and effusion of blood that needs must be the consequences of such proceedings, which must

*Contents of the letter sent to Raja Singa.*

*Baldens*. must oblige us (though much against our will) to have recourse to such means as God had put into our hands for the defence of our subjects. With this letter they sent a falcon and a sparrow-hawk, with a *Persian* falconer, as a present to the emperor.

Outrages committed by the *Lascaryns*.

Advice was brought at the same time from *Caleture*, That the king's *Lascaryns* were very troublesome to our subjects, who were forced to leave their habitations for fear of being carried away; and that they had wounded some, and pursued them to the river-side; that the two *Aratches Cannangere* and *Pittikeri* lay incamped near

*Alican*, and had summoned the country *Baldens* thereabouts to join with them within three days; that ten of our *Lascaryns*, and forty two labourers sent from *Caleture* to *Columbo*, were carried away by a party of vagabonds. To prevent the like for the future, and especially to protect our workmen employ'd in the peeling of the cinnamon, (called *Chalias*;) two hundred soldiers were ordered to *Bentot*, under the command of *Martin Scholies*, *Peter Cham-ple*, and *Joris Hervendonck*, who, for their better security, were to be joined by the *Lascaryns*, under the captain of *Gale-Corle*.

Two hundred men sent against them.

## C H A P. XLII.

*A Feast appointed. Two Caffers come over to us. George Bloem escapes from Candy. A Skirmish betwixt the Dutch and Cingalese. Robbers punished. News of the Portuguese Squadron. The Arrival of some Dutch Ships: Their Mistake. A strange Notion among the Indians concerning Columbo's being impregnable. Negumbo taken, and retaken.*

IT being now a month since the surrender of *Columbo*, a thanksgiving day was appointed, to give thanks to God Almighty for this great success, and to implore his mercy to bless our arms for the future. The said day is kept ever since on the 12th of *May*.

Raja Singa's answer to no purpose.

*Raja Singa* did send an answer to the general's letter; but said scarce any thing in relation to the matter in hand, declaring only his satisfaction about the present, and desiring that the *Persian* falconer might stay with him, which the general (to gratify the emperor) did consent to, at least till such time that the ships should be ready to return to *Gamron*. However, these civilities did not answer the end for which they were intended; *Raja Singa* ordering soon after his *Lascaryns* to take all the *Dutch* they could light on prisoners, and to cut off the noses and ears of all the negroes, *Cingalese*, *Moors*, and slaves that served the *Hollanders*; but the two hundred before mentioned soldiers struck such a terror into the king's forces, that they retreated back, and gave liberty at least to a thousand of the inhabitants to return to their houses.

*Raja Singa* in the mean time continued now as before his hostilities, one of his parties having lately carried away a *Duria* and two labourers within half a league of *Columbo*, which obliged us to be continually upon our guard. The *Dutch* still residing at *Candy* being afraid they

should be detained there against their will, writ to the general to hasten the departure of the *Persian* falconer with the hawks, in hopes that thereby the king might be brought into a good humour to let them depart.

About the same time a certain messenger named *Chitty Maley*, came to *Columbo* with some hawks and other presents for the emperor; six hawks more with their falconers were also brought from the coast of *Coromandel* for the same purpose.

The 20th of *July* two *Caffers* came over to us, one whereof having been the king's trumpeter, the other a drummer, they reported that his majesty continued still in his camp at *Reygamwatte*, but intended shortly to break up for *Ruanelle*, the disservice of *Matule* having been sent before already to take care of the highways, through which they were to pass. They further told us, That the emperor having granted to divers *Portuguese* certain goodly villages, this had created ill blood among the courtiers.

Two Caffers come over to us.

Our interpreter *George Bloem* was forced to continue there till he found means to make his escape in the night-time from the camp of *Reygamwatte*, by means of a preceptor, or boat, wherewith he got to *Montual*, having deceived his guards, by giving them a good dose of strong liquors. Five other *Dutchmen*, who had deserted our service, continued with the king at court.

Our interpreter escapes from the camp of the emperor.

*Baldæus.* News was brought at the same time, that some of the king's forces, having got intelligence that Mr. *Rabel*, a brave *Cingalese*, a native of *Mature* in our service, was absent from *Hakman*, with a serjeant and most of the soldiers, having left only a guard of ten *Europeans* and fifteen *Lasccaryns* in the place; they to the number of a hundred men, attacked them on a sudden, in hopes to carry the place by surprize, but were notwithstanding so hotly received, that they were glad to retire.

The Cingalese in vain attacked.

Things began thus to grow worse and worse, without hopes of amendment, because we were frequently bit by our own dogs, I mean the perfidious *Cingalese* under our jurisdiction, who gave constant intelligence of all our designs, so that we could not send abroad the smallest party but the enemy had before-hand notice thereof; whereas we could never discover the least of their intentions, of which we were sufficiently convinced by divers intercepted letters.

The king's forces having surprized a serjeant, named *Peter Johnson*, a native of *Dantzick*, with some inhabitants of the country, and four soldiers wives, they carried them before the dislave of the seven *Corles*, who told them, That they had been long enough in the *Dutch* service, and must resolve now to be his majesty's slaves.

Two robbers punished.

The 2d of *August* we received a letter from *Laurence Haurwyk*, our under-factor at *Caleture*, that several robbers had been seen about *Boemboele*, who had cut down the fruits of the earth; that *Andrado* being sent after them with some *Lasccaryns*, had met only with two of them, who refusing obstinately to confess by whom they were sent out to cut down the rice, they had cut off their heads, and set them upon poles near the place where they had spoiled the rice.

The 13th of *August* being sunday, the yacht called the *Columbo* came into our road, having left *Tutecoryn* the 11th: she brought letters from the commodore to the general, intimating, That the enemy's Squadron, composed of fifteen frigats, had escaped his hands the 7th of *July*, taking the opportunity of the night, and the advantage of the flats betwixt the isles; that they were pursued by our ships as far as *Pambanaar*, which could not come up with them by reason of the sands. He further told him, That suspecting the *Teuver* or governor of the country to have been corrupted with money, and to have given them a free passage betwixt *Manaar* and *Jasnapatnam*, (which he commands by either laying in, or removing certain stones from the entrance thereof,) he had been obliged to return to *Tutecoryn*.

The Portuguese Squadron gets clear of the Dutch.

We had at the same time advice of the *Baldæus*, arrival of our ships, the *Amsterdam*, the *Avenborn*, *Sapbir*, *Haddock*, *Workum*, *Pelican*, *Patience*, and *Black Bull*, upon the coast of *Coromandel*: but it was no small mortification unto us, that the *Sapbir* (contrary to the general of *Ceylon's* orders) had left the prisoners and *Portuguese* soldiers (who, according to the articles of surrender, were to have been carried to *Batavia*) ashore near *Negapatnam*; and that she had not touched in the southern harbours, where there was a considerable cargo of clothes and other commodities ready, which could not be disposed of otherwise: and by the first oversight, the enemy had been reinforced with eighty brave soldiers, contrary to the intention of the agreement.

Over-sight of the ship the Sapbir.

We had at the same time letters from the factor *Adrian van Newland*, dated in the *Danish* fort called *Franguebare*, whereby we understood that the before-mentioned *Portuguese* frigats were passed through the *Streights* (by the assistance of the governor) to *Jasnapatnam*, from whence *Anthony Amiral de Menezes* (afterwards killed by one of our cannon-balls near *Manaar*) had sent his forces in boats to *Negapatnam*, in order to gather a body (at the request of *Raja Singa*) in those parts, which, as the case then stood, might have proved very dangerous to us, had not God through his mercy prevented their designs.

During all these troubles, our general kept a watchful eye upon the enemy's motions, and ordered Mr. *John van der Laan* with three hundred men to scour the country: these differences continued for a considerable time, viz. to the year 1665. and though some glimpses of peace appeared at certain intervals, yet is it certain that *Raja Singa* is not reconciled to us to this day, and perhaps never will whilst he lives.

We have hitherto treated of *Columbo*; we now will pass the river at *Montual*, and take our course higher up to *Negumbo*. But before we come thither, I cannot forbear to say a word or two concerning the general opinion of the *Indians*, viz. That *Columbo* was impregnable. Hence it was that the *Portuguese* boasted in all places, that the king of *Portugal*, and viceroys of *Goa*, would never suffer so strong a fortress to fall into the hands of the hereticks, especially after we were repulsed in the first general assault. I happened to be then at *Macassar*, where the *Portuguese* father, and some missionaries lately come from *China*, used to make this siege their sport; and one *Francisco Vieiro*, one of the richest merchants in the *Indies*, offered to lay vast wagers that it was not taken by the *Hollanders*.

Opinion concerning the strength of Columbo.

*Baldæus.* The king of *Celebes* and *Macassar* (the capital city of that isle) had the same opinion concerning the strength of *Columbo*, he and most of his courtiers being much inclined to the *Portuguese* side. But within three months, just at my return to *Batavia* (after the conclusion of the peace betwixt us and the king of *Macassar*) we had the news of the surrender of *Columbo* brought to *Batavia* by *Peter Bitter*, to the general satisfaction of the people.

But after this digression it is time to come to *Negumbo*; which lies about two leagues and a half, or five good hours walking, along the banks of the river to the north. I am not able to tell you the exact time of its beginning, the *Portuguese* historians being silent as to this point, being no more than a fort built for the conveniency of protecting the country, which abounds in cinnamon.

I told you before how *Adam Westervold* made himself master of *Batecalo*; after which *Anthony Caan* took, 1639. the fort of *Trinquemale*, the most spacious harbour on the east side of *Ceylon*. *Philip Lucas*, the *Dutch* director-general in the *Indies*, took *Negumbo* the first time, Feb. 9. 1640. and soon after (as has been told before, viz. March 13. following) our commodore *William-Jacob Koster* took *Gale* by storm; but was afterwards treacherously murdered by some of *Raja's* people, with four of his guards.

For the said Mr. *Koster* coming to *Baldæus*, *Candy* in person, was detained there with vain promises, without the least probability of success, till growing impatient, he began to utter threats and very harsh words (a great piece of imprudence) against some of the great ones at court; which coming to *Raja's* ears, he was dismissed without the usual marks of honour, and conducted towards *Batecalo*, but murdered by the way by the *Cingalese*, his conductors. This was the reward bestowed by *Raja* upon *Koster*, who had reduced *Trinquemale*, *Gale*, and *Mature*, with all the countries thereunto belonging, to his jurisdiction.

Certain it is, had *Raja* been sincere, we might with his assistance easily have made ourselves masters at that juncture of *Columbo*, when all their regular forces being sent to the relief of *Gale*, there were but a few old soldiers, priests, and citizens left for the defence of the place. But *Raja* thought it better to play the trimmer betwixt two *European* nations, than to be in danger of being conquered by one, and so thought it his best way to give opportunity to the *Portuguese* to recover a little breath.

For the *Portuguese* having received a strong reinforcement from *Goa*, found means to regain the fort of *Negumbo*; which done, they sat down before *Gale*, but were bravely entertained by *John Thyssen*, who gave them many a brush; *Raja Singa*











*Baldæus*, sitting all this while by like a spectator, though the *Portuguese* remained masters of all the *Low-Lands*, though we delivered *Batecalo* into his hands, and made much greater offers by *Peter Barrel* our ambassador. Things continued in the same state till the year 1644. at the beginning whereof *Francis Caron* took *Negumbo* from the *Portuguese* a second time; and having strengthened it with four new bastions of earth, surrounded with strong pallisadoes, left a garrison of five hundred men there for its guard. After the departure of our fleet, and some detachments sent to *Gale*, and

*Negumbo taken a second time by the Dutch.*

other places, *Don Philippo Mascarenhas Baldæus*, made an attempt upon the place; but being bravely repulsed, was glad to retire in confusion to *Columbo*. It was about this time that *Mr. John Maatzuyker* (now governor-general of the *Dutch East-Indies*) coming to *Goa*, entered into a treaty with the *Portuguese* viceroy, *John de Silva Telles de Menezes*, earl of *Aveiras*, concerning the limits betwixt both nations in the isle of *Ceylon*; which being brought to a conclusion 1645. the said *Mr. Maatzuyker* remained in those parts in the quality of governor of *Puntegale*.

*The Portuguese attempt in vain to recover it.*

CHAP. XLIII.

*Raja Singa treats underhand with the Portuguese: His Tame Elephants detained. Raja declares against the Portuguese. The Dutch lose Angretotte. Both the Portuguese and Dutch are reinforced. Engagement near Tiboene. Caleture deserted. Portuguese worsted both by Sea and Land. Manaar taken.*

*Raja sides with the Portuguese.*

**R**AJA Singa, at the instigation of the *Portuguese*, being grown very jealous of the *Dutch* being in possession of the seven *Corles*, connived at the robberies that were committed in those parts by his people, which at last obliged *Mr. John Thyssen* to proclaim open war against them; and accordingly *Nicholas Jacobson Overschie*, governor of *Negumbo*, and overseer of the *Dutch* limits (who died afterwards at *Voorburgh*) caused all the king's tame elephants to be seized; which so exasperated his majesty, that he drew all his forces together, and entered the seven *Corles*, where our people had the worst of it, because they surrendered without being reduced to the utmost extremity. However, after the return of *Mr. Maatzuyker*, *Negumbo*, *Gale-Corle*, and *Mature*, with the countries thereunto belonging, were soon secured against all further attempts; the cinnamon was gathered and peeled as before, the wild elephants tamed, and every thing else settled for the advantage of our company: nay *Raja Singa* himself was appeased, who retreated with his forces, though without doing any harm to the *Portuguese*; an infallible sign that there was no ill understanding betwixt them.

*His elephants seized.*

Matters thus continued till 1649. when *Mr. Maatzuyker* redeemed all our prisoners; and by a messenger, sent with some presents, brought matters to an honourable composition. In the beginning of the year 1650, *Mr. Rampot* left *Gale* and *Mature*, to the great dissatisfaction of *Raja*

*Singa*, who, however, was so far from breaking with us upon that account, that when we entered into a war with the *Portuguese*, 1652. *Raja* declared against them, laying hold of the opportunity that presented it self, by a late mutiny among the *Portuguese* soldiers, and chief inhabitants of *Columbo*, raised against *Manoel Mascarenhas Homem* their governor, whom they had taken into custody.

*Mutiny against their governor.*

These mutineers having gathered what forces they were able near *Columbo* marched on a sudden with eight hundred *European* soldiers and as many negroes towards our fort of *Angretotte*, which they obliged to a surrender the 8th of *January* 1653. after a siege of eleven days, in which they lost a considerable number of men, ninety eight *Germans*, twenty four *Javanese*, and a greater number of *Lascaryns* were made prisoners of war, under condition that they should be dismissed for a reasonable ransom. The same afternoon a body of three hundred men were sent to their relief, who happened to come too late; though as the case stood, their endeavours would have proved in vain, considering the enemy was twice as strong and advantageously posted; and we had not come off at so cheap a rate, had not *Raja Singa* given the enemy a strong diversion near *Cottogore*, whereabouts they attacked the pass near *Columbo* with such vigour, that the governor and deputy-governor were glad to send for their forces from *Reygam* and *Pasdum-Corle* to oppose the imperialists. There were no sooner re-

*Angretotte lost by the Dutch.*

*Raja makes a diversion in favour of the Dutch.*

treated,

*Baldous*. treated, but the *Portuguese* attacked our outguards near *Negumbo*, and possessed themselves of the four and seven *Corles*, but *Raja Singa* rallying his forces, marched from *Ouva* to *Saffragamme* (the capital city of the five *Corles*) the *Portuguese* disfavve was glad to retreat with his forces to *Gurbeville*, and thereby gave us opportunity to join our forces, and secure the countries of *Gale* and *Mature*.

The Portuguese are reinforced.

In the mean while, viz. the 10th of May, the *Portuguese* in *Columbo* received a reinforcement of twelve frigats, with a good number of officers and soldiers from *Goa*, under the command of *Francisco de Melo de Castro*; our cruizers being scarce two days before (to our great misfortune) forced to retreat from their stations by streffs of weather into the harbour of *Gale*. Notwithstanding which they made no considerable attempt against us, being contented to secure only their workmen employed in peeling of the cinnamon, and other inhabitants of the country, against our parties.

*Raja Singa* finding that in 1653. in September, the *Portuguese* had received a fresh supply from *Tutecoryn*, whereas our four ships did not bring one single soldier to relieve the rest; that our governor *Jacob van Kittenstein* had obtained leave to depart; and that when commissary *Ryklof van Goens* touched with his four ships towards the latter end of October in *Ceylon*, in his way to *Persia* and *Suratte*, without bringing us the least succours, he retreated with his half-starved tattered troops from *Caravanella*, through the seven and four *Corles* to *Candy*, to refresh themselves.

The *Portuguese* finding themselves secure on that side, did appear with all the forces they could bring into the field before *Columbo*, in hopes of drawing our forces out of the fort; but finding themselves frustrated in their hopes, they retreated in the beginning of 1654. towards *Reygam* and *Pasdum-Corle*, whence they sent frequent parties to take away our cattle, and to spoil the fruits of the earth. But major *John van der Laan* was always at hand with a good body to observe them.

The 20th of March our governor, *Adrian van der Meyden*, marched from *Gale* to *Caleture*; and being joined there the 23d by all his forces, he followed the *Portuguese* through *Berberin*, *Dodangodde*, and *Tiboene*, where he attacked them the 26th in the morning, in their advantageous post:

An engagement betwixt the Portuguese and Dutch.

The engagement was very fierce for a whole hour; when our forces feigned a retreat, in hopes to draw the enemy from his post: but they were too wise to follow us; they had more men slain on their side than we.

After our forces had refreshed themselves a little while at *Tiboen*, we marched to *Caleture*, and the enemy retreated out of our dominions cross the river to *Columbo*.

Soon after five galeons, with one thousand *Portuguese* landmen aboard them, arriving upon our coast, engaged three of our yachts called the *Greybound*, the *Rhinoceros*, and *Dromedary*, and pursued them to the flats of *Negumbo*, but took none of them, our vessels retiring under the cannon there, and the *Portuguese* to *Columbo*, having lost their captain-major and many others in this engagement.

A council being called to consult what to do in this emergency, it was resolved to leave *Caleture*, and to employ our whole force in the defence of *Negumbo*, without which we were not in a condition to maintain that fortress, which was of the greatest consequence to us. Accordingly *Negumbo* being well provided with what forces we were able to gather, the enemy (whose forces were considerably encreased by the late reinforcements) marched from *Galkisse* to *Caleture*, and thence to *Alicaon*, where they pitched their tents: to oppose which we brought into the field about two hundred *Europeans*, eighty *Javaneze*, and a good number of *Lascaryns*, wherewith we made a shift to defend our country as well as we could.

About this time commissary *Van Goens*, in return from *Persia* and *Suratte* to *Ceylon*, had the good fortune to beat the galeons near the cape *du Ramos*, and thereby to release twenty of our people made prisoners at *Angretotte*, who were set ashore at *Puntegale*. This was the reason that the *Portuguese* could not spare many men for the use of their frigats, having sustained a considerable loss of them in the late engagement with Mr. *Van Goens* near *Achiera*; neither were they so active in the field till the ensuing July, when we having received some reinforcements, appointed our rendezvous at *Bentotte* in sight of the enemy, having only a river betwixt us and them. We killed the *Portuguese* about thirty *Europeans* in divers skirmishes, and took from them divers boats; which made them not so eager afterwards to attack our countries, in order to spoil our cinnamon and *Areek* harvest, and the taking of elephants, wherein consists the chief revenue of this isle, belonging to the company.

The 13th of September, the yachts the *Turtle-Dove*, the *Red-Lyon* and the *Haddock*, arrived with fresh supplies and fifty soldiers. The fourth of December the yacht

the

*Baldæus*, the *Kanien* brought us a supply of fifty four soldiers more; besides which, one hundred fifty nine seamen were taken out of four ships, (come with the director *Henry van Gent* into *Gale*, to provide themselves with fresh water;) all which being joined with our forces, encamped at *Bentotte*. We embarked the 16th of *December* all our forces, six hundred ninety strong, (including officers) composed of seamen, land-soldiers, *Javanese*, and *Cingalese*, in twenty *Catapaneeles*, or land-boats; and thus passed the river *Alicaon*.

The Dutch pass the river Alicaon.

But scarce had we reached the opposite bank of the river, but we met with so warm a reception from three hundred chosen *Portuguese*, and some *Topasses* and *Cingalese*, that most of our *Indian* forces betook themselves to their heels: but being rallied again upon the bank of the river, returned to the charge; and being bravely seconded by the rest, forced the enemy to retreat, leaving one of their cannon of one thousand pounds weight behind them, sixty slain, and many more wounded. They behaved themselves bravely; but were forced after this defeat to retire by the way of *Malvane* to *Columbo*.

Beat the Portuguese.

The *Portuguese* finding us not ready to attack *Caleture*; (after they had given the usual pay to the soldiers,) they broke up in the beginning of 1655, and surpris'd *Raja's* forces, under the command of the *dislave* of the four *Corles*; and being reinforced by some other forces from *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*, besides a good number of *Lascaryns*, they pursued the *dislave* of the seven *Corles* as far as to the straits of *Candy*, plundering all the country through which they pass'd; which so exasperated the king, that he ordered all his forces to appear in the field; but his van being routed in *April* near *Attapitin* by *Caspar Figeiro*, the king quitted the field full of dissatisfaction.

Raja's troops routed.

It happened, to our good fortune, that the new governor and *Portuguese* admiral, *Antonio de Souza Coutinbo*, (under whose government *Columbo* was lost) coming with eight frigats and five hundred landmen into these parts, was the 18th of *May* forced towards the coast of *Gale*: we sent out two yachts, viz. the *Lion* and *Kanien*, who, coming up with them, took two, with all the men and provisions, and forced three or more four ashore; so that two or three of them got safe to *Columbo*; and *Continbo* himself was forced to take his course round the point *das Pedra* to *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*; from whence he came with a good troop by the way of *Putelaon*, *Calpentyn*, and the seven *Corles*; in *August* to *Columbo*; where he was no sooner established in his dignity, but he

The Portuguese routed at sea.

visited with *Antonio Mendes d' Arangie* the *Baldæus*, fort of *Caleture*, where he left a garison of three hundred *Europeans*, and a good number of negroes; but resolv'd to keep *Caspar Figeiro* near his person.

Baldæus.

By that time the director-general *Gerard Hulst* came in company of Mr. *John van der Laan* (a person well versed in the affairs of *Ceylon*) into those parts. About the middle of *September* three yachts were dispatched from cape *Comoryn*, in order to observe the frigats sent from *Columbo* to *Tutecoryn* for provisions, and either to take them, or to block them up betwixt the islands. It was also resolv'd to force the *Portuguese* to quit *Caleture*, whilst the enemy were yet under apprehension of the strength of the forces come along with the director-general, and lately landed at *Negumbo*; from whence he intended to give the enemy a visit on the other side of the river at *Montual*.

However, the *Portuguese* squadron, consisting of twenty frigats and some barks, loaden with all sorts of necessaries at *Jafnapatnam*, and some other places on the *Indian* coast, made shift to pass by with full sails within sight of *Negumbo* (where our ships lay at anchor) and to our signal regret got into *Columbo*. Mr. *Hulst* received at the same time advice, by a small *vice-boat*, that a new viceroy was arriv'd at *Goa* with three galeons, one yacht, and a good number of landmen. A council being called, it was thought convenient to try whether these galeons might not be surpris'd near *Marmagon*, or *Agoada*, (two castles in the bay of *Goa*.) At the same time Mr. *Hulst* came with four ships and a good number of soldiers before *Berberyn*; where having landed and joined his forces with the rest the 28th of *September*, he soon after made himself master of *Caleture*, an account whereof has been given before.

A new viceroy comes to Goa with some galeons.

But it is time to leave *Negumbo*, provided with a good garison, (first by major *John van der Laan*, and afterwards by the head-factor *Edward Hauw*.) and to go towards *Manaar*. In the year 1661. I undertook a journey over land from *Jafnapatnam* to *Columbo*, forty nine or fifty leagues distant from one another; which I accomplished in seven days.

Distance betwixt Jafnapatnam and Columbo.

From *Negumbo* you travel by the way of *Cajuel* to the river *Chilaww*, and so through the countries of *Madampe* and *Putelaon*, leaving the isle of *Calpentyn* to the left; then through *Aripou* (where the christians have a church) to *Manaar*; thence to *Wannias*, the church of *Mantotte*, and so to *Jafnapatnam*; of which more hereafter. We made this observation in this

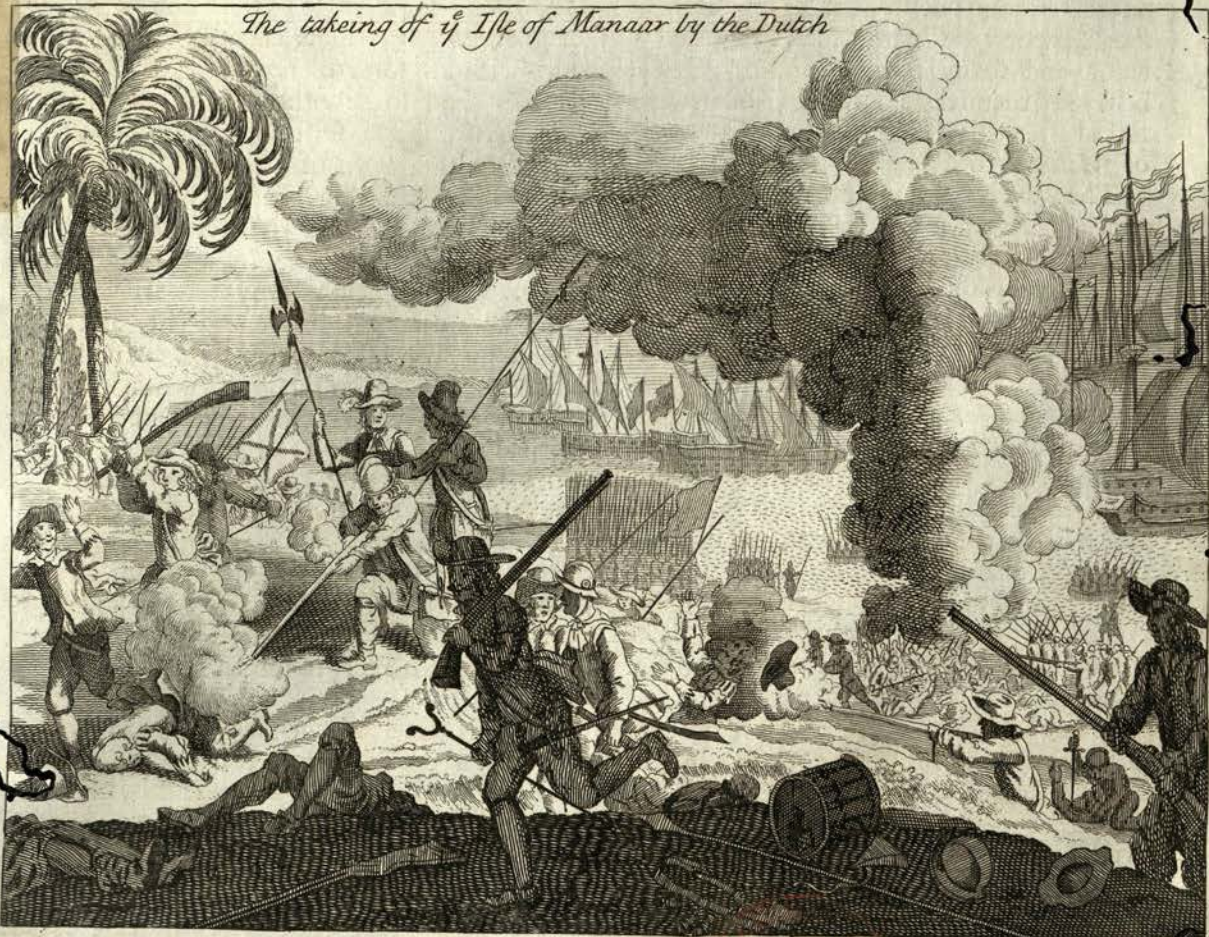
*Baldens.* journey, that no cinnamon grows, except on the other side of the river *Chilaw*, and beyond *Jafnapatnam*. For the rest, all these before-mentioned countries have a very fruitful soil, (except *Calpentyn*, which is somewhat barren,) especially about *Madampe*, but are destitute of inhabitants; the bufflers feeding here in vast herds; which makes me believe, that it would afford plenty of every thing, were it well cultivated.

*Goodness of these Countries.*

We will now proceed to give you some account of the isle of *Manaar*, which formerly adhered to the continent, as sufficiently appears by the sand-bank, called *Adam's-Bridge*. Next unto this lies the isle of *Rammanakoyel*, where is to be seen a rich and famous *Pagode*, belonging to the *Teuver*, or governor, who has a fort on the continent. At certain seasons there

is a passage with small boats through some *Baldens.* depths of this *Adam's Bridge*, one whereof I had once occasion to pass myself.

The said isle was reduced by the *Hollanders*, 1658. in the following manner, *The isle of Manaar taken by the Dutch.* by Mr. *Ryklof van Goens*. The *Portugueses* had made entrenchments all along the shore; which were defended by one thousand chosen men, and twelve frigats, to hinder the approach of our boats. Our great ships were ordered to advance as near as they could; under favour of which, our boats landed the men. Serjeant *Henry van Wel* (since a lieutenant) was the first who set foot on shore; and being bravely followed by the rest, were as courageously received by the *Portuguese*, who did all that men could do to second their comrades: but our cannon from the ships, together with our small arms, made such



a havock among them, that they were forced to quit their entrenchments. Here it was that *Antonio Amiral de Meneses*, the *Portuguese* general, lost his life by a cannon-bullet, and *Antonio Mendes d'Arangie*, a famous soldier, was mortally wounded, with many other brave officers.

On our side we lost an ensign; and before our landing, (when the long-boat of

the ship *Naarden* was taken,) the brave lieutenant *Block*, which we returned them with full measure; all their frigats, as they passed by our squadron, being either sunk or taken, with a great slaughter of their men. Major *John van der Laan*, (though he had a heavy fall before our landing, being a very large and fat person) did nevertheless behave himself upon this occasion

*Baldæus.* occasion with incredible bravery, breaking through the thickest of the ranks of the enemy, whereby he made good the title bestowed upon him long before, of being *the terror of the Portuguese.*

*Portuguese leave the fort Manaar.* After this defeat, the *Portuguese* not thinking themselves secure in the fort *Manaar*, retired over the water to *Jafnapatnam*, leaving only *Andrew Villosa* with a very moderate force in the castle of *St. George*. They would not have escaped our hands at so cheap a rate, had we not been stopped by the great rains and tempests.

*St. George surrenders.* The 22d *Andrew Villosa*, being deserted by most of his men, was obliged to surrender the castle of *St. George* upon reasonable terms. We took about two hundred prisoners, both *Europeans* and negroes, and among them a *Caffer*, (or *African negro*,) who pretending to be a captain, was so stubborn, that he would not take up his arms, or arise from the ground, (as he was commanded to do,) without a good bastinado.

The 24th of *February* I preached the thanksgiving-sermon in the great church upon the text of *1 Sam. vii. 7.* for the most fortunate reduction of this isle, whereof our general might say with *Cæsar, Veni, vidi, vici*, being beyond all question one

of the greatest actions that ever happened *Baldæus.* betwixt us and the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, considering we were forced to attack the enemy's forces, composed of veteran *European* soldiers, and to chase them from their advantageous posts; and that only with eight hundred men, and consequently with the utmost hazard; being resolved either to overcome or die in the attempt, because we had quite drained the garrison of *Columbo*, leaving only a few, and those infirm persons, to guard that place, because we expected hourly the arrival of the ship the *Salamander*, with some hundreds of soldiers, and good store of ammunition and provision, having aboard the commodore *Peter de Bitter*, the factor *Edward Ooms*, and captain *Peter Wasch*. The same having been detained by calms and tempests for near six months, and endured great hardships about the *Maldivè* islands, *The Salamander* arrived at last safely at *Columbo*; but was soon after ordered by the governor, *Adrian van der Meyden*, to sail to *Manaar*; where she came to an anchor immediately after we had made ourselves masters of that isle, and were just then preparing to march towards *Jafnapatnam*. But before we leave *Manaar*, we must add something concerning the true condition of this island.

CHAP. XLIV.

*A Description of Manaar. How the Christian Religion was planted, and might be further promoted there. A Description of the Country of the Wannias. Our March towards Jafnapatnam: We pass the River, rout the Portuguese, and take the Water-Fort.*

*Manaar, whence it got its name.*

*The Cingalese and Malabar languages are spoken in the isle of Ceylon.*

**M**ANNAAR derives its name from the *Malabar* language, from the word *Man*, i. e. *Sand*, and *Aar*, a river, signifying as much as a *Sand-River*, it being observable, that both the *Cingalese* and *Malabar* languages are spoken in the isle of *Ceylon*. The first is used beyond *Negumbo*; viz. at *Columbo*, *Caleture*, *Berberyn*, *Alican*, *Gale*, *Belligame*, *Mature*, *Dondere*, &c. But in all the other parts of this isle opposite to the coast of *Coromandel*, and all along the bay, they speak the *Malabar* tongue; whence it seems very probable, that that tract of land (as the inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam* themselves believe) was first of all peopled by those of *Coromandel*, who brought their language along with them; it being certain, that in the inland countries, about *Candy*, *Vin-*

*tane*, *Ballaney*, &c. they speak only *Cingalese*.

The isle of *Manaar* is situate at nine degrees of northern latitude, its length being about two and a half *German* leagues, and one broad, including the salt-water river, (as you will see in the map,) which reaches as far as the great church called *Carcel*. The castle is seated upon a canal able to bear small yachts, which draw three, four, or five foot water, and can go from thence to *Jafnapatnam*. This castle was strengthened with some additional fortifications, and surrounded with a deep ditch, after we had taken it from the *Portuguese*. The whole isle has no more than seven churches, unto each whereof belong divers considerable villages: the first is the *City Church*, next that



*Baldens.* that called *Tottavaly*, then *Carcel*, *Erkelampatti*, *St. Peter's* church belonging to the fishermen, *Peixale*, and the last *Tellemanaar*, lying at the furthest, and near the sea-side.

Pearl-fishery at Manaar.

This island was formerly celebrated for the pearl-fishery, as well as the city of *Tutecoryn*; but no pearls having been taken there for these ten years last past, the inhabitants are reduced to great poverty; whereas the sumptuous edifices, churches, and monasteries, with their ornaments, are sufficient demonstrations of its former grandeur.

In the year 1666. (after my departure,) our company ordered the first time the pearl-fishery to be renewed again, with no ill success; and according to several letters I have received from thence, they took a considerable quantity of pearls the second time, in the year 1669.

The inhabitants of Manaar speak also Portuguese. Persecution of the christians in Manaar.

The inhabitants of *Manaar* speak (besides the *Malabar*) most generally *Portuguese*, being long ago converted to the christian faith; for which reason they have suffered most cruel persecutions from the kings of *Jafnapatnam*; who baptized many of the new converted christians with blood, after they had received the baptism with water. Many of them fled for this reason to *Goa* by land, being above a hundred leagues, and among them a young gentleman of royal extraction, who embraced christianity there.

It was *Franciscus Xaverius* who converted the inhabitants here, as well as those on the cape *Comoryn*, and the *Paruas*, as we have told you before in the description of the *Indian* coast, and in the account of his life. The said *Xaverius* established among them certain teachers, called *Cana-cappels*, who were to instruct the inhabitants in the first rudiments of the christian religion, as the ten commandments, the creed, our father, &c. which they did with indefatigable care and industry.

These were succeeded by the jesuits, (called *Paulites* here, because they were sent into the *Indies* by pope *Paul III.*) who in their way of teaching both the old and young ones, did far exceed the *Franciscans*, and all other orders among the *Romanists*. And I am very free to confess, that I have frequently followed their footsteps in reforming the churches and schools in *Manaar* and *Jafnapatnam*, as far as they were consistent with our religion, and consonant to the genius of these nations; it being ab-

What method is most proper for the conversion of these nations.

solutely necessary that he who undertakes this task, should be well acquainted with the method to be used among these people in the infancy of their conversion, intricate questions and mysteries being more

apt to confound, than to instruct them; for *Baldens*, which reason it is most proper to teach them the naked truth of the gospel in as few points as possibly can be done, (the youth being very apt to retain here what they have been told,) to catechise frequently the young-ones in the presence of their parents, thereby to excite in them a laudable emulation to follow their footsteps. *St. Paul* himself leads us the way, when he says, That you must first lay the foundation of the doctrine of *Christ*, before you can raise the edifice of the church.

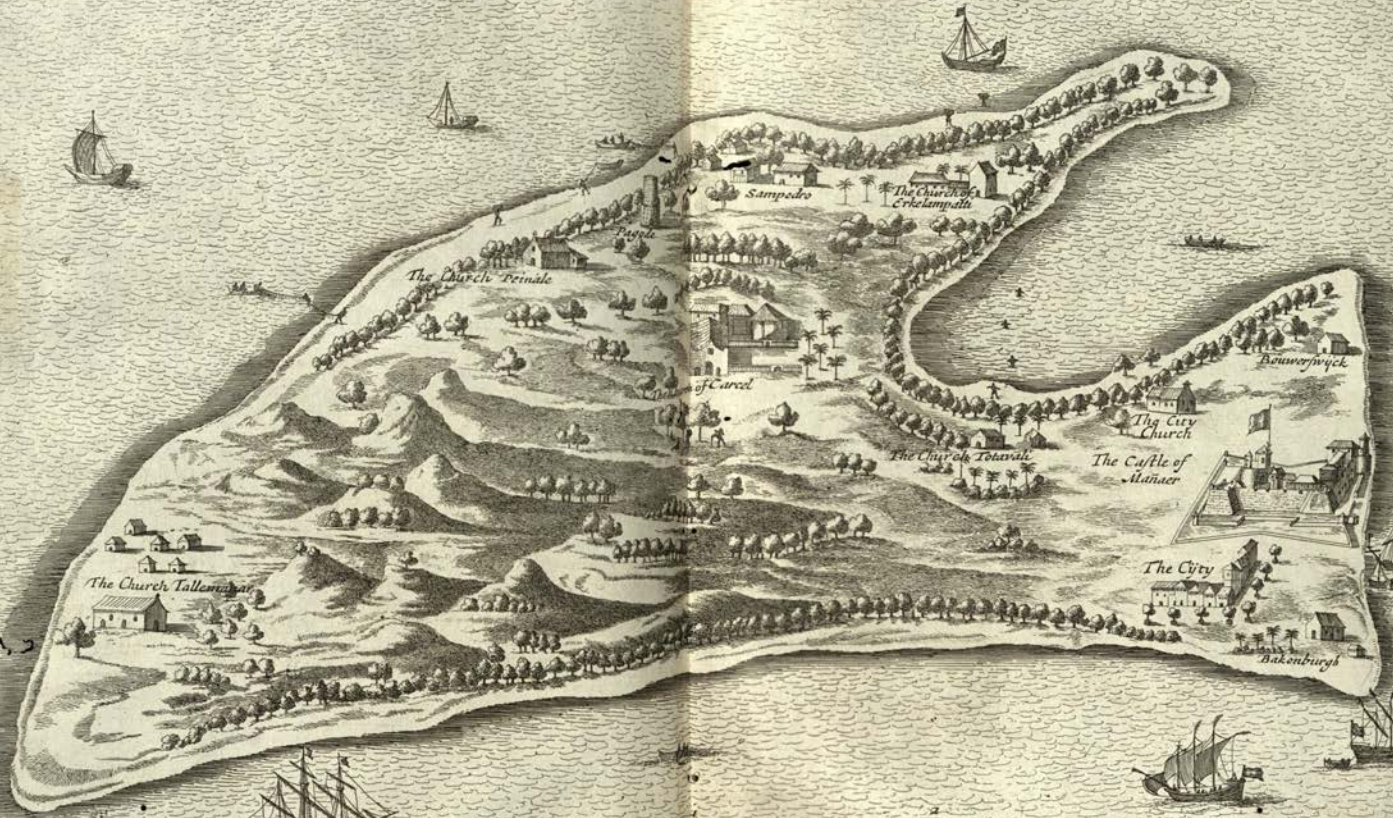
It is also absolutely requisite that the same catechism that has been at first introduced among the native christians, should be retained without any alteration; which, as it would over-charge their memory, so it would breed nothing but confusion instead of profit. It was for this reason, that when by order, from the supreme magistrates, the reformation of these churches was committed to my care, I reduced the chief points of the christian doctrine into questions and answers, which were afterwards introduced into the churches of *Jafnapatnam*, *Manaar*, *Gale*, *Columbo*, *Negumbo*, and *Mature*, and received by the succeeding ministers, by special command from the general and council of the *Indies*, and the governor of these places, and were afterwards confirmed by the general assembly of the clergy of *Ceylon* held at *Columbo*, 1659. from the 24th of *February*, till the 3d of *March*.

They had had enough of the mischiefs that ensued upon these alterations, introduced by new ministers into the isle of *Formosa*, who instead of following the footsteps of *Robert Junius* and *George Candius*, (ministers of the gospel there,) would introduce certain novelties. I found it also absolutely necessary to have these questions and answers put not only in the *Portuguese*, but also in the *Malabar* tongue; several copies whereof were sent to our brethren at *Columbo*, *Gale*, and *Negapatnam*.

It is beyond all dispute that the *Low Dutch* tongue is not so proper to propagate our religion here as the *Malabar* and *Portuguese*; and consequently, that the ministers of the gospel sent into those parts should rather apply themselves to these languages, than to impose their own upon the new converts, which always meets with great difficulty, and cannot be introduced without vast trouble and charges: besides, that it is much more reasonable one man should accommodate himself to many, than these to one man. It is furthermore requisite, that as the ministers ought to pay all due respect to the magistrates, so these should treat them with all imaginable civility



# THE ISLAND of MANAER.



The Church Tallampan

The Church Peinale

Sampoko

The Church of Erkelampath

The Church of Carcol

The Church Totavath

The Castle of Manaer

The City Church

The City

Bouwerwyck

Bakonburg

two Leagues



*Baldæus.* civility and honour, to acquire them the more authority among the natives.

*Manaar has plenty of fish.* The isle of *Manaar* abounds in fish to such a degree, that the inhabitants here (as well as at *Negumbo*) dry and send them into other parts in vast quantities. They

*A peculiar kind of fish.* have here a peculiar fish (properly a sea-calf) of an amphibious nature; the females have breasts, and give suck; and the flesh, when well-boiled, tastes not unlike our sturgeon, and might easily be mistaken for veal.

But it is time we pass the river of *Manaar* towards *Mantotte*. This river is not very deep, nay, on that side where you come to it over the canal near the castle, it is so shallow, that you may wade through it with ease, the water scarce coming up to your knees, though it is so broad, that it will take up half an hour before you can pass it. The country on the other

*The country of the Wannias.* side is called the country of the *Wannias*, under the jurisdiction of our company; their churches make up, together with those of *Manaar*, no less than fourteen, and are under the inspection of the minister who resides in the isle of *Manaar*, and duly visits them once a month. This country, though it acknowledges the jurisdiction of our company, pays the usual taxes, furnishes them with elephants, &c. yet must they be mildly treated, it being their general maxims to disoblige neither *Raja Singa*, nor the company.

In the year 1658. in the beginning of *March*, (after the taking of *Manaar*, and providing it with a good garrison,) we marched into that country towards *Jafnapatnam*. *Mantotte* begins to the north of the salt-river, near the village of *Peringaly*, extending to the south along the sea-shore, as far as the river *Aripouture*, where *Mousilipatte* begins, near the village of *Aripou*, extending further southward to the mountains of *Condremale*, which face the bay, opposite to the isle of *Calpentyn*, and cross the country *Mantotte*, stretching to *Settecoulang*, six villages whereof belong to *Manaar*, six to *Jafnapatnam*, and five to *Mantotte*.

The rest of *Mantotte* and *Mousilipatte* extends to the east to the great forest, (the boundary of the country on that side.) *Mantotte* itself has sixty four villages, *Mousilipatte* twenty four, and that part of *Settecoulang* six, amounting in all to eighty four. All these countries are very fertile, especially in rice, which produces a hundred-fold crop; but the worst is, the elephants do great mischief in those parts that are not very populous.

It is very remarkable what *John de Lucena* observes in the life of *Xaverius*, viz. that on the cape *Comoryn*, and all along that

tract of the *East-Indies*, whilst it is summer and dry season on the west-side of the cape, the winter and rainy season appears on the opposite side. The same is to be observed in the isle of *Ceylon*; for whilst the winter continues about *Jafnapatnam*, the *Wannias* and *Manaar*, during the months of *October*, *November*, and *December*, it is summer in all the other parts. On the contrary, in the months of *April* and *May*, whilst it is summer about *Jafnapatnam*, which continues six or seven months, it is winter and rainy weather at *Columbo*, *Gale*, and the countries thereabouts. In the low-lands, remote from the mountainous part of *Ceylon*, there blow only two winds; but about *Columbo*, *Gale*, and some other places, you have duly a day and night wind, as upon the coast of *Coromandel*. From *April* till *October* the wind blows constantly a brisk gale from the south, with a clear air and bright sunshine; as does the north wind from *November* till *April*. In *January*, *February*, and *March*, it is generally very calm, with intolerable heat; but a dew falls in the night; which being very unwholesome, the inhabitants return with sun-set into their houses: and were it not for these dews, and the strong winds which cool the air, the heat would be unupportable here.

As we marched through the country of *Wannias*, we kept a most exact discipline; and as we had no great plenty of provisions, we allowed only a small measure of rice every day to each soldier, rather than incommode the inhabitants; and finding our forces to be extremely tired by long marches, and consequently incapable of engaging with the same advantage with the enemy, in case they should be attacked, it was resolved instead of marching up to the head of the river through the sandy ground, to pass the river in boats, though it would require near an hour and a half for every boat to pass it.

The worst was, that upon our arrival on the other side of the river, we expected the enemy ready to give us a warm reception, because we could not transport above two hundred, or at most three hundred men at once over the river, and that the bank was very muddy; for I remember that some years after two elephants passing over to the *Jafnapatnam* side, one of them stuck in the mud, and was killed by the inhabitants, nothing being more common than for the elephants to come cross the river to feed upon the fruits of the palm-trees, to come at which they trample the roots of the trees so long with their feet till they loosen, and afterwards throw them down with their bodies, and so eat the fruit.

*Baldæus.* However the first troop of our forces got over without any opposition; and no sooner had put themselves in order of battle, but received intelligence that the enemy were retreated from thence the day before, in order to expect us at the head spring of the river.

*We march towards Jafnapatnam.*

After we had transported all our forces over the river, the inhabitants treated us very civilly, and furnished us with plenty of provisions and fruits. The first place we came to was the chief church of the province of *Tenmarache*, called *Charvagatzari*; where after we had refreshed ourselves with a good dinner, we marched forward the same day with two field-pieces to *Nava-couli*, (two hours from *Jafnapatnam*,) where we encamped that night.

The next day (after morning-prayer) we marched on to the river, where we expected to meet with a vigorous opposition; but finding no resistance, we advanced by degrees towards the castle near the church of *Sundecouli*, where in the evening we had a smart skirmish with the *Portuguese*, of whom we killed many upon the spot, and posted ourselves that night round about the before-mentioned church.

The next following day we advanced to

the city; which being without any fortifications, we broke through the wall and houses; and pursuing the enemy from street to street, under the favour of our cannon, which opened us the way, we advanced towards the castle. The 9th of *March* we made ourselves masters of the jesuits church and college at the west-end of the city, and the 18th following of the church and monastery of the *Dominicans* on the east-side: which made us give publick thanks to God Almighty for his blessings, the text being the 7th verse of the 20th *Psalm*.

The enemy being thus forced to quit their houses, had no other way left than to retreat to the castle, which they did in great disorder, many of the inhabitants of the country thronging in among the *Portuguese*; so that the castle was so crowded with people that they had not room enough to dispose them to any advantage.

But the better to straiten the castle of *Jafnapatnam*, and take away from the garrison all hopes of relief, it was thought necessary to attack a certain out-work, or redoubt, built upon a small isle in the middle of the river, not far from its entrance, which it commands. This fort was built by *Antonio Amiral de Meneses*, and may justly

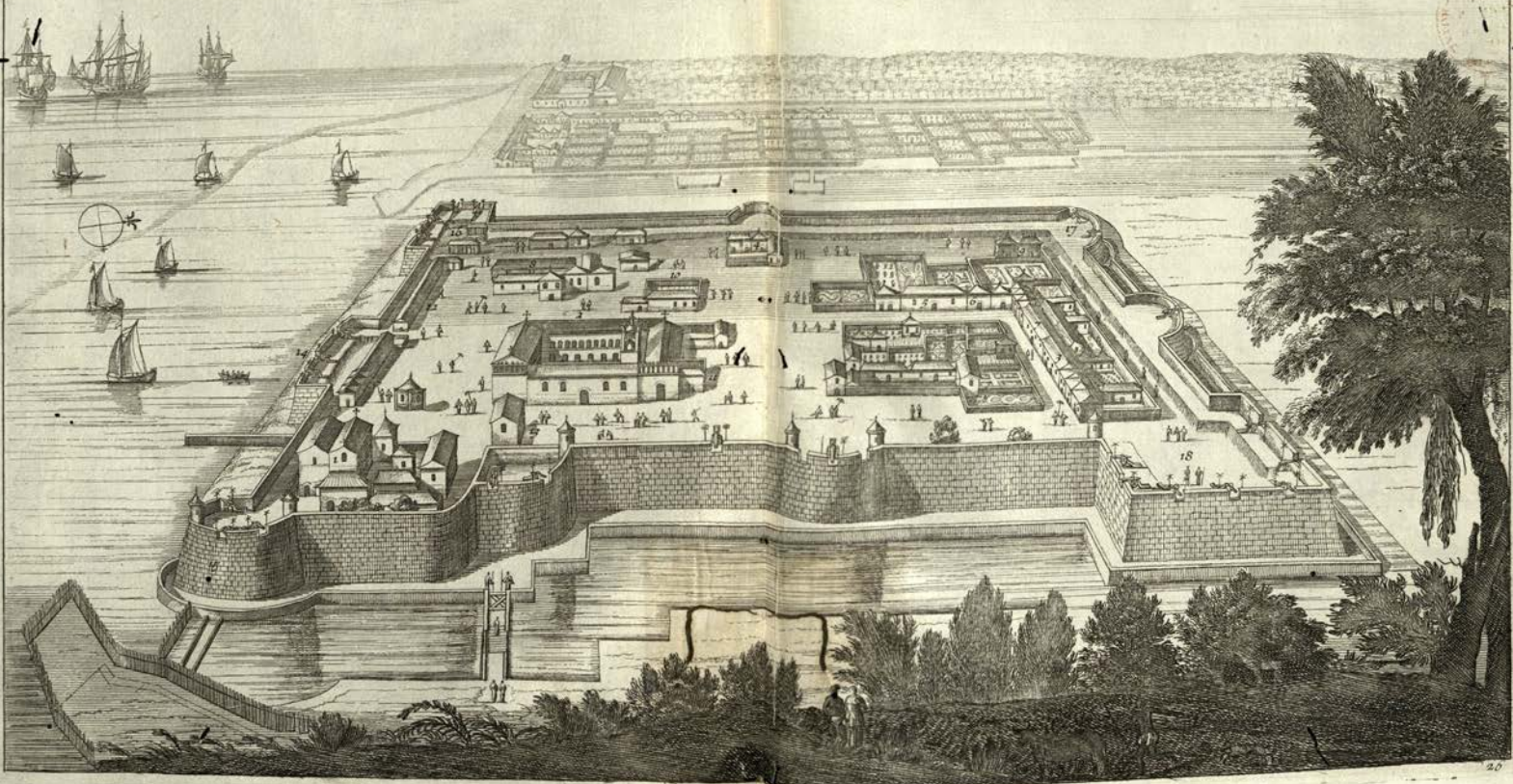
*Baldæus.*  
The city of  
Jafnapatnam taken.





JAFFNAPATNAM

- 1. the Governors house
- 2. the Church & Convent of *S. Claufter*
- 3. the Captains house
- 4. the Infirmary house
- 5. the Factors house
- 6. the Under Factors house
- 7. the Musters house
- 8. the Hospital for Sick
- 9. the House of Surgeons of Sick
- 10. the Powder house
- 11. the Timber house
- 12. the Prison
- 13. the Head Garde house
- 14. the Strand Gate
- 15. South East Bastion
- 16. South West Bastion
- 17. North West Bastion
- 18. North East Bastion



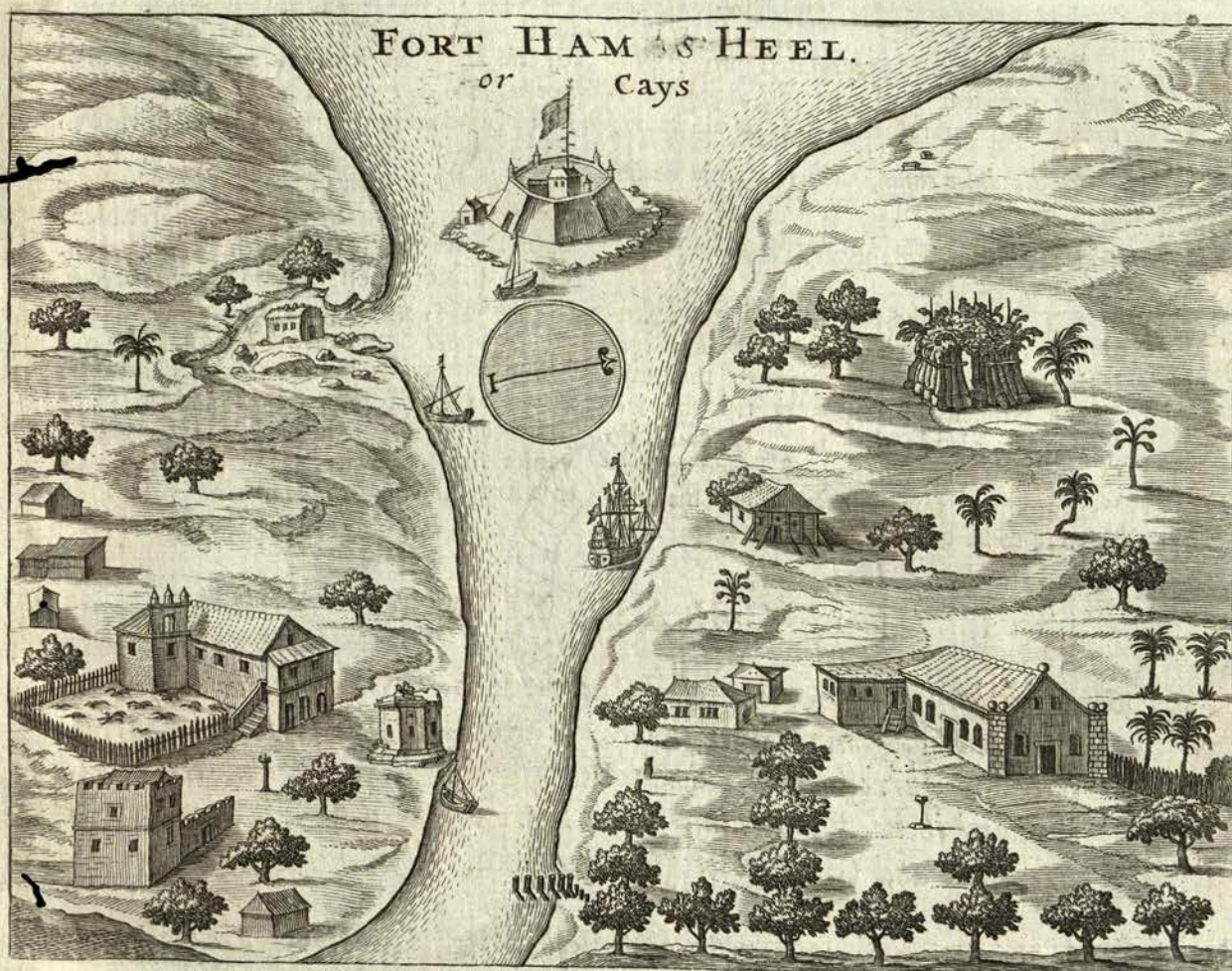




*Baldæus*. be called the key of *Jafnapatnam*; and if such another were made on the point of *Calmom*, no vessel could approach the castle without leave.

Accordingly we detached a good body of men to the isle of *Ourature*, in order to attack the said fort, in which at that time commanded one *Hieronimo de Paiva* with a good garrison. The isle of *Ourature* (where formerly the *Portuguese* had a castle, the ruins of which are yet to be seen) lying at some distance from this water-fort, we

were forced to raise our batteries against it *Baldæus*, upon the isle of *Caradiva*: but finding that by reason of the distance betwixt us and them, and the strength of the wall, we could make no breach in it, it was resolved to assault the place by the help of certain vessels provided with breast-works and cannon. But before we thought fit to venture at so desperate an attempt, it was resolved to send the following summons to the commander of the fort.



The fort  
Cays sum-  
moned to a  
surrender.

“ IT having pleased Almighty God to  
“ bless our arms with such success, that  
“ there is no possibility left for you to  
“ resist us, or defend yourself against our  
“ attacks: it is therefore that we have  
“ thought fit to let you know (as is usual  
“ upon such occasions) that we are come  
“ to summon the fort of *Cays*, in the name  
“ of the states-general of the *United Pro-*  
“ *vinces*, of the governors of the *East-*  
“ *India* company, and his excellency *John*  
“ *Maatzuyker* governor-general, and the  
“ council of the *Indies*; as by these pre-  
“ sents I summon the said fort, not ques-  
“ tioning but that after you have given  
“ sufficient proofs of your courage, you

“ will now consider how unable you  
“ are to resist our force. Do not there-  
“ fore obstinately resist God’s will, and  
“ our strength, since we offer you such  
“ conditions as are generally allowed to  
“ brave soldiers. But in case you will be  
“ obstinate in making trial of our strength,  
“ we protest before God and the christian  
“ world, that we are innocent of all the  
“ fatal consequences and miseries that are  
“ likely to befall you; being resolved on  
“ our side, (if God grants us victory,)  
“ to treat you after the severest manner,  
“ according to the custom of war, and  
“ not to hearken to any conditions. You  
“ have given sufficient proofs of your  
“ courage

*Baldæus.* “ courage to admiration; it is time therefore you should now act with prudence, and consult your safety. We expect your positive answer within three hours by the bearer of this, or whom your excellency shall think fit to send to us, who shall return safely upon our word and honour: subscribing my self (as you think fit) either your friend or enemy.”

From the camp,  
10 April 1658.

The admiral and general of the Dutch forces, both by sea and land.

This letter being translated into Portuguese, was sent into the fort; the commander whereof remembering the old verse,

*Fistula dulce canit, volucrum dum decipit auceps,*

sent the following answer.

*The answer thereupon.* “ THAT the fort belonging to nobody but to the king of Portugal his master, he was obliged to maintain the same for his majesty till the last drop of his blood. That he could do no more than what pleased God to permit him; but neither he nor his men were to be terrified by threats.

This bold answer made us think of nothing else but force; so that we were preparing every thing for an assault; which would have cost us many a brave fellow, had not the want of fresh water in the fort obliged them to come to a capitulation. For having no other fresh water in the fort, but what was preserved in a large wooden cistern, part whereof was taken away by the ships, that transported some women of quality with their riches from *Jafnapatnam* to *Negapatnam*, and the rest being spoiled by our bombs, they were glad to accept such articles as we were willing to give them, which however were very honourable, the soldiers being allowed to march out with all the marks of honour, and to be transported into *Europe*. The commander, who had a wife and children, was permitted to go to the *Indian* coast, or that of *Cornandel*. The 28th of *April* I preached the thanksgiving sermon for this surrender, upon the text out of the 48th *Psalms*, ver. 8. Upon this occasion captain *Cornelius Rob*, the younger, (who died two years after at *Amsterdam*,) captain *Peter Wasch*, (who was killed afterwards before *Cochin*,) and *Mr. Van der Rbeede*, gave most signal proofs of their courage. Since that time divers vaults for fresh water have been made in this fort, and in *Manaar*.

## CHAP. XLV.

*Continuation of the Siege of Jafnapatnam. Sea-fight before Goa. Divers Engagements betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese. Jafnapatnam surrendered. Some Portuguese living among the Hollanders there, plot against them: Are betrayed by a Topas. The Provinces and Churches of Jafnapatnam.*

*Strength of the castle of Jafnapatnam.* BUT it is time to return to the castle of *Jafnapatnam*, which being built upon a rock, and surrounded with a strong triple wall, seemed to defy both our mines and cannon, especially since we were not so well provided with gun-powder as we should have been; wherefore we thought it our safest way to expect that from time, which force was not likely to procure, resolving in the mean while to annoy the enemy as much as possibly we could with our bombs, which killed them abundance of men.

*The Portuguese endeavour in vain to fetch provisions.* The enemy finding themselves in a little time reduced to great straits, sent out divers boats to fetch some fresh provisions from the islands, but were always forced to return without success. Upon this oc-

caſion *Ysbrand Gotskens* born at the *Hague*, then director of the company in *Persia*, and *Barent Clebont*, then a lieutenant, ſince a captain at *Jafnapatnam*, behaved themſelves bravely, being both wounded, one near the mouth, the other in the knee.

The *Portugueſe* in the mean while living in hopes of ſuccours from *Goa*, ſent a letter by a certain *Topas* from *Trinquemale*, named *Ignatius Feras*, to their admiral; but this negro coming over to us with the letter, we ſent a good body of our beſt forces to prevent their landing, but we heard none.

On the other hand, we received the joyful news, that commodore *Adrian Kooſthaus* had, *March* 23. in an engagement with





W A N N J A S  
P R O V I N C I A

Patnarapalli

Provincia

P A R S

Provincia

Waddemarache

Billegam

Provincia



Duyfche mijlen  
Spanghe Leagues  
Engl. and French Leagues





*Baldæus.* with the *Portuguese* near *Goa*, burnt one of their biggest galleons, called the *St. Thomas*, and had so disabled the rest, that they had but little hopes left of relieving *Jafnapatnam*. For which victory we gave publick thanks to God the 26th of *May*, 1658. The text was taken out of *Exodus* xv. 9.

Several sea engagements be-twixt them.

About the same time I received a letter from the reverend *Theodoro Sas*, (since minister at *Malacca*.) then in the *Dutch* fleet before *Goa*, intimating, That the 20th of *January*, in the same year 1658. the *Portuguese* attacked us with ten galleons and some frigats: the engagement lasted till night, without any considerable damage on our side. That on the 27th and 29th of the same month, another combat ensued, without any great loss on both sides. The 3d of *February* the enemy attacked us once more; but were chased under their castle. In all these three engagements the *Dutch* had no more than nine men killed, and a few wounded. The letter was dated aboard the *Phoenix*, cruising before the bar of *Goa*, *February* 11. 1658.

Jafnapatnam surrendered.

The conditions.

In the mean while our forces having so closely surrounded the castle of *Jafnapatnam* with their lines and works, that they could not stir even with the least boat, without being taken or sunk; and being now destitute of all hopes of relief, they hung out the white flag the 21st of *June* on the south-east bastion. The capitulation was agreed upon the next following day, under these conditions: That the garrison should march out with their arms, colours flying, drums beating, &c. and take along with them one piece of cannon, and to be transported to *Europe*: the head-officers shall be civilly treated, and to be conducted to one or other of their forts, and the ecclesiasticks to the coast of *Coromandel*. All gold, silver, and other precious moveables, shall be left to the disposal of the conquerors; the inhabitants shall likewise be transported to what part of the *Indies* they like best, most of whom went afterwards by the way of *Malacca* to *Batavia*.

They march out.

Accordingly *John de Melo*, *Leonardo d'Oliveiro*, *Viador de Fazendas*, and *Antonio Mendes d'Aranba*, marched out of the castle with the rest of the head-officers, *Rodrigo Boralbo* delivering the keys at the same time to major *John van der Laan*; but they were so weak, that they did not think fit to carry along with them their piece of cannon, though they spent two whole days in marching out. A considerable number of soldiers laid down their arms and colours before the standard of the compa-

ny, as did many of the inhabitants, (a-*Baldæus.* among whom was *Caspar Figeiro*, the scourge of the *Cingalese*.) with their wives and children, negroes, forty or fifty ecclesiasticks, *Franciscans*, *Jesuits*, and *Dominicans*; notwithstanding that during the siege (which lasted three months and a half) they had lost near one thousand six hundred men by the sword and mortality.

Immediately after commodore *Peter de Bitter* was sent to *Batavia*, by the way of *Malacca*, to bring this joyful news to Mr. *John Maatzuyker* our general, and the council of the *Indies*. The 23d of *June* I preached a thanksgiving-sermon out of *Exodus* xvii. 15. which was continued every year on the same day.

When we entered the castle, we found it all battered to pieces by our bombs; and such was the stench, that for some time no body could abide there. We took care to have the springs cleared, the dung removed, the churches, houses, and walls repaired; three hundred cocoa-trees were also to be planted, and many houses that stood too near the ditch of the castle, to be broken down; and to encourage the inhabitants of the country to settle here, the custom upon tobacco was taken off, and *Jacob Rhee* our head-factor, a very understanding person, constituted, *pro tempore*, commander in chief here.

Things being thus disposed, our forces were soon after transported to the coast of *Coromandel*, in order to reduce the city of *Negapatnam*. We left but a slender garrison at *Jafnapatnam*, composed for the most part of *Portuguese*, who had taken service among us; besides which there was a considerable number of prisoners in the castle.

These, in conjunction with some of the natives, (not without the consent of *Rajou Singa*.) framed a plot against us. Their design was to murder all the officers in the castle, whilst I was preaching in *Portuguese* in the city; which done, certain persons of their gang should attack and kill the guard, and thus to make themselves masters of the castle.

It happened by accident, That whilst I was preaching, *Don Manoel Andrado*, one of our *Cingalese* captains and *Modeliar*, coming with eighteen of his followers (who generally attended him) to the church, remained in the porch, where he could hear as well as within the church. He was not a little surpriz'd (as he himself told me afterwards) to see the *Portuguese* remain standing likewise without the church door, and laying their hands upon their swords; yet not being able to guess the true reason thereof, this treachery was not discovered

*Baldæus*, discovered till some days after, when the whole design being laid open to Mr. *Jacob Van der Rbee*, he took care to double the guards, to shut the castle gates, and to secure all such as had a hand in the plot. The next thing was to send for me by a letter, (I being then visiting the churches in the country.) Upon the receipt whereof I returned immediately to the castle; where with great astonishment I had an account given me of the whole design; how it had been discovered; and the traitors secured: for which delivery I preached a solemn thanksgiving-sermon in *Low-Dutch* the 15th of *September*,

1658. out of the book of *Esther*, Chap. ix. *Baldæus*, 20, -- 24.

Not long after most of the traitors having confessed their crimes, some were condemned to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and some to be laid upon the wheel. The three chief heads of this conspiracy, were a certain inhabitant of *Manaar*, one *Don Louys*, and another *Portuguese*: these three were laid upon the wheel, or a cross; and after they had received a stroke with the ax in the neck and on the breast, had their entrails taken out, and the heart laid upon the mouth.



A certain jesuit, named *Caldero*, a native of *Malacca*, was beheaded. This unfortunate person being prevented by sickness from going along with the rest of the *Portuguese* clergymen, had not been concerned in this treacherous design, much less given his consent to it: but some of the traitors having given notice thereof to him by letters, wherein they stiled him the *Father of their souls*, he was unwilling to betray his countrymen, for which he paid now with his head: eleven more were hanged, and afterwards exposed in the open country on trees; but the heads of

the ringleaders were fixed upon poles in the market-place.

The castle of *Jafnapatnam* is of a quadrangular figure, and strongly fortified with very high and thick walls. It is bigger in circuit than the castle of *Batavia*, being the capital city of the whole kingdom. *Philippo de Olivero*, after having defeated the *Cingalese* near *Achiavel*, *The Portu-* *li*, not far from the great pagode, (the *guese con-* *ruins* whereof are to be seen to this day,) *quer Jat-* *napatnam.* Hard by this pagode is to be seen a most *A miracu-* *miraculous spring*, twenty four rods in *lous spring.* circum-





*Baldæus*. Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? and being answered *Yes*, he reply'd, *That thus Jesus Christ was baptized in his own name; which he could not well comprehend.* I told him, there was not the least absurdity in the matter, since *Jesus Christ* was not baptized upon his own account, or as God alone, nor as a bare man, but as being endowed both with the divine and human nature. That the *Son of God* could not be baptized otherwise but in the name of God; and that under the word God, was not only comprehended the father, but also the son and holy ghost: that *Jesus Christ* was the same in essence with the father and the holy ghost; and that there were no degrees in the deity; for though the father was the first, yet were the son as well and truly God as the father and holy ghost: wherewith he was well satisfied. For the *Indians* being generally very ingenious, they will ask many acute questions, as concerning the *creation and end of the world, the immortality of the soul, hell,* and such like.

Theatres  
near the  
churches.

Most of the churches here have certain scaffolds or theatres near them, especially that of *Telipole*, where the jesuits used to represent certain histories of the bible to the people on holidays.

The church  
Mallagam.

About half an hour thence stands the church *Mallagam*, of good brick-work, with an adjacent house built upon two arches, and a handsome pair of stairs leading to the top of it. The church was begun by the *Portuguese*; but finished by the *Dutch*. It has two hundred school-boys; but not above six hundred auditors.

The church  
Mayletti.

The church *Mayletti* is about five quarters of an hour from *Telipole*. Here are seven hundred fifty school-boys, all taught by one master, who has more work than the two at *Telipole*: the auditors of this church amount to one thousand five hundred, or one thousand six hundred. The church is a large structure of stone: the house belonging to it is lofty, with a balcony on the top of it, affording a very fine prospect into the main sea; so that it may well deserve the name of *Belle videre*. The church is not above half a mile from the sea-side. They abound here in fish, such

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as crabs, soles, plaice, &c. as likewise in *Baldæus*, hares and partridges.

The church *Achiavelli* lies about two hours from *Telipole*: it is a large and lofty structure built of stone, capable of containing two thousand persons; it was not finished till in our time. The village lies extremely pleasant among the woods, stored with vast quantities of turtle-doves, which coo at certain hours three times a day, and serve the inhabitants instead of a clock, to know the time of the day. They have also plenty of hares, stags, and wild-boars; but are also annoyed by the serpents.

As divers old *Brabmans* live in this place, so were the inhabitants not so forward in embracing the christian religion; the antient *Brabman*, named *Philippo*, does not want the knowledge of the fundamentals of our religion; but is more inclined to the historical, than the doctrinal part. Among others there lived here a certain *Brabman*, a learned person, with whom I used to have frequent conversation, whilst I lived at *Achiavelli*: he was baptized at last in the 46th year of his age, and afterwards writ the *History of the Life and Passion of our Saviour*, in a lofty poetical stile, in the *Latin Malabar*, called *Hanscreeet*, which is quite different from the common *Malabar* characters. The school here has about four or five hundred boys, and the church seven or eight or nine hundred auditors.

About an hour from *Telipole* stands the church *Ondewil*, in a great plain, with an adjacent large stone-house, formerly the habitation of a *Franciscan* fryar. The soil is very luscious here, and fertile in rice, *Naceny*, and other eatables. The school-boys amount to six hundred, and the auditors to nine hundred or one thousand.

Two hours distant from the castle is the church *Batecotte*, with a lofty adjacent house, flat on the top, and adorned with a pleasant garden, well stored with trees; the fields round about it are extremely fruitful. It is seated near the *Salt River*, and abounds in fish and all manner of other provisions. Of school-boys they have here about eight or nine hundred, and of auditors in the church near two thousand.

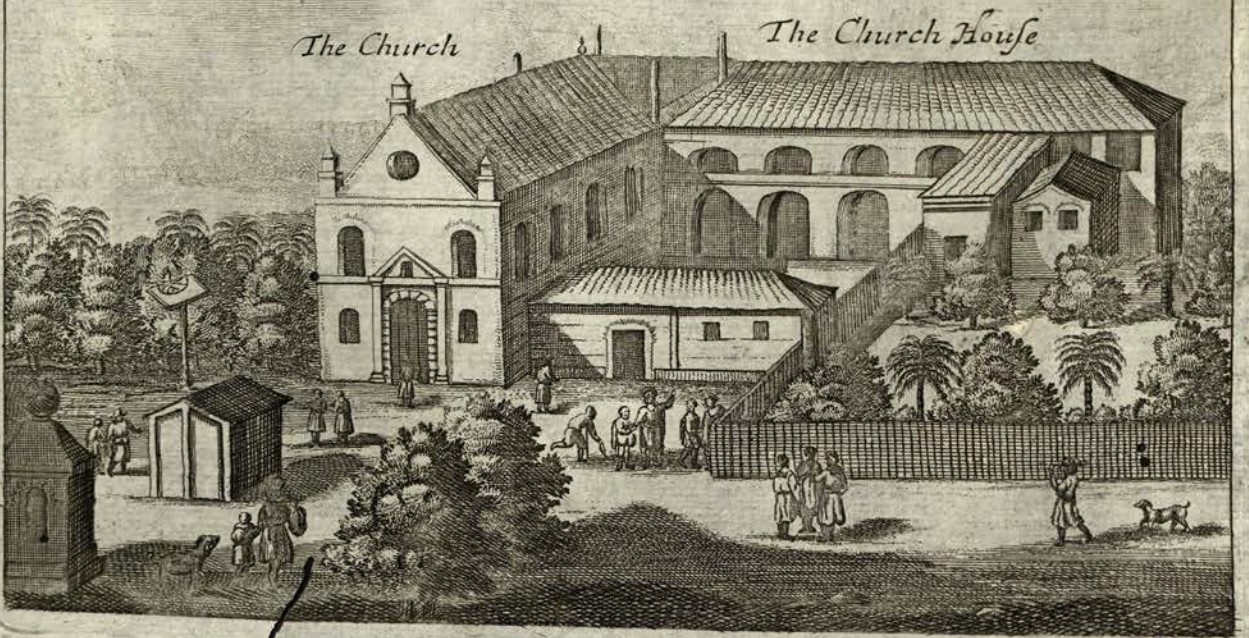
About



Mallagam .



Mayletti .



Achiavelli .

*The Church House*

*The Church*

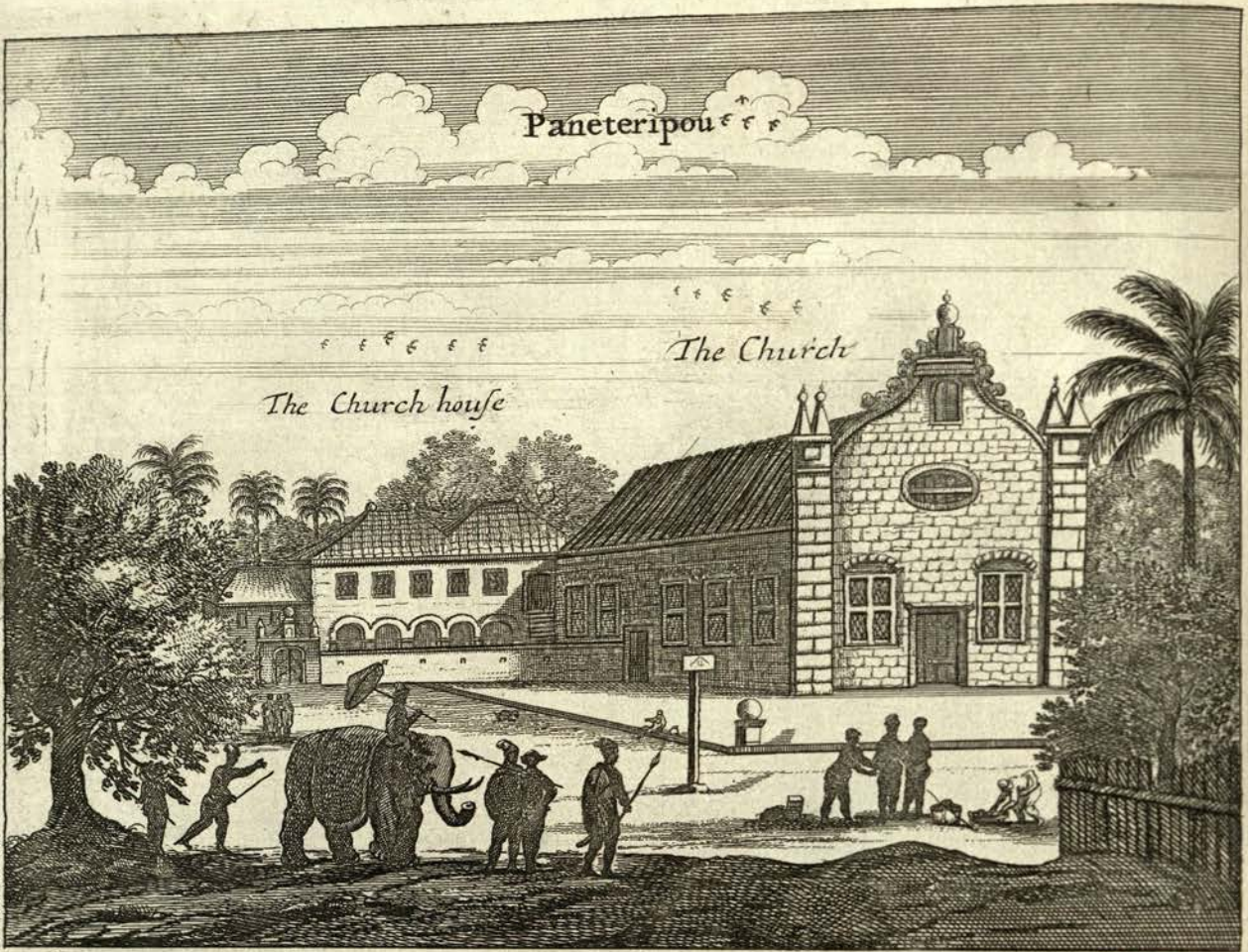


Oudewil .

*The Church*

*The Church House*













*Baldæus.* About half an hour from *Batecotte* is the church *Paneteripou*, a neat and magnificent edifice of stone, with a pleasant house near it built upon arches, with two spacious rooms and a gallery, fine gardens, and a delicious fish-pond, or cistern. The school is frequented by six hundred boys, who in my time had made such considerable progress, that they could refute the popish errors concerning purgatory, the mass, indulgences, auricular confession, &c. Mr. *Andrew* the school-master, and his usher, being persons very diligent in their stations. The inhabitants are very devout here, and at sermon-time seldom less than twelve or thirteen hundred come to church.

*The church Changane.* The church *Changane* is not above a good mile from *Paneteripou*, lying with this and *Batecotte* in a triangle, almost at an equal distance from one another. Both the church and adjacent house are built of stone, as is also *Paneteripou*: they are very conveniently built with a court before, surrounded by a brick wall; behind is an orchard of *Cocoe* and *Portuguese* fig-trees, besides *Potatoes*, *Bananoes*, &c. The school is frequented by seven hundred boys, who are carefully instructed by their school-master

named *Ambrosio*. The inhabitants flock to church with so much zeal, that there is scarce room to contain them all.

Two hours from *Jafnapatnam*, and one from *Changane*, stands the church *Manipay*. About five hundred sixty children are educated in this school. It is scarce to be imagined, that at so small a distance there should be so great a difference betwixt the people, the inhabitants here being a malicious generation, superstitious, and still much inclined to paganism. The church is big enough to contain two thousand souls, but seldom above seven or eight hundred come to hear the sermons. The house is built only of clay, and covered with palm-tree leaves. Just before the church is a fine pond or cistern with fresh water, near which stood formerly one of their *Pagodas*. This place is inhabited by several of the family of *Madapoli*, who were concerned in the plot (lately mentioned) with *Don Louys*.

The church *Vanarponne* stands just under the castle of *Jafnapatnam*, most inhabited by washers, *Vanar* signifying as much as a washer in the *Malabar*. It is not very big, nor has a house belonging to it. The school-boys amount to two hundred,

*Baldæus.* and the auditors in the church to about five or six hundred souls.

*The church Nalour.*

Just by *Vanarpone* is the church *Nalour*, built only of clay, and slenderly covered. Here also stood formerly a *Pagode*. The school is frequented by about five hundred and ninety children, who are not so well versed in the points of the christian religion as most of the rest, the people here retaining still a strong inclination to paganism, especially since some years ago a-

bout an hundred printers of callicoës were *Baldæus.* transplanted hither from the coast of *Coromandel*, to the no small prejudice of the christian religion, though the company were no great gainers by it; since it is evident, that for want of good water at *Jafnapatnam*, the same cannot be brought to their true perfection, and therefore are much better bought and transported, from the coast of *Coromandel*.



This is certain, that this generation is very mischievous to the christians here, it being frequent to see them appear in publick painted with *Cinza*, or ashes, (accounted holy among them,) and to carry their beads; besides that, the *Moors* have their publick schools allowed them of late years. I must confess that whilst *Mr. Anthony Pavilioen* (at the time of my being there) was governor of *Jafnapatnam*, he did all in him lay to assist me (at my request) in stopping the progress of the pagan superstitions, and was not well pleased to see the callico printers introduced here, it being (not without reason) to be feared that in time they may (by promiscuous marriages) increase to such a number as may endanger

both the church and state, especially if they are allowed the burning of their dead, and some other pagan ceremonies they much insist upon.

It is further to be feared, that in time there may be a promiscuous copulation betwixt the christians and pagans, which must needs produce direful effects in the church. It may be objected, that severe punishments will put a stop to that evil, (some having already been punished with death upon that account;) but this does not altogether removed the danger: besides that, it ought to be considered whether such a severity be consonant to the word of God, or not.

*Baldæus.* The last church, not far from the city, is called *Sundecouli*, belonging to the *Civias*, or chairmen and water-carriers. The church is a neat structure; but the inhabitants an idle and base generation. About four hundred and fifty children belong to the school; but seldom frequent it, because

*The church Sundecouli.*

they generally go abroad a fishing with their parents. Seldom above four hundred come to church; whereas there are about fifteen hundred inhabitants. It is a pleasant place, deliciously seated among trees of a considerable bigness. Thus far we have spoken of the province *Belligamme*,

*Baldæus.*



and its churches, unto which belong likewise *Copay* and *Pontour*, containing about eight hundred school-boys, and two thousand souls. The children in these schools are distinguished into several forms, according to their respective degrees of proficiency; so that those who have learned

(for instance) the *Creed* and *Our Father*, teach those that scarce know to say *Our Father*. Among these boys, they have some they call *Merimbos*, who take an account of such as are absent, and return them to the master, or the head *Merimbo*.

CHAP. XLVI.

*The second, third, and fourth Provinces, with their respective Churches, belonging to Jafnapatnam. The Isles of Jafnapatnam. Vast Number of Christians. The Author's Zeal in promoting the Christian Religion.*

**T**HE second province of *Jafnapatnam* is *Tenmarache*, which contains five churches, with the villages thereunto belonging. The first is the church *Navacouli*, seated in a pleasant plain, abounding

*The church Navacouli.*

in cattle and fruit, as the woods afford great store of apes and monkeys, and all sorts of venison and wild fowl. Both the church and adjacent house are only of clay, and covered with palm leaves. The school

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is

*Baldæus.* is frequented by four hundred children, and the church by seven or eight hundred auditors.

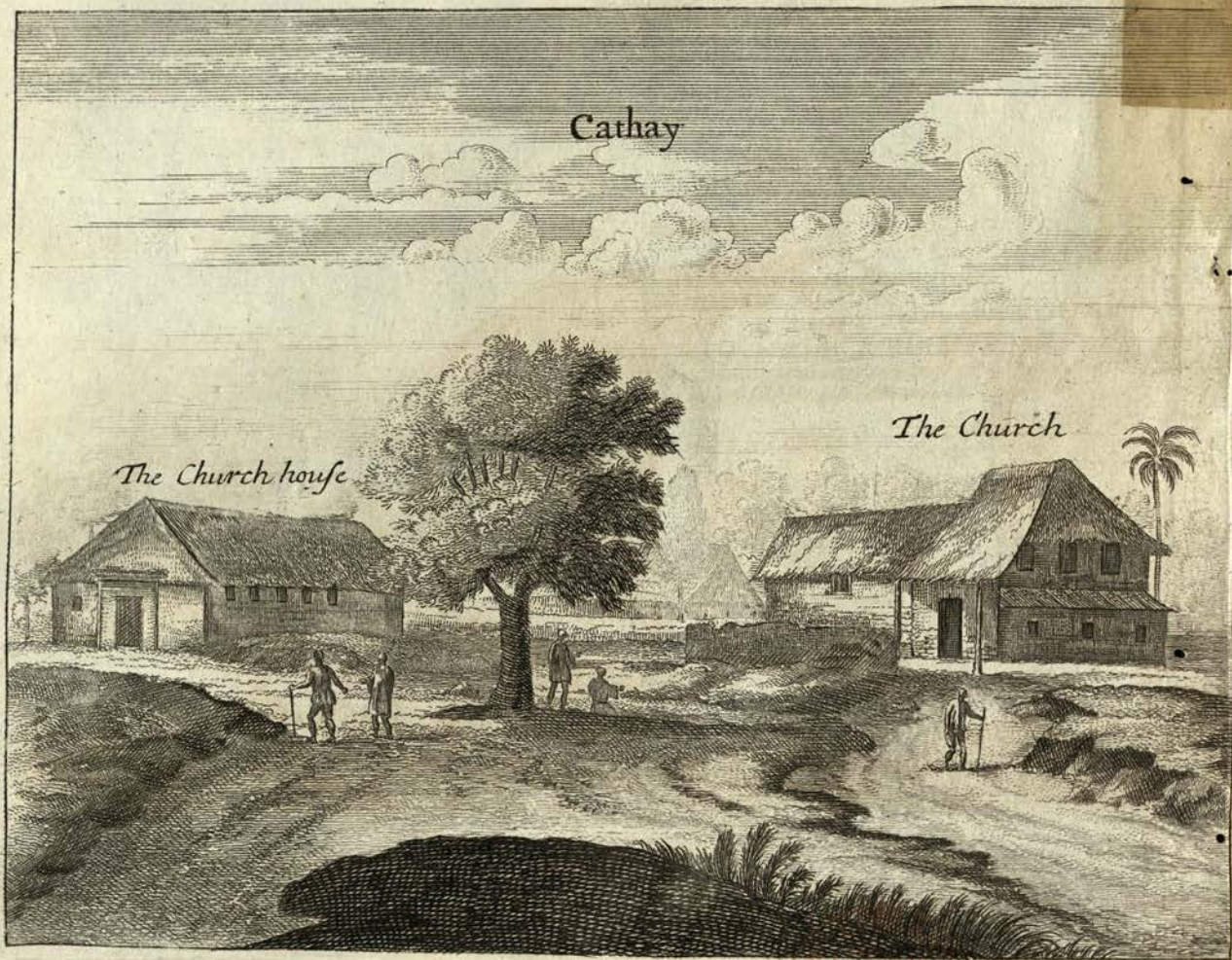
The church of Chavagatzery.

An hour from *Navacouli* stands the church of *Chavagatzery*, the biggest of the whole province, and the adjacent house very strong and well-built, having a pleasant prospect towards the sea, with fine gardens, well stored with all sorts of *Indian* fruits: they abound in fish, for they

live upon husbandry and fishing. The *Baldæus.* school is frequented by a thousand children, who are instructed by two masters and an usher, and the church by betwixt two and three thousand souls.

The church *Cathay* is an hour from *Chavagatzery*, through sandy and difficult ways, but full of ponds stored with wild ducks; besides which they abound in snipes, hems, *Indian* ravens, and all sorts

The church of Cathay.



of small birds. The church and house are only of clay, and covered with leaves, like that of *Navacouli*. The school has five hundred and fifty children, and the church eleven or twelve hundred auditors.

The church Waranni.

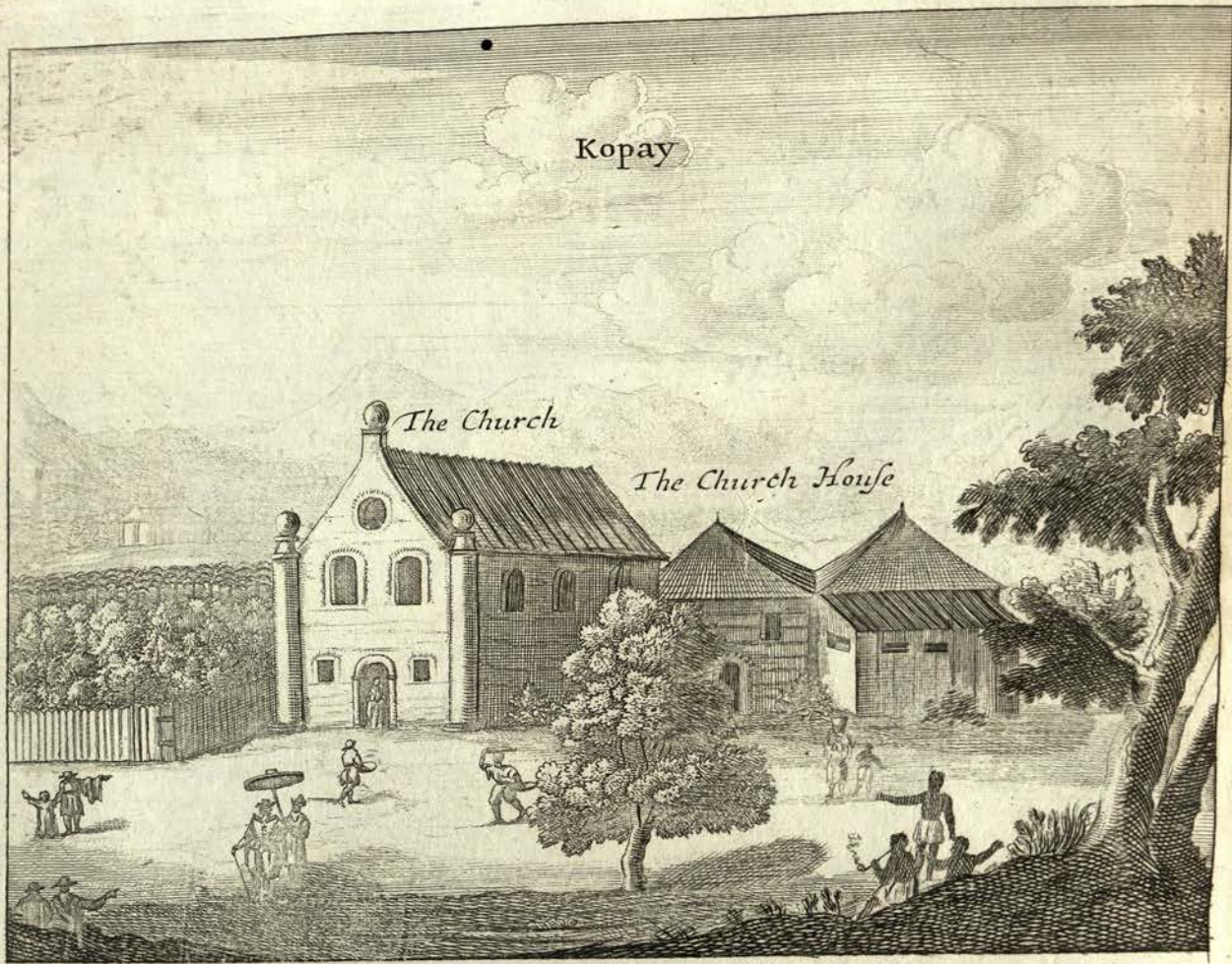
Betwixt *Cathay* and the church *Waranni* are sandy and difficult ways. The church stands in the midst of a small wood of areek, coco, palm, banano's, mango's,

cajou, and guiavo-trees. This place affords, besides the ordinary melons, the most delicious water-melons in the *Indies*. The church is but slenderly built, and inclosed with a wall of earth, as is likewise the house; yet has it divers spacious apartments, and a handsome entrance. The school has about eight hundred children, and the church two thousand five hundred auditors.

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The





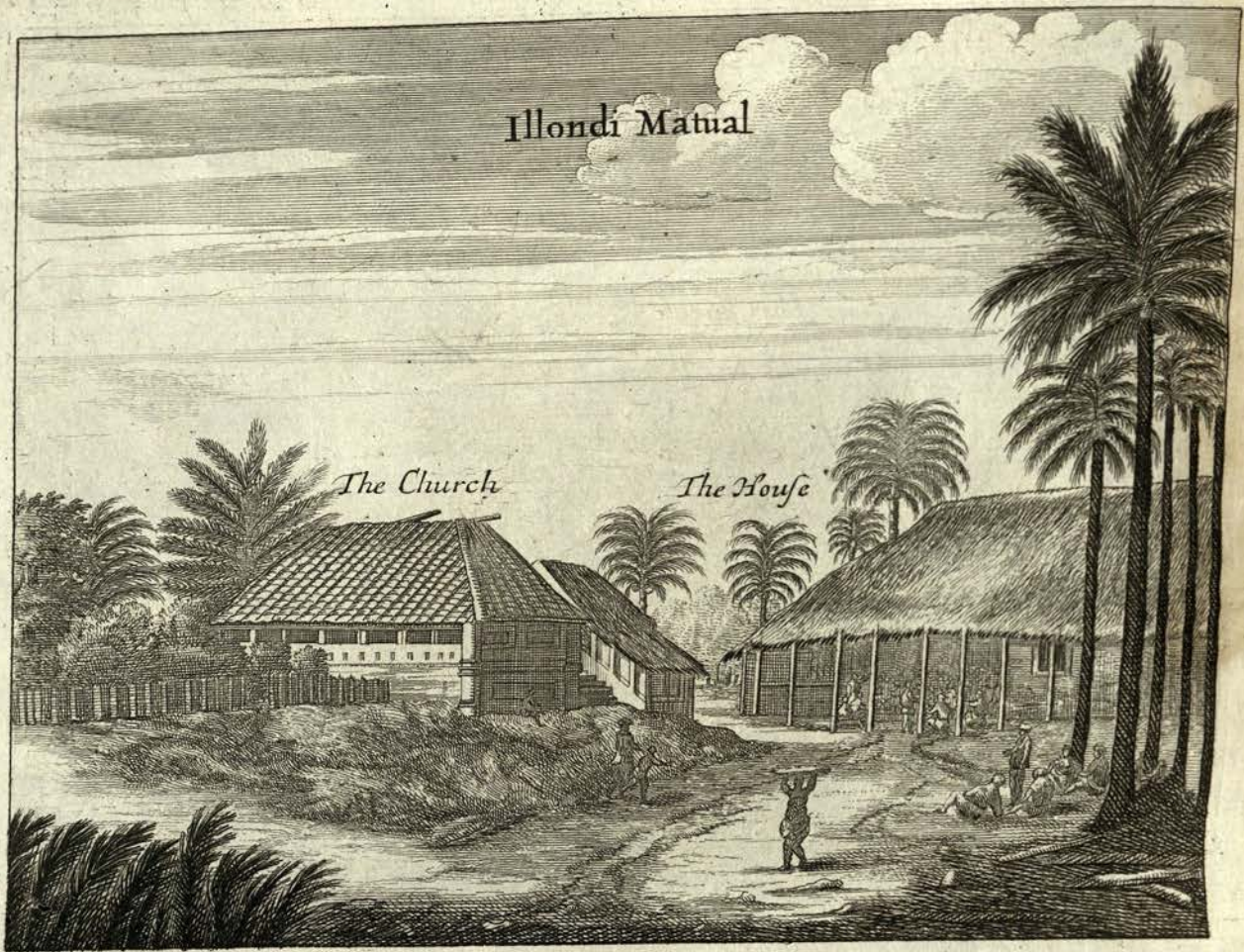
Poutour



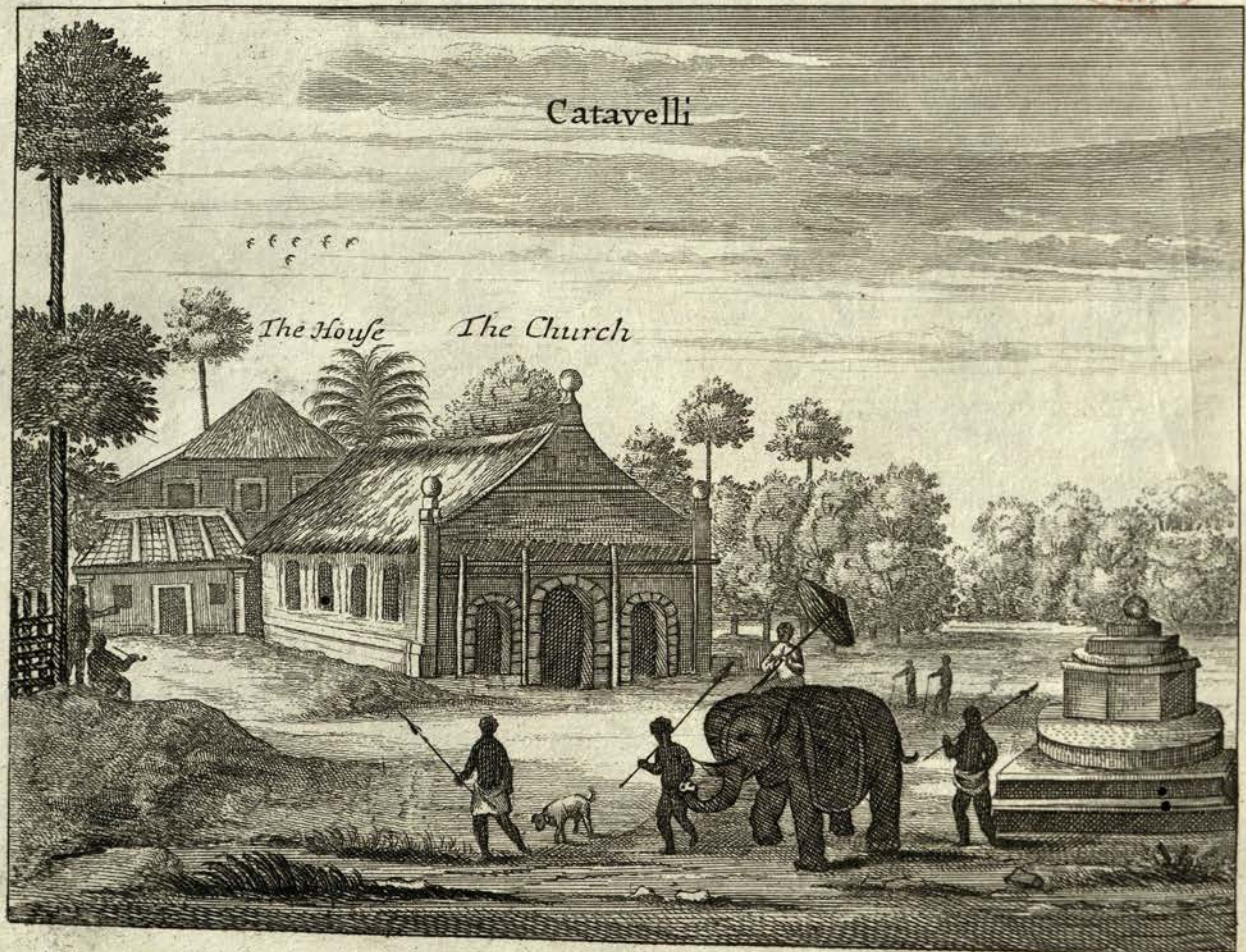
Chavagatzeri



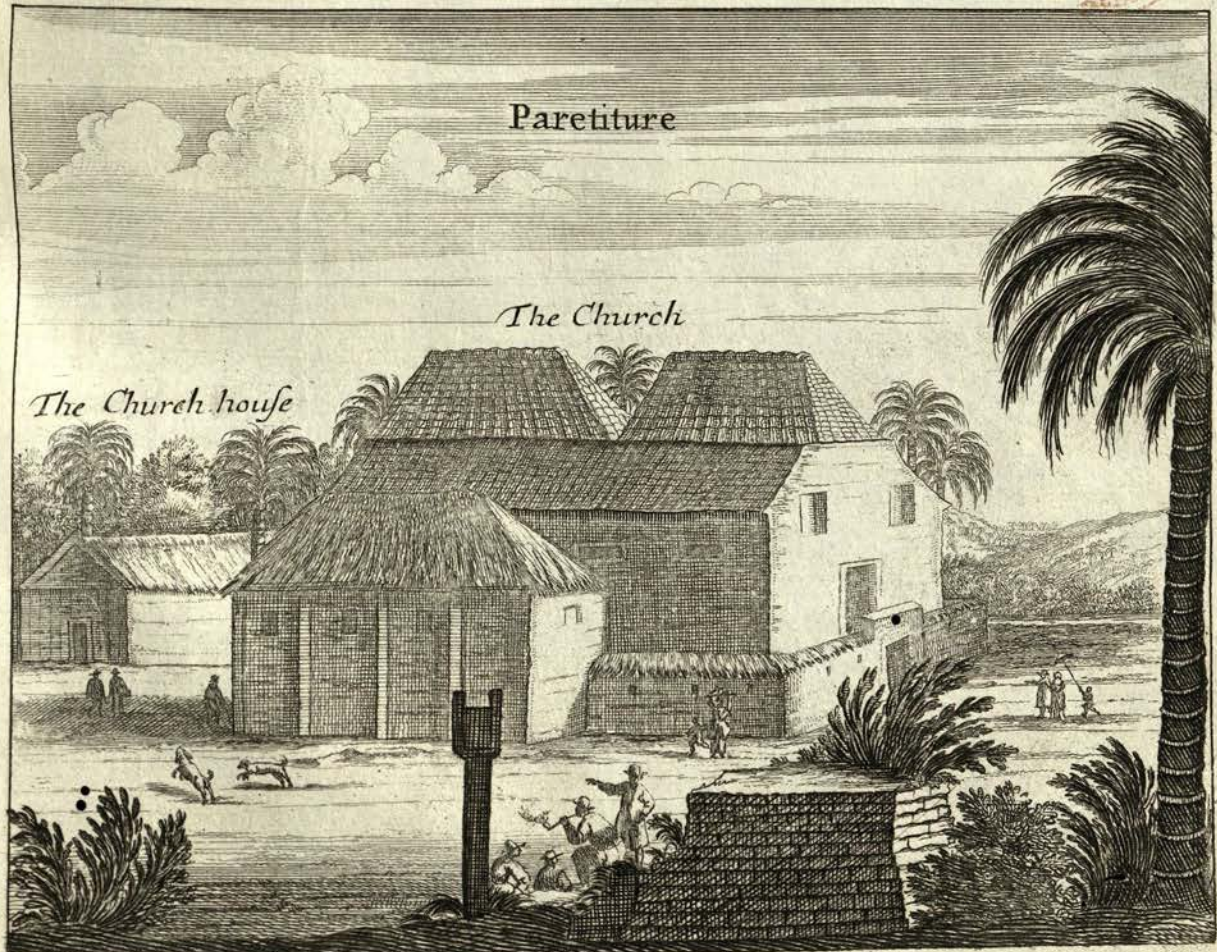
Illondi Matual



Catavelli











*Baldæus.* The last church of *Tenmarache* is that of *Illondi Matual*, unto which belongs the village of *Nagar Kojel*, famous for a large pagode that stood there formerly. The church is only of clay; but the adjacent house of stone, unto which you ascend by steps: it has three large apartments, a neat entrance, and a fair prospect. Hereabouts are great numbers of peacocks; and sometimes they see some elephants in this tract of land. The company also maintains here some tame elephants, as in divers other places, they being separated at some distance for the better conveniency of their fodder. Unto this school belong about six hundred and fifty children, and to the church eleven or twelve hundred auditors.

*The province Waddemarache.* The third province is called *Waddemarache*, having only three churches. It affords such plenty of pasture, of cows, sheep, goats, fowl, pigeons, and partridges, that you may buy a sheep for eight pence or ten pence, sixty eggs for three pence, and four good pullets for a fanam, or five pence.

*The church Catavelli.* The first church is called *Catavelli*: the church and adjacent house are both of brick, the last having a summer-house on

the top of it, from whence you have a delightful prospect into the plain. The school has six hundred children, and the church ten or twelve hundred auditors.

The second church is *Ureputti*; the village is inhabited by a set of vagabonds and thieves, of the family of the *Nalloas*, not much inclined to religion. The school is frequented by six hundred and ninety children, and the church by eight or nine hundred auditors, less or more. The children are taught here to make their letters in the sand.

The church *Paretiture* is the finest and largest of this province, called by the Portuguese *Punta das Pedras*, or the *Rocky Point*. *Paretiture*, signifies in the *Malabar* tongue, as much as *Cotton's Harbour*, from the great quantity of cotton that grows thereabouts on small trees. Not long ago, whilst we were engaged in war with the *English*, a fort was ordered to be erected here. During the war with *Portugal* the *Dutch* carried off from hence one of their priests, and plundered *Manaar* at the same time. Hereabouts also happened a smart engagement betwixt the Portuguese and us, wherein we were hard put to it, *A smart skirmish betwixt the Portuguese and Dutch in this place.*

Baldæus. and lost, among others, captain *John Hooghsaten*. During the siege of *Jafnapatnam*, the *Portuguese* expected the landing of their succours in this place.

A good road.

The road is so good here, that ships may ride safe at anchor for seven or eight months; but they must take care to depart before the northern *Mousson*, which renders this shore very dangerous: so soon as any ships are discovered at sea, a flag

is put out on a long pole for their direction. The church was much decay'd, but has been repaired of late. Just before the church stands a tall tamerind tree, which affording a very agreeable shadow in the heat of the day, the people are often instructed by the minister, to the number of three thousand. The school has about one thousand children.

Great numbers of christians at the retirement

A Large Tamerind tree under the shade whereof they frequently hear Sermons.



The last and furthestmost province is called *Patchiarapalle*, which has four churches, and as many schools. This province is very sandy and unwholesome, wants good water, and is much infested by the elephants, by reason of the vast quantity of wild palm trees that grow here, and afford food to the poorer sort of inhabitants, though the elephants throw down some hundreds every year, being very greedy after the fruit when it comes to maturity. At a certain season of the year the children are seized here with a certain swelling in the belly and groin, which sweeps away a good number of them. They are also afflicted with certain fevers, (like those of *Manaar*,) which regulate their fits according to the moon,

The province of Patchiarapalle unwholesome.

and kill in a little time. The itch and small-pox, are also very common here: The inhabitants being very poor, and feeding most generally upon unwholesome diet, such as dried fish, pounates, kelenges, and a little rice. As this province borders upon *Raja Singa's* country, so they are subject to the incursions of the *Cingalese*, which is the reason that the house belonging to the church of *Poelepolay* (the first in this province) is surrounded with a high wall, with port-holes in the nature of a redoubt. The school has about three hundred children, and the church six hundred auditors. Here are certain women who have a way to play upon earthen vessels, or mugs, (called *Callang*;) by blowing into them, as into a trumpet.

The church Poelepolay.

This





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1810











The Elephants throwing down y Palm trees

*Baldæus.* This province affords a kind of wood, called *Jager's-Wood*, (or *Hunter's-Wood*;) which for its goodness is transported to the coast of *Coromandel*.

*The church Mogommale.* Two good hours from *Poelepolay* stands the church of *Mogommale*, in a wood, with an adjacent house, both well built; the school has about four hundred and fifty children, and the church nine hundred auditors.

*The church Tambamme.* The church *Tambamme* is the largest and best seated in the whole province. The school has five hundred children, and the church nine hundred auditors.

*The church Mulipatto.* *Mulipatto* is the last church, about a day's journey from *Jafnapatnam*, near the head of the river, called *Passo Seco*, or the *Dry Passage*, where we have a *Palenka* guarded with some soldiers. The church-house is provided with port-holes for its defence; but the church is mean and small. The school has no more than two hundred and fifteen children, and the church scarce three hundred and fifty auditors.

Thus far of *Jafnapatnam*, and its provinces, churches, and schools: we will now pass over into the adjacent isles, which are fix a number.

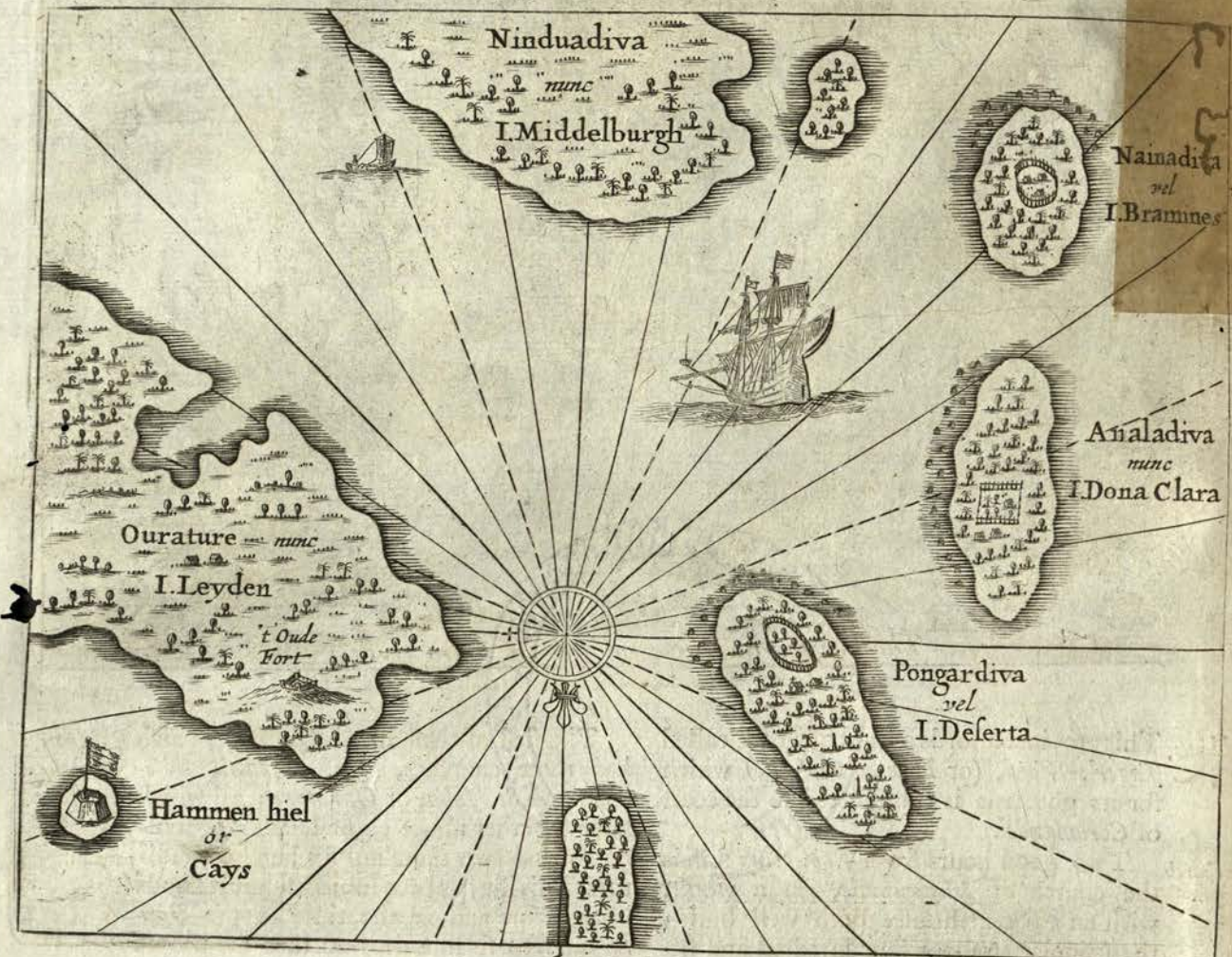
The first of these isles is *Ourature*, which *Baldæus.* has three churches, viz. *Aleputti*, *Welande*, and *St. John*, or *Ourature*; all which have together about eight hundred school-boys, and two thousand six hundred auditors. This isle has been subject to great floods both before and in the time of the *Portuguese*, to such a degree, that the people were forced to save themselves on the tops of the trees. Of this we saw an instance in the year 1658. when a most furious tempest, accompanied by a hurricane, raised the waters beyond the shore to such a height, that it broke into the water-gate of the castle, throwing down every thing that stood in the way; the tiles were all blown from the houses, the trees tore up by the roots, and unspeakable damage done, both to men and cattle. After the fury of the tempest was somewhat allayed, several fishes were taken in the church-porch, which had been carried along with the water over the curtain. This isle has plenty of fish and stags: it produces also a certain small root, called *Saye*, used by the dyers to dye red cloths. They make also very good butter here, and have store of larks, and some sea-gulls.

*Ourature the first isle of Jafnapatnam.* An instance of a flood.

The products of this isle.

*Baldæus.* The isle of *Ourature* and *Caradiva* are separated by the river; in the midst whereof lies the fort *Cays*, (or *Ham's-Heel*,) of which we have spoken before. From this isle the elephants are embarked by means of a bridge, and transported to *Coromandel* and *Bengale*. This isle is supposed to produce the best *Saye* in the *Indies*.

It has a well-built church and house belonging to it of stone: the church was finished in my time, as was that of *Ourature*, which was set on fire by the *Portuguese*. The school is frequented by four hundred and ninety children, and the church by ten or eleven hundred persons.



*The Desert Island.* Somewhat further into the sea to the right, as you sail to the isle *Pongardiva*, lies a little island called *Ilba Deserta*, i. e. the *Desert Island*, by the *Portuguese*. This isle, as well as that of *Carativa*, abounds in serpents, and furnishes our ships with fuel.

*Pongardiva.* *Pongardiva* is a large isle; but the ground being rocky, produces but little for the sustenance of mankind, except stags, hares, and peacocks, in great quantities; they abound also in fish, and especially in large oysters, which are better to stew than to be eaten raw. The men are generally much taller here than in any other part of the *Indies*. The school has two hundred children, and the church eight hundred auditors.

*Analativa, or D. Clara.* The isle *Analativa* is small, but produces vast plenty of oysters. The inha-

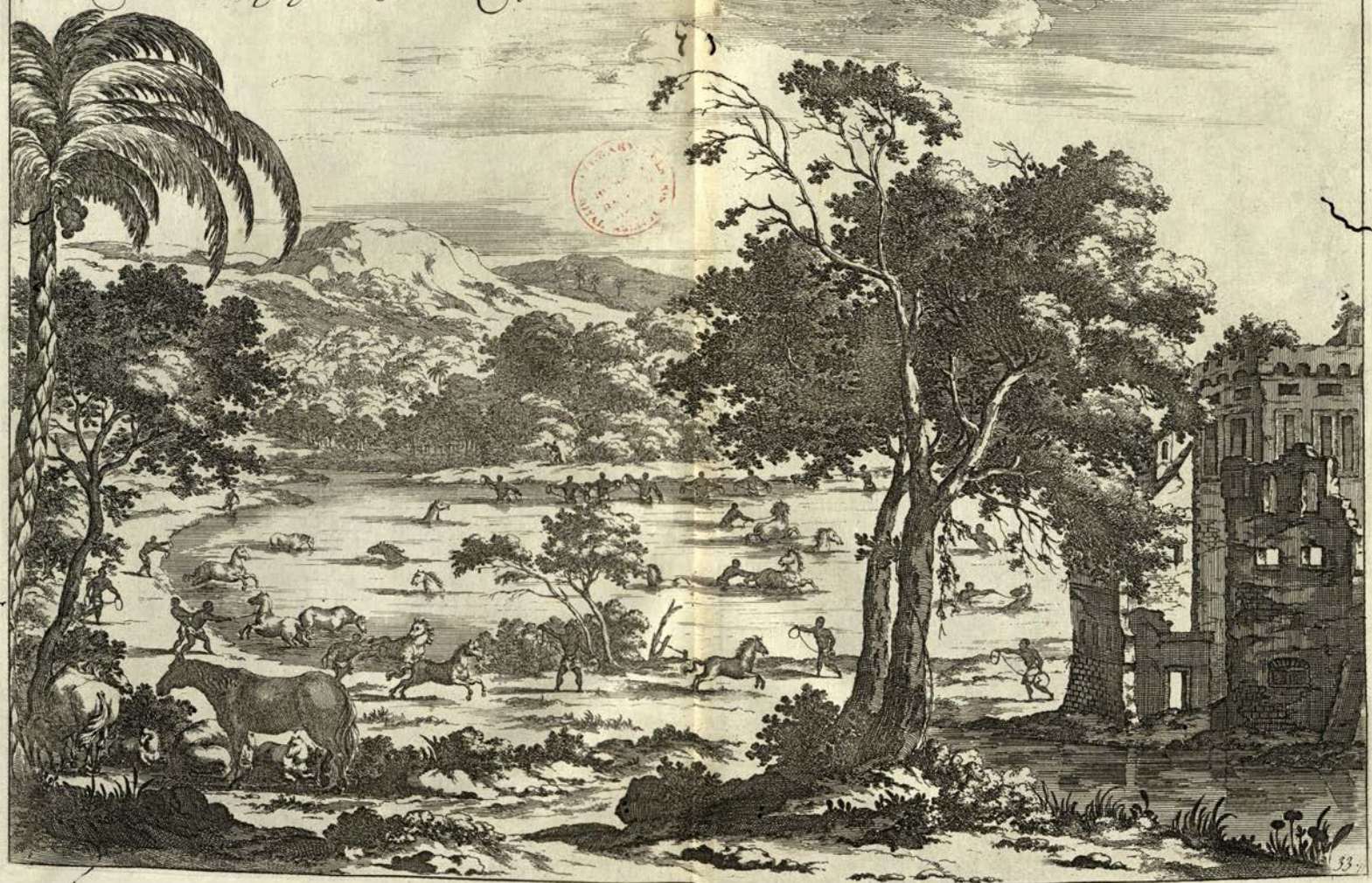
bitants of both sexes amount to about eight hundred, and two hundred children. It has a little church and convenient house near it. It was formerly called *Donna Clara*, from a certain lady that lived there, and was mistress of it in the time of the *Portuguese*. They still shew there a chair wherein she used to sit, which is big enough to hold conveniently two persons at once.

The island *Nainativa* has got its name *Nainativa*, from the great number of *Jacks* that are found there; of which more anon. It is very small, and inhabited by *Brahmans* turned christians, who lead very sober lives. The school has seventy children, and the church three hundred auditors. The church is very small, yet has an adjacent house fit to lodge strangers in.

Nindundiva



*The Catching of Horses in Casnapatnam.*





*Baldæus*. *Nindundiva*, or the *Long Isle*, from its length, which is about six leagues, is called *Ilha das Vacas*, i. e. the *Cow Island*, by the *Portuguese*, because abundance of cattle are transported thither from *Tonday*, which makes cattle so cheap there, that you may buy a good cow for four *Dutch* shillings, (or half a rixdollar;) but their oxen and cows are not near so big as those on the continent of *Jafnapatnam*. Oftentimes a mortality happens among the cattle, because the ground being hot and dry, produces divers venomous herbs, which they feed upon. The inhabitants are very poor, and live upon miserable diet: I remember that being once eight days in this isle, I and my company could scarce get provisions for our sustenance. The isle is of difficult access, because the shore is rocky, and has no bays, but only a few narrow creeks, where there is no coming in except in very calm weather; otherwise the sea beats with such violence against the rocks, that there is no coming near them, though there be sometimes five or six fathom water. For which reason there is no coming at it except in the calm seasons, which happen twice a year at the change of the *Moussons*: For the south-wind forces you upon the rocks, and with the north-wind the shore is too shallow to approach it. The *Portuguese* had formerly a fort here; the ruins whereof are to be seen to this day. They also brought some horses into this isle; which multiplying, in time produced a certain kind of horses that are very small, but hardy, and very fit to travel on stony and rocky grounds: They live in the wilderness, and are taken by forcing them unto the bank of a river or pond, where they catch them in snares or ropes. This isle produces also a certain kind of goats, out of which they take bezoar-stones; but they are none of the best. It has about nine hundred inhabitants, and one hundred and seventy children.

*A remarkable spring.* It is very remarkable that there is no fresh water in all this isle, except what is found in one place among the rocks, being above half a mile in circuit. If we may credit the inhabitants, these rocks were split by a thunderbolt, which occasioned these springs, some whereof have not above half a foot, others a foot deep water: the entire rocks arising betwixt these springs, have often cast men and beasts down the precipices.

There are some other islands near this shore; but being very small and not inhabited, (as the *Paletiva*, and the two brothers, since called *Hoorn* and *Enchuyesen*.) are not worth our particular observation.

VOL. III.

In the year 1663. I and my colleague, *Baldæus*. Mr. *John à Breyl*, sent the following account to Mr. *Maatzuyker*, general of the *Indies* for our company, viz. that in *Jafnapatnam* were at that time fifteen thousand and twelve children under the tuition of the respective school-masters there, being all natives, not reckoning those of *Manaar* and the country of the *Wannias*, *Christians* where, in my visitation 1665. in *March* in the *Wannias* and *April*, I found in those of *Poenery*, *Polveraicatti*, to *Peringale*, *Mantotte*, *Natam*, and *Aripou*, all churches belonging to the *Wannias*, and in the churches of *Manaar*, viz. *Totavalli*, *Karsel*, *Irkelpatti*, *Tellemanaar*, *Peixale*, the fishers and city churches, one thousand three hundred and fifteen children of the natives. Such as were come to age of maturity amounted in the *Wannias* to four thousand five hundred and thirty three; and in the isle of *Manaar*, to three thousand five hundred and twenty, not including two hundred and fourteen slaves lately converted, who had already learned certain forms of prayers. According to the church-registers, (called here *Patolas*,) in the year one thousand six hundred sixty three, there were of christian men and women in the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* sixty-two thousand five hundred and fifty eight, not including the slaves, whereof there were two thousand five hundred and eighty seven: the number of the baptized children from 1658, till 1661, viz. in three years and a half, in the church of *Jafnapatnam*, amounted to five thousand seven hundred and ninety nine children, and thirty six that were come to age of maturity. During that time were married two thousand one hundred and fifty eight couples, not reckoning those baptized and married in the *Low-Dutch* and *Portuguese* churches. At the time of my departure the number of the children in the schools was risen to eighteen thousand, and that of the baptized children in 1663, to twelve thousand three hundred eighty seven. From the year 1651, till 1661. the whole burden of visiting all the before-mentioned churches lay upon my shoulders, till Mr. *Breyl* was joined with me; who dying in his return to *Holland* (his corps being interred at the *Cape of Good-Hope*) 1665. Mr. *Bartholomew Heyne* succeeded in his place.

In the churches of *Jafnapatnam* the ten commandments, written in large *Malabar* characters, are hung up on a table, on both sides whereof are the *Our Father*, and the *Creed*. Every Sunday the people come to church about ten a clock, and after they have sung a psalm, the school-master reads a sermon in the *Malabar* language.

9 A guage,

*Baldæus*. guage; for which purpose a certain number of sermons are allotted to each church, to be read in the absence of the minister. This done they conclude with singing another psalm.

But the greatest trouble that belongs to a minister in these parts, is the instruction to be given both to young and old by way of question and answer, which makes the deepest impression into the minds of these tender christians. Besides, as the *Malabar* tongue is so difficult to attain to, that none of our ministers dare pretend to the perfection of it; so on the other hand, they may learn without much trouble, as much as is requisite for the instructing them in the main points of our religion. Add

The Dutch ministers in the Indies undergo more difficulties than the Romanists.

to this, that our ministers undergo much more fatigue in their stations than the *Romish* ecclesiasticks, who preach very seldom, and each church having its peculiar attendant, they are not obliged to travel from place to place as we do. Besides that, they bring the *Portuguese* language commonly along with them, which ours are forced to learn upon the spot, not without great difficulty; not to mention several other disadvantages on our side, sufficient to convince those who extol the merits of the *Romish* clergy upon that score, and vilify ours: these I would have considered, that at this time there are no more than two or three ministers belonging to all these churches, which had no less than forty in the time of the *Portuguese*; and we have three sermons every Sunday, and one in the week; besides the constant visitations of the churches in the country.

Before my departure, I took care to have the next following pieces translated (the same being revised by me before) out of the *Portuguese* into the *Malabar*, by *Francis de Fonseca*, a member of the reformed churches.

“ The gospel of *St. Matthew*: the lesser catechism: instructions for communicants: questions and answers out of the new testament: short questions and answers concerning the chief matters contained in the old testament. [This was not quite perfected at the time of my departure.] “ Consolations for the sick: formulary of baptism, both for children and others: morning and evening prayers; as also devotions to be used both before and after sermons, and before and after meals: prayers for rain and a fruitful season: thanksgivings on account of victories obtained against our enemies: prayers to be used in the army before an

engagement: prayers for criminals before execution: formulary and prayers of marriage: some psalms of *David* set in metre after the *Malabar* fashion: some sermons, viz. upon the nativity of christ, upon his passion, and death, resurrection and ascension; upon the sending of the holy ghost, the circumcision of our saviour, the history of the wise men of the east, the resurrection and day of last judgment; upon charity due from one christian to another, out of *Luke x. Who is our neighbour?* the rejoicing of the angels in heaven for the conversion of a sinner; upon the question of the pharisees, *Matthew xii. 38.* and such like.

I had abundance of other sermons by me in the *Portuguese* language; but for want of a good interpreter (whom I mentioned before having his hands full with the rest) the same was fain to be deferred till another opportunity; though at the same time I never thought it convenient to overcharge these people with many books, pursuant to the opinion of Mr. *John Maatzuyker* our general, in his letter sent to me from *Batavia*, September 18, 1662.

I could not without an extreme satisfaction understand the happy condition of the churches in *Jafnapatnam*, and the effects of your industry. God almighty bless your endeavours and zeal to the honour of his holy name, and the salvation of many thousand souls. Being in great want of books for the churches and schools of this country, it is impossible to gratify your desire, especially since many of these books are very ill managed by some people. I hope you are pretty well provided by this time, but that your good intentions may not be disappointed for want of them. Though in my opinion reading and writing are things not so absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches, as that they may be instructed in the fundamentals of religion, which consists in few points. For in case we pretend to propagate christianity by reading and writing, I am afraid it will prove both tedious and chargeable to the company. To promote this holy work we have sent three ministers; whereof two are gone with the ships to *Malabar*, and the third is lately arrived with the yacht the *Achilles*: they are all three young men, and not long ago came from *Holland*, and consequently most likely to do considerable service for a long time, provided

Baldæus. “ ded they are indued with due zeal, as  
 “ I hope they are for the benefit of the  
 “ ifle of *Ceylon*, and the places thereunto  
 “ belonging. We have alfo ſent a miniſter  
 “ to *Negapatnam*. So recommending

“ you to the proteccion of Almighty God, *Baldæus*,  
 “ I reſt,

Your affectionate Friend,

From the Caſtle  
 of *Batavia*, 18.  
 Sept. 1662.

John Maatzuyker.

CHAP. XLVII.

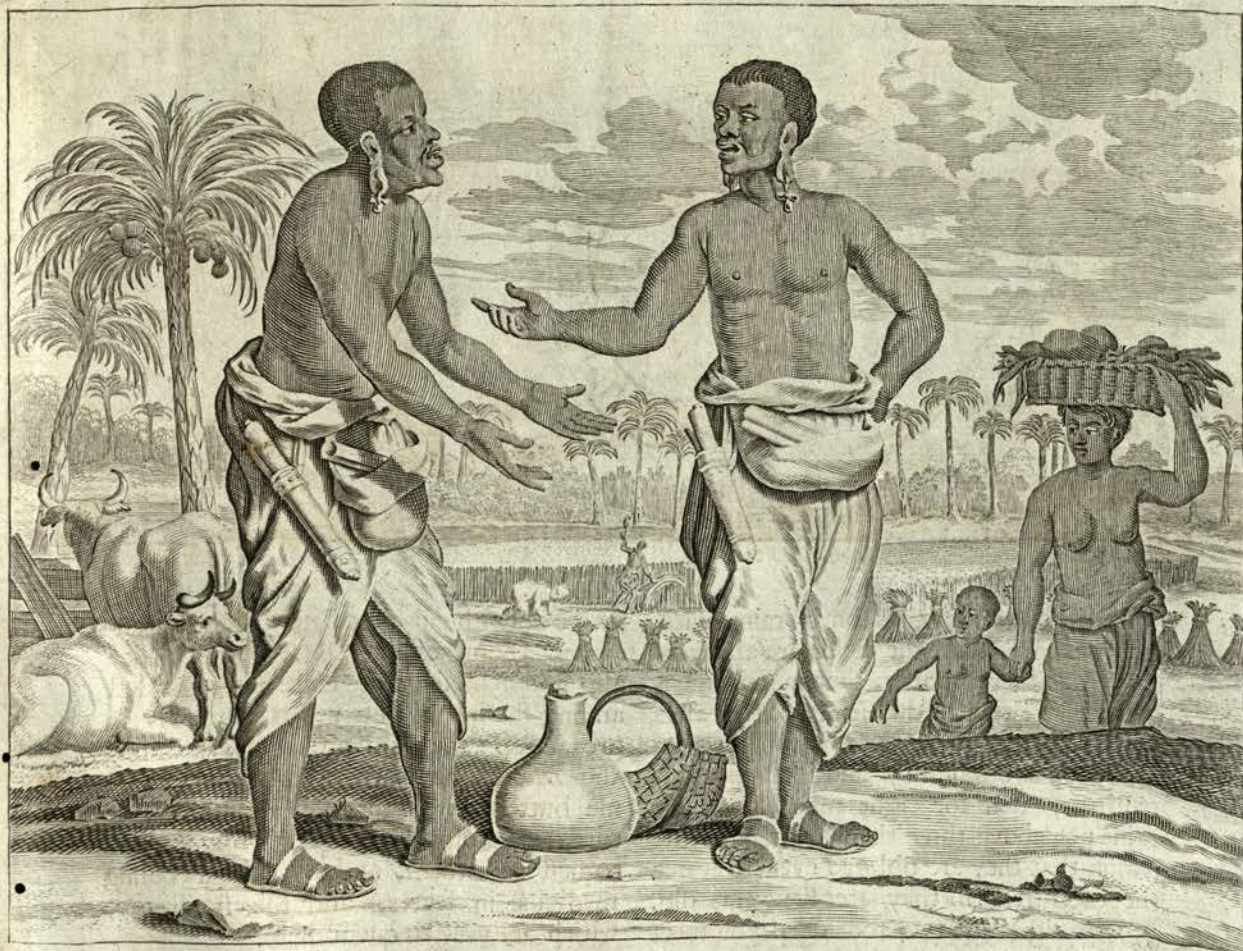
The Nature and Qualifications of the Inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam*.  
 The *Bellales*; and their Manner of living. The *Brahmans*: Their  
 Doctrines ſhewn and refuted.

Qualifications of the inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam*.  
 IT is time to ſay ſomething of the inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam*; which done, we will return to *Batecalo*, and ſo leaving the ifle, we will turn ourſelves another way.

In *Ceylon* are divers clans, or families, as well as on the coaſt of *Coromandel*. The

generation of the *Bellales* is the chiefſt here, ſince chriſtianity has been introduced, the *Brahmans* challenging the firſt rank among the pagans.

The *Bellales* wear a kind of garment *The habits* from above the navel, turning betwixt the legs like a pair of drawers. They alſo *of the Bellales*.



make uſe of *Seripous* (or ſoles) tied to the bottom of the feet with leather ſtraps, the upper part of the feet being bare to prevent their ſweating. Upon the belly they have a kind of a bag, (called *Maddi*;) being part of their garment rolled together,

wherein they keep their *Areek* and *Betel*, and ſome paper to make uſe of upon occaſion. On the right ſide they carry a kind of a knife in a ſheath, and an iron pen pointed with ſilver, as is likewiſe the ſheath, in which they keep alſo a piece of ſteel

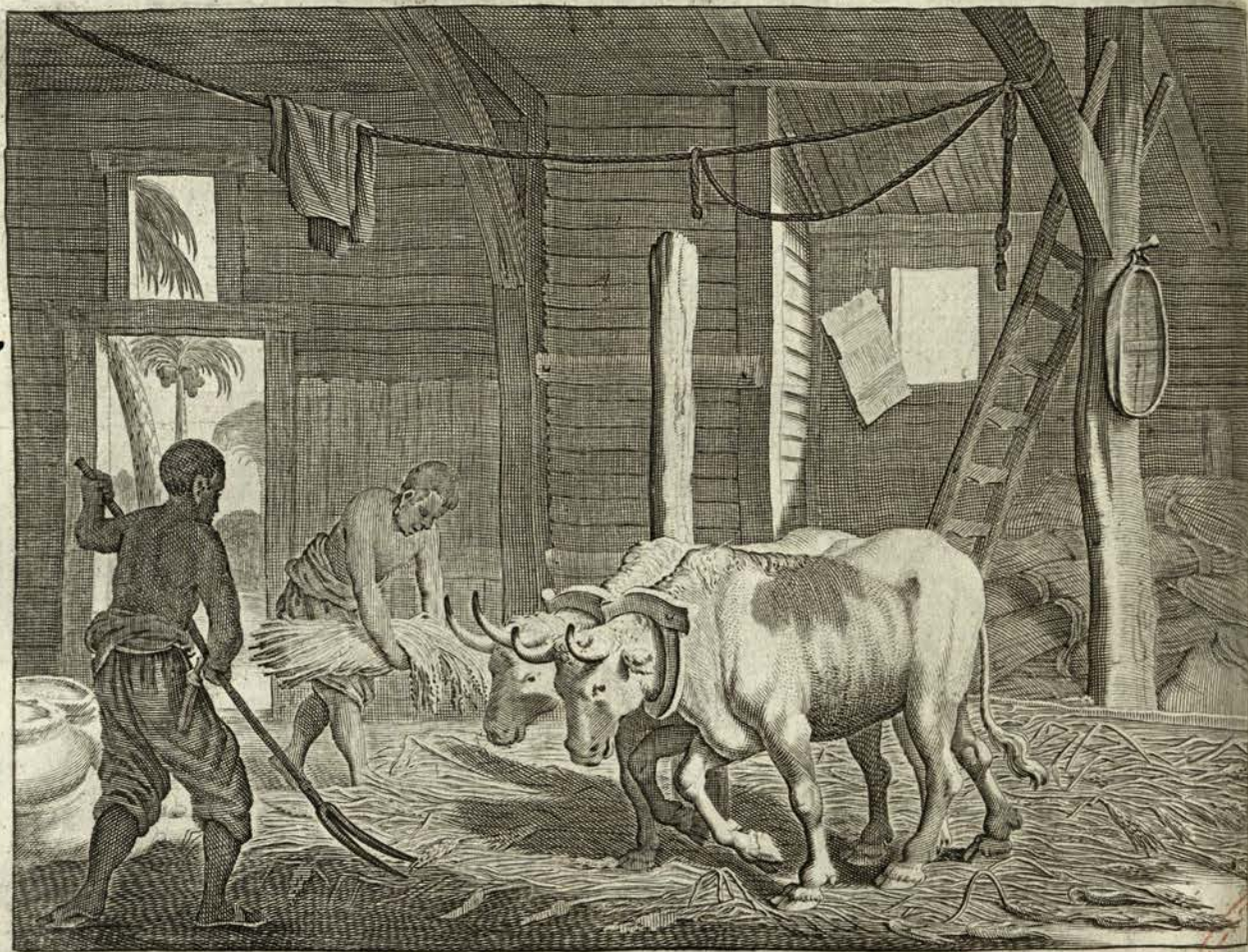


*Baldæus.* steel to sharpen their knife upon. They make holes in their ears from their infancy; which being adorned with golden pendants, draw them down to their shoulders. They live upon husbandry, and are rich in cattle, such as cows, oxen for the plow, sheep, goats, and bufflers. Their habitations are both convenient and neat, with pleasant gardens, well planted with *Betel*, and furnished with excellent springs, which

*Are rich in cattle.*

furnish them (during the dry summer-season) with water for the watering of the gardens. Their harvest is in *January* and *February*; their winter or rainy season being in *November* and *December*. In some places, viz. in the low marshy grounds, they have harvest twice a year: they thresh their corn (after the manner of the *Israelites*) with oxen not muffled: these tread the seed out of the ears.

*Their manner of threshing the corn.*



*Great rains.*

During the rainy season it rains with such violence, that the fields are all overflowed; and I remember, that in my time a considerable part of the *Cortin* of the castle was washed away by the rains. This continues for two months; and it happens oftentimes, that for eight months after it rains not above three times, which is the reason that they are obliged even to water the coco-trees till they are six years old. If you dig about two foot deep you meet with rocky ground; so that if you will have a spring, you must cut them out of the rocks with vast charge.

*The ground rocky.*

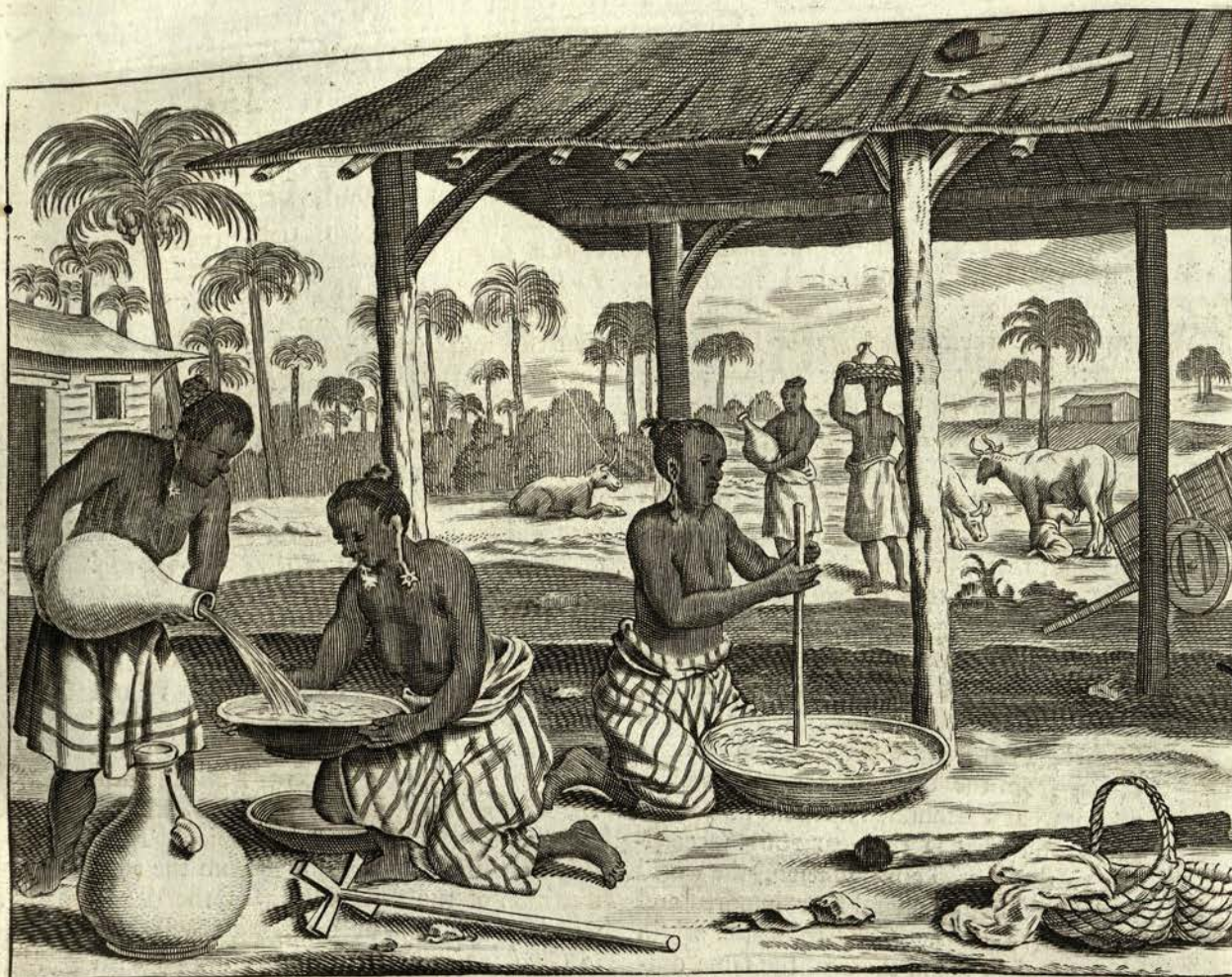
*Their way of making butter.*

The before-mentioned *Bellales* make likewise butter; but not after the same manner as we do in *Holland*. They take a kind of a mill made like a star at the bottom: this they roll betwixt both hands

(as we do with our chocolate) till the butter comes. Some of our *Dutch* women make also good cheese; but it is not regarded among the inhabitants; but butter is in great esteem among them, as well as among the *Moors*, nay, the family of *Commety* use butter like drink. Milk turned to curds (called by them *Tayr*) is also in great request with them, and used like a cooling medicine in fevers, and the small-pox, which are very frequent here.

Their cattle they keep both day and night in the field; though towards night they drive them into a certain inclosure: they are never housed in the winter, but feed in the grounds where the corn first sprouts forth, and afterwards are fed with hay till harvest-time. If the cattle happen to break into a neighbour's field, the owner

*How they manage their cattle.*



*Baldæus.* owner is obliged to make good the damage. The *Bellales* are generally the richest of the country: they do not marry except in their own family, and commonly in the spring, as the *Romans* did formerly in *May*, and the *Persians* in the spring. If it happens to be a fruitful year, they are the more inclined to marry: they are very litigious, and will go to law for a trifle, because they are constantly envious at one another.

Are litigious.

The Brah-  
mans.

The *Brahmans* living in *Jafnapatnam*, or any other part of the *Indies*, are for the most part men of great morality, sober, clean, industrious, civil, obliging, and very moderate both in eating and drinking: they use no strong liquors, wash or bathe twice a day, eat nothing that has had, or may have life, yet are much addicted (like all the rest of the *Indians*) to pleasure. Notwithstanding they are christians, they carry still certain beads, and (as *Rogerius* observes, fol. 71.) like those of *Coromandel*, never marry out of their families, but frequently their brothers and sisters children; though else they are great enemies to incest, but excuse this near alliance by the great value they put upon their generation, which they deduce from

VOL. III.

*Bramma*, and some learned men from *Baldæus*, *Abram* and *Ketura*, whose children, according to *Gen. xxv. 6.* went into the eastern country.

From whence descended.

Though they bear the name of christians, and know how to discourse rationally of the ten commandments, and the other points of the christian doctrine, they still retain many of their pagan superstitions. If you tell them of the christian liberty in victuals and drinks, they reply, That they are not ignorant of it; but as the essence of christianity does not consist in eating and drinking, so they did not think themselves obliged to feed upon such things as are contrary to their nature and education, being from their infancy used to much tenderer food, which agrees best with their constitution, and makes them generally live to a great age.

Retain some pagan superstition.

Their reasons for it.

They are not ignorant in the course of the stars, in calculating the eclipses of the sun and moon; know the seven stars, which they call *Arramien*, i. e. *Six-Fishes*, because, say they, we see no more than six. They understand also the names of the planets, and chiefest of the fixed stars; but this must be understood from the most learned among them.

9 B

Though

*Baldæus.* Though we shall treat in particular here-  
after of the errors of the pagans, yet can I  
not pass by here in silence, what I have ob-  
served myself concerning their opinion of  
the creation of the world, its age, and trans-  
migration of the soul. In the year 1665.  
after I had catechized the people after ser-  
mon in the church of *Paretiture*, happen-  
ing to discourse concerning the creation and  
age of the world, some of the *Indians* af-  
firmed, That the world had stood four  
thousand eight hundred and sixty four  
years since their *Kaligam*, or fourth pe-  
riod: for they have four periods; the  
first called *Creitagam*, the second *Treita-*  
*gam*, the third *Dwaparugam*, and the  
fourth *Kaligam*. And whereas the *Indians*  
in *Coromandel* did, in the year 1639. com-  
pute no more than four thousand seven hun-  
dred and thirty nine years since the creation  
of the world, I told them, That they fol-  
lowed the footsteps of the *Chinese*, who in  
their computations made no great account  
of one hundred years less, or more;  
which made them smile. I told them  
further, That there was no certain compu-  
tation from the beginning of the world,  
except what was founded upon the holy scrip-  
ture; and that in the year 1665. (accord-  
ing to the *Jewish* computation,) the world  
had stood five thousand four hundred and  
twenty five years. Concerning the origin  
of the soul, I found them of the same opi-  
nion with the great *Rabbi*, viz. That all  
souls were created in the beginning, and kept  
till they were to be communicated to certain  
bodies. Unto which they have added the  
*Pythagorean* tradition of the transmigration  
of the soul.

Their be-  
lief concern-  
ing the be-  
ginning of  
the world.

Their be-  
lief con-  
cerning the  
beginning  
of the soul.

I remember that at a certain time, as I  
was walking with some of them, and en-  
deavouring to refute this opinion, they  
objected that it was impossible for a child  
to be born blind, dumb, or lame, with-  
out having received a soul that had been  
guilty of very gross sins. For, said they,  
since the child has not committed any sins,  
and God does not punish any body with-  
out sinning, this must be attributed to the  
sins committed by the soul whilst yet in an-  
other body, and now entered into the  
child. Unto which I reply'd in our fa-  
vour's words, out of *Jobn* ix. 1. when  
his disciples asked him concerning the  
blind man from his birth, *Neither had this  
man sinned, nor his parents, but that the  
works of God should be manifest in him.*  
Whence it seems that the *Jews* were some-  
what infected with this tradition, mention  
whereof is also made by *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 18.  
c. 11. and *De Bello Judaico*, l. 2. c. 8.  
The words of *Herod*, *Mat.* xiv. 2. when  
he says concerning Christ, *This is John the*

Error a-  
mong the  
Jews, con-  
cerning the  
transmi-  
gration of  
the soul.

*Baptist*, he is risen from the dead, intimate *Baldæus*  
the same; as likewise what the *Jews* said  
concerning Christ, *Mat.* xvi. 13, 14. some  
that he was *John the Baptist*, some *Elias*,  
and others *Jeremiab*. Hence *Elias*, (com-  
monly called *Levita*,) in his book *Tisbi*,  
and the other cabalists of the *Jews*, were  
of opinion, that the souls pass through three  
distinct bodies, which they pretend to  
evince from the words of *Job* xxxiii. 29.  
*Lo! all things worketh God twice or thrice  
through one man.* Thus the *Jews* affirm  
that the soul of *Adam* was translated into  
the body of *David*, and afterwards into  
that of the *Messiah*: which error having  
been introduced into *Palestine* by *Antio-*  
*chus's* philosophers, the *Jewish* doctors did  
not stick to maintain that the souls of sinful  
men did transmigrate into the bodies of beasts,  
according to the degrees or heinousness of their  
crimes. Whereas it is manifest, that a ra-  
tional soul cannot fix its habitation but in  
the body instructed with proper organs,  
whereby it exerts its operations; and  
the scripture tells us expressly, that the soul  
and spirit returns to God, who gave it; be-  
sides many other arguments I alledged to  
them upon this head against their opinion.

The learned *Vossius* is of opinion, That this opinion  
this error took its beginning from the true  
tradition of the resurrection of the dead,  
which was spread even among the *Druids*  
in *Gaul*, according to *Cæsar*, lib. vi. with  
this difference however, That the *Pytha-*  
*goreans* affirm the souls to transmigrate even  
into the bodies of beasts; whereas the first  
restrain it only to the bodies of men,  
which made them face death with an un-  
daunted courage, according to *Lucan*.  
lib. 1.

*Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum  
Maximus baud urget leibi metus, inde  
ruendi  
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque  
capaces  
Mortis, Et ignavum est reditura parcere  
vitæ.*

*Appian* says of the ancient *Germans*, a-  
mong other things, That they despised  
death in hopes of another life: and *Tho-*  
*mas Aviot*, an *Englishman*, assures us, That  
the same had been found in *Virginia*. *Jo-*  
*seph Acosta* says the same of *Peru* and  
*Mexico*; and the same is related of *Guinea*,  
of the *Chinese*, the ancient *Egyptians* and  
*Getes*. The *Pythagoreans* say of *Athalides*,  
That his soul, before it entred the body of  
*Pythagoras*, transmigrated into three sever-  
al other bodies, first into that of *Euphor-*  
*bus*, the son of *Pantibus* in the *Trojan* war;  
afterwards into *Pyrrhus*; next into *Eleus*,  
and

*Baldæus.* and then into *Pythagoras.* All the Indian pagans are infected with this erroneous opinion, as we shall see more at large hereafter: but what is more surprizing, is, That the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*, who had so much veneration for the books of *Moses*, should deny the *immortality of the soul*, when it is said in *Gen. i. 16.* *That the soul of man was not created like material substances, but was part of the Spirit of God.* The same say all the *Gentiles*, as *Hermes*, *Zoroaster*, *Chalcidius* and *Epicharmis.* *Cicero in Somnio Scip.* says, *There is a near re-*

*lation betwixt God and our souls.* *Seneca Baldæus.* in his letter to *Lucilius*, tells him, *That the souls are in heaven;* and speaking of the deceased son of *Marcia*, he says, *in meliori statu est, he is in a better state.* The *Turks*, and *Persians*, and *Mahomet*, in his *Alcoran*, acknowledge the *immortality of the Soul;* which put these christians to the blush, who affirm, *That the souls of the wicked are annihilated;* or what others assert, *That the souls rest in the matter till the day of judgment.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

*Marriages of the Ballales and Brahmans. Divers Circumstances observed upon that Account. Families, Degrees, and Handicraftsmen of Jafnapatnam. The Taking and Description of Trinquenemale.*

**I**N the preceding chapter we told you concerning the marriages of the *Bellales*, and how the *Brahmans* often marry their brothers and sisters children. Among some of the christians in *Ceylon* obtains a certain custom to this day, to tie the *Tali* or bracelet of the bride about the bridegroom's neck, a thing introduced by the pagans, and imitated by the christians: for, as *Rogierius* observes, the inhabitants of the coast of *Coromandel* look upon it as a ceremony so necessary towards the confirmation of the marriage, that whenever the husband dies, the *Tali* he wore about his neck on his marriage-day is to be burnt with him.

Marriage customs.

As maidens without a good portion are a very bad commodity here, hence it is that frequent collections are made to help the poorer sort to husbands. They are of opinion, that a single man is but half a man, nay, that those who neglect or lose any time in propagating their own kind, are not far different from a murderer and a destroyer of human kind, (according to the opinion of *Plato*, which was likewise encouraged among the *Athenians* and *Romans*;) which is the reason they often marry their daughters at ten and eleven years of age, and nothing is more frequent than to see them bring forth children at thirteen or fourteen.

Weddings.

After they have been three times proclaimed from the pulpit, the marriage ceremony is performed by the minister, the house where the wedding is kept being generally adorned with a kind of triumphal arch raised without doors, made of fig-tree branches, flowers, pomegranates, and such like. The richer sort seldom fail to give

a good entertainment to their friends, of venison, hares, partridges, fish, fruits, preserves, &c. and the evening is spent in dancing, singing, and divers other diversions. However, strong liquors are never made use of on such occasions, unless the *Hollanders* (who cannot well be merry without them) bring some along with them. These marriage diversions continue sometimes four or five days successively.

I remember, that during my residence here, sometimes children of eight or nine years of age would have engaged in mutual promises of marriage in mine and their friends presence; which I always opposed, fearing, not without reason, that they might repent their bargain, before they came to a marriageable age. For the rest they constantly observe this custom, That the female is younger than the bridegroom, nay, they seldom will chuse a maid, that has already had her monthly times: this custom is so strictly observed on the coast of *Coromandel*, that if a *Brabman's* daughter remains unmarried till that time, she must lay aside all hopes of it for the future.

They marry very young.

The learned *Selden* shews out of *Rabbi Moses Maimonides*, that the *Jewish High-priests* were not allowed to marry a maid, unless she was under twelve years of age; and the ancient *Romans* commonly married their daughters at ten, eleven, or twelve years of age. It is sufficiently known what *Moses* says, in relation to the marks of virginity, *Deut. xii. 17.* which to this day is followed by the *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco*. If they happen to die without issue, the woman's portion returns

*Baldæus*. turns to her friends, the rest to the husband's. One laudable custom they have, which is, that scarce ever children marry here without the consent of their parents; a custom not only agreeable to the express command of God, expressed in divers places of the scripture, and the practice of all ages, even among the pagans, but also consonant to the civil constitutions, and the decrees of the council of *Lateran*, and other councils, which declare a marriage betwixt *Raptorem* and *Raptam* invalid in itself.

*Divers*

*tribes.*

*The tribe of*

*the Chivias.*

The tribe or family of the *Chivias*, use formerly to attend the service of the king of *Jafnapatnam*, but now do all sorts of drudgery, as carrying of water and wood for the *Dutch* inhabitants; they make use also of them for littermen, ten or twelve of them being sometimes employed at a time to carry a good bulky *Hollander*, ten, twenty, nay, thirty leagues in a litter. However, as they are descended from courtiers, so they are too proud to carry any ordinary person, who must be contented to be carried by the ordinary *Coelys*, or labourers, who live all over the country; whereas the *Chivias* inhabit in the district of the church of *Cbunde-couli*.

*Of the Par-*

*ruas.*

Those of the tribe of the *Parruas* do not live in such great numbers in *Jafnapatnam*, as they do about *Tutecoryn*; they apply themselves to the sea, and especially in diving for sea-horse teeth and pearls. They generally speak *Portuguese*, and are an active sort of people.

*Of the*

*Chittiis.*

The *Chittiis* live for the most part upon the linnen manufacture and traffick, the word *Chitty* signifying as much as a merchant: they are a crafty generation. Each of these tribes do not marry into any other besides their own, nay, commonly in the same family. Besides which each handicraftsman educates his son to the same trade he is of: thus a weaver's son follows the weaving trade, as the smith's son does that of a smith.

*Of the Car-*

*reas.*

The tribe of the *Carreas* live upon fishing, which they perform with monstrous large nets: they inhabit near the sea shore of *Jafnapatnam*, and the banks of the *Salt River*. Those of the tribe of the *Mokkuas* are likewise fishermen.

*Of the Nal-*

*louas.*

The *Nallouas* are generally slaves to the *Bellales*, and much blacker than the rest. Their business is to gather the liquor that flows out of the coco-trees, called *Suyri*, and *Euwak* by the *Indians*; to dig the ground, tend the cattle, water the trees, and such like drudgeries, as is commonly done also by the *Coelys*, or ordinary labourers. They are a nasty generation; you

may smell them at a good distance; not *Baldæus*, unlike the *Hottentots* on the cape of *Good Hope*.

The *Parreas* are the most despicable of all, their employment being to carry out dung and such like filthy things; they feed upon rats and mice.

It is observable that the tribes of the higher rank, look upon the inferior ones with a great deal of scorn, these being obliged to salute the others in the streets with deep reverence, and other ceremonies, to shew their submission. On the other hand, all the men, of what rank or quality soever, exercise a great authority over their wives, whom they rarely honour so far as to eat with them, but commonly dine alone. None of all these tribes eat cow's flesh, which is the reason that that no cows are killed but by the *Dutch*, the cow being looked upon among the rest as a sacred creature, as it was formerly among the *Egyptians*,\* of which more hereafter.

*Great difference in the degree of their tribes.*

\*See Exod. viii 26. Gen. xliii, 32.

Though their tribes are very numerous, yet do they relate to some few families, from whence they take their original, like the branches from the stem of a tree. The same was practised among the ancient *Egyptians*, who distinguished their nation into four head-tribes, viz. the *Priests*, the *Soldiers*, the *Artisans*, and *Handicraftsmen*, and the sheep and cowherds. Just as now-a-days some of the *European* nations are distinguished into four estates, viz. *Noblemen*, *Patricians* or *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, and the *Common People*.

For the rest, the generality of the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* are naturally ingenious, and have a strong memory; they are very sober and moderate in their diet, and (except the *Nallouas* and *Parreas*) very clean in their apparel, not quarrelsome, but very free with their tongue.

*The inhabitants of Jafnapatnam.*

Their general vice is fornication and adultery, especially among the young men; as the old ones are much addicted to superstitions, as to the choice of certain days, (whereof something was said before concerning *Raja Singa*,) the cries of birds, and such like things, used among the ancient *Romans*. Hence it is that the *Portuguese*, in those parts, have a proverb to this day, *I know not what unfortunate sight [Rosto Mofinho] did come in my way this day*.

Thus on the coast of *Coromandel* they look upon it as fortunate, if they see certain red bird with a white ring about his neck. *John van Twist*, in his description of *Gusuratte*, tells us of the natives there, That they look upon it as a good sign,

*Their superstition.*

*Baldæus.* sign, if they meet an elephant, or camel, laden or unloaden, a horse without a burden, or a cow or buffler with water on their backs; for without a load they were accounted unfortunate; a ram, or dog with a piece of meat in his mouth, a cat passing to the right hand of them. They also reckon it fortunate, if they meet any body that carries meat, milk, and butter, or if a cock crosses the way.

It is certain, that the observations of the cries, and flights of the birds have not only been usual among the antient Romans, but also the Jews, with several other such like superstitions, predictions, asking advice from the Devil, the finding out of stolen or lost goods, &c. for necromancy was forbid, *Isa.* viii. 19. Incantations, *Acts* xix. 15. observations of the cries of the birds, *Ezek.* xxi. 21. the choice of certain days, *Esther* iii. 7. & ix. 24. the consulting of woods, *Hosea* iv. 12. Besides which, the predictions from the different appearance of the water, air, fire, and earth, out of certain union of characters or numbers, (called *Cabala*,) chiromancy, astrology, inspections into the magick glafs, and such like diabolical illusions, described more at large by *Peucerus*, in his treatise *De variis divinationum generibus*.

*Lawyers in Jafnapatnam.*

Besides the artisans and handicraftsmen, whereof there is great plenty in *Jafnapatnam*, they have certain persons who apply themselves to the law; and in the high court of justice, composed of *Hollanders* and *Indians*, were set always (besides the *Modeliars*) a certain person well versed in the laws and constitutions of his native country. They have also their advocates, who make very long speeches in their pleadings.

*Their physicians.*

Neither are they destitute of physicians, such as they are; for, to speak truth, they are more than empyricks, who practise according to certain books and traditions, transmitted to them by their ancestors, and confirmed to them by their own experience. They know not what anatomy is, and very little of the nature of purging medicines, which are not often used in this hot climate: however, when a purge is to be given, (whether a potion or pills,) the composition is always made of fresh herbs; and if it works too strong, they mix some powdered pepper with water, and apply it to the navel in the nature of an ointment. I can tell it, by my own experience, That it is a good remedy against the belly-ach and looseness.

*Surgeons and barbers.*

They have also good store of surgeons and barbers; the last carry always a small

looking-glass along with them, their razors *Baldæus.* are thicker on the back than ours; they not only shave your beard and head, but also pare your hand and toe-nails, and cleanse your ears.

Weavers are here in abundance. These *Weavers.* sit flat upon the ground, their feet being placed in a hole dug for that purpose, whilst they are at work.

Callico-printers, or painters, are numerous here, who have a way of preparing their colours, that they never go out by washing, though those printed at *Jafnapatnam* are not near so good as those of the coast of *Coromandel*, and especially those done at *Masulipatan*.

They are excellent workmen in ivory and ebony-wood, as likewise in gold and silver, and will come with their tools (which are but few) to work in the houses of the *Dutch*. They are exactly well versed in the essaying of gold.

They are as well provided with smiths, *Other handicraftsmen.* carpenters, and bricklayers, as most places in *Europe*, though a carpenter or bricklayer gets not above five or six pence a day.

Having thus given you a full account of the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, we will now go from thence along the sea-shore to *Trinquemale*, taken 1639. by Mr. *Anthony Caan*; which might have been done before, whilst Mr. *Adam Westermold* was in *Ceylon*, (there being no more than fifty men in garrison,) had not *Raja Singa* bent his thoughts upon *Batecalo*, or, as some will have it, upon *Matecalo*. *Trinquemale* has a most excellent harbour, (as you may see by the draught,) nay, to speak the truth, the best and largest in the whole isle of *Ceylon*, there being more secure riding at anchor here, than in the harbours of *Belligamme*, *Gale*, or *Columbo*.

This place was several times relinquished, and rebuilt by our company, especially during our war with the *English*, it being not thought convenient to leave so good a harbour, and so conveniently seated for the interrupting all correspondence betwixt foreigners and *Raja Singa*, to the discretion of an enemy; though the repairing of it, (during my stay in *Ceylon*,) under captain *Peter Wafch*, cost us abundance of people, that were swept away by a phrenical distemper, which made them drown themselves in the sea. Some of their bodies being opened, certain worms were found in the substance of the brains, occasioned, questionless, by the violence of the heat, the continual labour, watching, and the feeding upon salt-provisions, but more especially by



*Baldæus.* the cold night-fogs. After which time it was strengthened with some additional fortifications, as appears by captain *Peter du Pon's* letter, dated the 5th of October 1667. from *Macassar* in the isle of *Celebes*.

“ I Was once more ordered to sail with some forces to *Trinquenemale*, to take once more possession of that harbour and bay for our company, which I did accordingly with good success; and having refortify'd the place with four bastions, and reduced the circumjacent inhabitants to our subjection, I left a sufficient garrison there, and so returned to *Columbo*.”

From *Trinquenemale* you travel by the way of *Capello* to *Batecalo*, the first place

conquered by the *Dutch* in this island, *Baldæus.* whereof we have given you the best account we were able, not questioning but that in case we should once live in peace with the king of *Candy*, (who is very old, almost doating, and much addicted to strong liquor,) our countrymen will be much better acquainted with the inland countries, than they have been hitherto.

According to the last letter I received from *Tutecoryn*, dated *December 20. 1668.* there had been lately an insurrection in the isle of *Ceylon*, so that they were forced to draw their forces together out of *Saffragamme* and *Mannekewarre*; but was appeased since, though the forces were not as yet dismissed.

Baldæus.

Baldæus.

CHAP. XLIX.

Natural History of Ceylon. Their Pagodes, Convents, Monks, Manners, Habit, and OEconomy of the Cingalese.

HAVING hitherto taken a view of those places of *Ceylon* that are under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch* company, we will now take a turn to *Candy*, the imperial residence, as the most proper place to be informed concerning the real constitution of this isle and its inhabitants.

The city of Candy.

The city of *Candy* is seated about thirty leagues from the sea-side, and nine from *Vintane* up the river of *Trinquenemale*, about twenty-one leagues by land from *Matecalo*, and nine from the sea-shore, where the emperor has his docks for building and refitting his ships and gallees. The other cities of *Ceylon* being not described in any books, we must also pass by in silence here. All over the isle you see abundance of very splendid *Pagodes*. The foundation of that of *Vintane* has no less than one hundred and thirty foot in circumference; it is of a great height, and gilt on the top; it is oval on the bottom, and arises into a four-corner'd point like a pyramid. The *Great Pagode* betwixt *Gale* and *Matecalo* is also much celebrated, serving for a light-house to ships as well as that of *Trinquenemale*. In the large high *Pagode* before mentioned stands an idol representing a man with a naked sword in his hand, lifting up his arm, as if he were ready to strike. To this idol the *Cingalese* pay their reverence, and offer their sacrifices upon all emergencies, or in time of sickness; for which reason they keep a basket in every house, wherein they gather such provisions as they are to sacrifice. They believe that the world will not have an end so long as that *Pagode* stands. Some worship an *Elephant's Head* of wood or stone, to obtain wisdom. They adorn their idols with flowers. These elephants heads are placed sometimes on trees in the highways, sometimes in little brick houses or chapels. You see also frequently in the high road certain heaps of stones, earth, or dung, upon which each passenger throws something as he passes by.

Their temples.

And idols.

Just by *Belligamme* I saw the figure of a man, at least six yards high, cut in a rock about half a yard deep, who used to be worshipped by the *Cingalese*.

Near it is a high-peaked mountain, accounted the highest in the *Indies*, called *Adam's Pico de Adam*, or *Adam's Peak*; because they are of opinion, that here stood formerly the paradise, where *Adam* was created. They also tell you, that the print of the foot of *Adam* is to be seen to this day in the rock, the draught whereof is kept in the imperial court. Unto this rock a vast number of people flock from far distant places, to see this sacred relick, though the mountain is of very difficult access, nay, (if we may credit *Maffæus* the jesuit,) quite inaccessible, unless by means of certain iron chains and iron spikes fastened to the rocks.

Adam's mountain.

Some are of opinion that they reverence the chamberlain of the queen *Candace* in this place; who, according to some historians, but especially *Dorotheus*, bishop of *Tyrus*, (a man equally famous for his learning and sanctity under *Constantine* the great,) preached the gospel in the *Happy Arabia*, *Erythraea* and *Taprobana*.

There are also divers convents in *Ceylon*, and a great number of *Brabmans* and priests, who are in great veneration among the common people: they never eat any thing that has been living, or is capable of producing any living substance, as eggs, &c. Their friers wear yellow habits, with their heads shaven all over, for which reason they never appear in the streets without umbrello's, and beads in their hands, muttering out certain prayers as they go along. Their convents have divers galleries and chapels, wherein are placed the statues of several men and women, who, as they say, have led holy lives. These are adorned with gold and silver apparel, and attended with burning lamps and wax-candles day and night, placed upon altars, the candlesticks being supported by naked boys artificially carved. The friers have their certain hours for prayers, which they perform in these chapels.

Convents and monks of Ceylon.

They have also their publick processions: the head or abbot of the convent being mounted on a fine elephant, sumptuously harnessed with an umbrello over his head, marches along the street in great pomp, under the

Their processions.

found



## The Indian Procession.



*Baldæus.* found of horns, trumpets, and other such sort of musick, making an odd kind of harmony, accompany'd by a great number of men, women, and children; the maidens of quality dance all along before the elephant naked down to the middle, their heads, arms, and ears adorned with golden bracelets and jewels; the garments which cover their under parts are of different colours. They pay their daily devotions to a certain idol called *Sambaja*, by prostrating themselves upon the ground, and afterwards clasping their hands together over their heads. But concerning the religious worship of the *Cingalese* we shall have occasion to say more in the following treatise, which in effect differs very little from the *Malabars* and those of *Coromondel*, except that they are not altogether such bigots, the emperor of *Ceylon* allowing liberty of conscience to all nations. The *Cingalese* are not so stubborn, but that many of them have been, without much difficulty, converted to the *Roman* faith, and since that to the reformed religion.

The genius of the Cingalese.

For the rest, the *Cingalese* are naturally active and ingenious, and good work-

C

*Baldæus.* men in gold, silver, ivory, ebony, iron-works, &c. arms inlaid with silver; eloquent, nimble, courageous, fit for warlike exploits; sober and watchful. They march one single man after another, by reason of the many narrow lanes in this country; their arms are a half-pike; their drums are small, but make a great noise, which may be heard at three leagues distance in the mountains; they are best in the pursuit of a routed enemy. Since they have conversed so much with the *Portuguese*, and other *European* nations, they are grown so cunning that they must not be too much trusted, nor despised.

Incest is so common a vice among them, that when husbands have occasion to leave their wives for some time, they recommend the conjugal duty to be performed by their own brothers. I remember a certain woman at *Gale*, who had confidence enough to complain of the want of duty in her husband's brother upon that account. The like happened in my time at *Jafnapatnam*; which had been likely to be punished with death, had not, at my intercession, and

in

*Baldæus.* in regard of the tender beginnings of christianity, the same been passed by for that time.

*The habits.* The *Cingalese* are in shape and manners not unlike the *Malabars*, with long hanging ears, but not so black. The dress of the men is a vest, called *Ropillo*, of woollen or linnen cloth; their under-garment is a piece of linnen wrapped about the middle, and drawn through both their legs, like a pair of breeches. On their heads they wear a kind of red caps, such as we call rock-caps, which they look upon as a singular ornament; and in their ears rings and precious stones. The hilts of their swords or scymetars are commonly of silver, ivory, or gold, with flaming blades.

The common people appear for the most part naked, having only a piece of cloth wrapped round the middle to cover their privy parts. The women go with their breasts uncovered, being generally well-limbed. Instead of a head-dress, they have a way of tying their hair together like a cap: they wear golden or silver necklaces about their necks, and rings on their fingers and toes.

The *Cingalese*, as well as the *Malabars*, are much addicted to idleness and pleasures, and insist much upon their pedigree: they marry as many wives as they think fit, as

well as the *Mabometans*, of which there live a considerable number in this isle: they marry their daughters at ten or eleven years of age, a custom not to be rooted out among them, they being very fond of the virginity of their wives. They bury their dead after the manner of the pagans.

In their houses they are excessive neat; and use instead of trenchards and table-cloths the leaves of fig-trees; their spoons are made of coco-nutshells, and their drinking vessels of earth, with hollow pipes, through which they pour (like the *Moors*) the drink into the mouth, without touching their lips; for as the *Cingalese* and *Malabars* insist much upon their noble descent, so they will neither eat nor drink with those of an inferior rank, nay, many of them are so proud, as not to eat with their own wives.

The most current coin here are the silver *Laryns*, each whereof is worth about ten pence; a *Fanam* is only five pence, though they have golden and silver *Fanams*; a *Pagode* was formerly no more than eighty four stivers, but is since raised to an hundred and twenty, or six *Dutch* guilders; as well in *Ceylon* as *Malabar*, two golden *Fanams*, at five pence a piece, make a *Laryn*.

CHAP. L.

Fertility of Ceylon. A Description of the Cinnamon and Snakewood. A strange Tree.

*Fertility of Ceylon.* THE isle of *Ceylon* is very fertile in rice, and all sorts of fruits, as ananas, cocos, the best oranges, lemons, and citrons, exceeding by far those of *Spain* and *Portugal*; fig-trees, cajouves, grapes, potatoes, quiavos, papajes, and pomgranates. You have here fresh grapes the whole year round, except in the three winter or rainy months. It abounds also in sugar-reeds, and mulberry-trees, which produce a good quantity of silk; as in ginger, pepper, cardamum, tobacco, wild palm-trees, affording vast quantities of a kind of sugar, and the juice called *Suyri*, their ordinary drink: they are stored also with calabass-trees, cotton-trees, areek-trees, *Portuguese* figs, mangos of divers sorts, long pepper, melons, water-melons, onions, and garlick. Since the settling of the *Dutch* here, they have also propagated, with good success, cabbages, asparagus, carrots, and radishes: but the *Helen*, or the bride, in contest of this isle, is the finest and purest cinnamon, which growing only in this island, no wonder if we have disputed the entire pos-

session thereof for so many years with the *Portuguese*.

This precious spice is called by the *Cingalese*, *Cureneo Potto*, and the tree *Curindo Gas*, some of which are of a great bulk, their leaves resembling those of the lemon-trees, but not quite so broad; the blossom is white, and of an agreeable scent, which produces a yellowish fruit, not unlike a small olive; out of which the inhabitants press an oil, not much differing both in colour and virtue from that of nutmegs, but in smell like the cinnamon itself.

The cinnamon-tree has a double bark, the outward bark being taken off with a crooked knife; the inward rind is cut with a knife, first round the tree, and then in length, which being exposed to the sunbeams in the fields, shrinks together into such small rolls as we see them in *Europe*. The trees that are thus peeled, perish, instead whereof the fruits that fall upon the ground produce other cinnamon-trees. The wood is very white, and used by the

*The Manner of peeling Cinnamon.*



*Baldæus*. inhabitants for building. It is observable, that these cinnamon-trees do not grow all over *Ceylon*, but only in some certain places; for in the whole kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, and the isle of *Manaar*, none of these trees are to be seen, but only beyond the river *Cbilau*, in the country about *Negumbo*, and the inland countries, as likewise near *Gale*. These trees seldom grow together, but are generally seen in woods mixed with other trees. Whilst I was minister at *Gale*, some of my slaves used now and then to bring some cinnamon-wood among the rest into the kitchen, which when put into the fire, emitted a very odoriferous scent.

It is further worth taking notice of, that whereas, according to the judgment of the naturalists and physicians, the cinnamon is very hot, yet does the root of the tree produce not only a water smelling exactly like camphire, but also the strongest-scented camphire itself. I have several pieces of it, which smell so strong, that I am scarce able to endure it. Out of the cinnamon-wood, whilst yet green, they distil a water of an agreeable smell, and very wholesome to our bodies. The natives make out of the outward bark of these trees curious cabinets: I have such a one by me of a considerable bigness, which was presented me by major *Peter du Pon*, 1665. just upon my departure from *Ceylon*.

Three sorts  
of cinnam-  
mon.

The *East-Indies* produce three different sorts of cinnamon; 1. Is the finest cinnamon, called *Canel Fino* by the *Portuguese*, being the same that is taken from very young, or at least not very old trees. 2. The coarse cinnamon, called *Canel Grosso* by the *Portuguese*, taken from very thick and old trees. And, 3. The *Canel de Mato*, or wild cinnamon, which grows likewise on the coast of *Malabar*, but is in no esteem; for whereas a *Baar* of *Ceylonese* cinnamon is sold for fifty or sixty rixdollars, the wild cinnamon yields not above ten or twelve. Though I have heard some of the most ingenious of the natives affirm, That the wild cinnamon might be much meliorated, and made fit for use. The *Dutch* company is now, through God's blessing, in the possession of the cinnamon of all kinds, as likewise of all the spices, viz. of the nutmegs, mace, and cloves, except the pepper, which grows in several places.

The Snake-  
wood.

The *Snakerwood*, or *Lignum Colubrinum*, grows most frequently in the isle of *Cey-*

*lon*: it is white, inclining to yellow, very hard, and of a bitter taste; it is in great request among the *Indians*, and accounted a good remedy against several distempers: they powder it, and rub the whole body with it to cure the itch: they also take an ounce of powdered *Snakerwood* in water or wine against the cholick, burning fevers, and other distempers, but especially against the stings of the serpents, of which there are many in this island.

*Baldæus*

Its use  
among the  
Indians.

The *Cingalese* naturalists say, That the virtue of the *Snakerwood* was first discovered by a certain small creature called *Quil*, or *Quirpele*, by the *Portuguese*, being of the bigness of our ferrets, wherewith we catch the rabbits. Of this kind the *Indians* keep many in their houses, partly for sport, partly to catch rats and mice with. This creature having a natural antipathy against the snakes and serpents, whenever it is stung by them runs to the *Snakerwood*, and after having eaten of it, is cured of its wound. *Marcellus de Boschbower*, a person in great esteem in *Ceylon*, relates, That he has several times seen this *Quirpele* engaged with snakes, and amongst the rest, one that vanquished a serpent; but being wounded, run to the next wood, and having eaten some of this *Snakerwood*, returned in half an hour to the place, where its vanquished enemy lay extended dead upon the ground. The *Cingalese* call the root of this tree *Nay Lelli*, unto which they attribute a singular virtue for the cure of divers distempers.

Antipathy  
betwixt the  
Quirpele  
and the  
serpents.

There grows a strange tree in the isle of *Ceylon*, called the *Root-Tree*, because its branches turn to the ground like ropes; where taking root again, they produce a tree that spreads in a short time over a spacious tract of ground. *Ceylon* produces also tamerind-trees of a considerable bulk, the fruit whereof is accounted an excellent remedy against the scurvy and dropsy. There grows another tree in *Ceylon* like our *Noli me tangere*; for if you go to touch it, it moves backwards, and gives way to your hand.

For the rest, *Ceylon* is sufficiently provided with medicinal herbs, and they cure all their distempers with green herbs, in the use whereof their physicians are better versed, (by experience,) than many of our pretending surgeons, God Almighty having provided remedies suitable to the distempers of each country.

## C H A P. LI.

*Great Number of Elephants in Ceylon: Are very pernicious: Divers Instances of it. How they take the Elephants. Their Bufflers, Tygers, Bears, Birds, Fishes, Crocodiles, and Porcupins, or Sea-Hogs.*

*Baldens.* THE isle of *Ceylon* abounds in all sorts of four-legged creatures, birds, fishes, stones, and certain products of the sea, of each whereof we must say something.

*Elephants of Ceylon.*

Among the four-legg'd beasts, the elephant challenges the first rank: of these there are great numbers here; and so pernicious, that it is not safe travelling without some soldiers with their drums and kettles, the noise whereof frightens these creatures: they are most dangerous towards evening when they are hungry; for the *Coelys*, or littermen, often run away at the sight of an elephant, leaving those they carry to shift for themselves.

I remember, that in my time, a *Portuguese* reformed minister, named *John Ferreira d'Almeyda*, travelling with his wife from *Gale* to *Columbo*, the litter-carriers (according to their custom) ran away at the sight of an elephant; who did, however, not the least harm, but laying his trunk upon the woman's *Palankin*, or litter, went away: but things of that nature happen not always alike.

I observed once as I was travelling from *Manaar* to *Jafnapatnam*, that the elephants had done considerable mischief hereabouts; and during the rainy season had rendered the ways almost unpassable. We had the good fortune to escape narrowly the danger of an elephant who killed a certain negro, one of the commanders of the elephant-hunters, in a place we had passed not long before.

*How they take and tame the elephants.*

At *Mature* are vast stables, where the wild elephants are tamed, and afterwards sold to the *Moors* of *Bengale* and *Coromandel*. They take the elephants near *Mature* in the following manner: they fix abundance of large stakes or trunks of trees in the ground, so as to leave the entrance wide enough, but growing narrower within by degrees; in these they have certain traps, and the wild elephants being decoyed by the tame ones into these enclosures, are caught in the traps, or snares, like as we do in our decoying ponds. They are very hard to be tamed, and require sometimes four whole months before they can be brought to lie down: all this while they must be carried twice a day to some river

or other to swim. This is done by putting a wild elephant betwixt two tame ones, who take such care of the other, that they hit him from both sides with their trunks, till they make him pliable, and at last quite tame.

It often happens that the young elephants are taken in following the old ones. These are very unlucky: I remember, that one time as several of us were talking together, one of these young elephants came slyly and pushed with his back-side against one of our company, that he was ready to fall upon his nose.

They feed upon green herbs and leaves of fig-trees, coco, and other trees; neither do they refuse areek and sugar. At a certain time of the year an oil issues out of the heads of the old elephants, when they run mad, and oftentimes kill their *Farnak*, or guides. *Ceylonesse* elephants are accounted the largest and best in the *Indies*; and, if you will believe the natives, are adored by the other elephants.

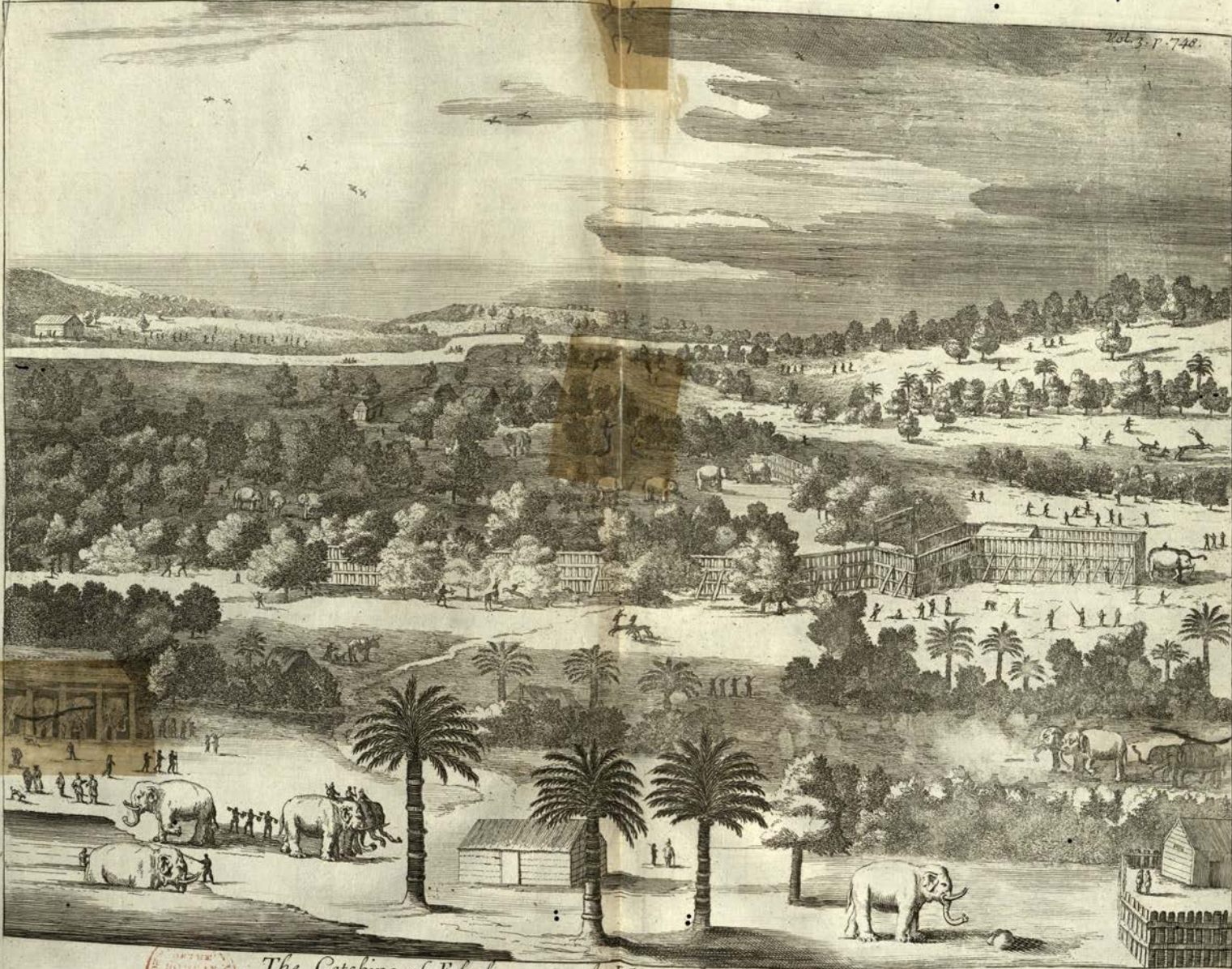
Horses (great enemies of the elephants) were brought first from abroad into this isle. The *Portuguese* having some years since sent horses into the isle of *Vacas*, they are multiply'd to such a degree, that you may see them feed in herds of sixty, seventy, eighty, or one hundred.

Of bufflers they have a great store in *Ceylon*: I have seen whole herds of them of one hundred, and more, feeding in the countries of *Cbilau* and *Madampe*, which were but indifferently peopled at that time. They have also hedge-hogs, oxen, cows, bulls, sheep, goats, stags, does, elks, tame and wild boars, hares and partridges, peacocks and apes in abundance.

The woods here produce also some venomous beasts, as tygers; though I never saw any, but had a grey-hound given me by a *Portuguese* who bore the marks of a tyger's claws on his buttocks. Bears I have seen, both in *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*: I saw once five or six young ones drowned in *Manaar* by the inhabitants, who had found them at *Mantotte*, and thought fit to take this course with them, to prevent their increase.

• They





The Catching of Elephants on the Island of CEYLON.





*Baldæus.* They abound also in *Jackals*, a creature very greedy after mens flesh; for which reason they cover their graves with great stones; they sometimes take them with grey-hounds, but when they are hard put to it, they piss, which emits so nauseous a scent, that the hounds cannot endure it. The flesh of the *Jackals* is given with good success by the physicians of the country to cure the consumption. Towards the evening the *Jackals* meet, and make a most dreadful noise, and will some times fall upon passengers. In my time a *Caffer*, who was in drink, had his teeth eaten out by the *Jackals*. The *Jackal* is not unlike a fox, and has exactly such a tail. The *Malabars* call the *Jackals* *Adiviis*. I saw but one leopard in the isle of *Ceylon*; and not one unicorn or rhinoceros.

*Crows.* *Ceylon* affords vast quantities of birds, called by the inhabitants by peculiar names. Crows you shall see by thousands about noon upon the houses; but they are so cunning as not easily to be shot, except through a hole or small window. Towards night they leave the towns, and retire to the trees in the country, and in the morning early look about for prey. If one of them happens to be killed, the rest make a most terrible out-cry.

*All sorts of Fowl and Birds.* There are certain birds in *Ceylon* called *Minbotos* by the *Portuguese*, who often make bold with the young chickens: they have also owls that make a dreadful noise in the night-time. They abound in geese, herons, wild and tame ducks, peacocks, pigeons, turtles, partridges, parrots of most delicious colours, peewits, swallows, bats, &c. Among the rest, here is a certain bird which builds his nest hanging on the branches of the trees. They have also abundance of fine singing-birds, nightingales, and larks in abundance; sea-gulls, water-snipes, bees, fire-flies, gnats, and locusts.

*Fishes.* *Ceylon* produces great plenty of fish, as cacap, plaice, crabs, pikes, king-fishes, sail-fishes, craw-fishes, haddocks, galleon-fishes, sharks, orados, sardins, large smelts, bat-fishes, seals, oysters, muscles, shrimps, pampus, barbels, bomtos, corquados, &c.

Among the amphibious creatures, the *Baldæus*. *Kaiman*, or crocodile, called *Lagarto* by the *Portuguese*, is very frequent here; some of which are eighteen foot long. They have four feet with crooked claws, their skin covered with scales, which are so hard upon the back, that they are musket proof; so that they are not vulnerable except in the belly and eyes: their under-jaws are unmovable, but they have sharp teeth: their back-bones being without joints, they cannot turn short, whence the best way to escape them, is to get away from them by many windings and turnings. 'Tis generally believed here that the crocodile has a stone, or rather bone in the head, which given in powder is an excellent remedy against the stone. The bones of the sharks are accounted very good against the same distemper.

Mr. *Rochefort* says, That in some of the rivers of the isles of *America* are certain crocodiles that smell like musk. I have with amazement seen crocodiles lying upon the water like logs of wood, with their eyes shut; and if they happen to meet with a prey, they leap at it on a sudden, like an arrow from the bow.

*Vincent le Blanc* tells us a story of a burger-master's servant of *Alexandria*, who passing near the river-side, was devoured by a crocodile which he took for a log of wood swimming upon the water. They say, that they have a white fat, which is an excellent remedy against sharp humours that settle in any part of the body. In *Jafnapatnam* there are many crocodiles in the fens, ponds, and lakes; which if they happen to dry up in the summer, they dig holes to live in; we were often visited by them in our camp before *Jafnapatnam*, but they did no mischief. The *Chinese* make a dainty dish of the young crocodiles.

In the isle of *Manaar* are great numbers *Porcupines*. of very large porcupines, or sea-hogs; they have very sharp teeth, and their flesh is fit for food; the females have breasts and milk; they come often ashore and feed upon herbs.

## CHAP. LII.

*Serpents of Ceylon: Remedies against their Stings. An odd Story of a Serpent-Catcher. Precious Stones, Products of the Sea. Amber-Grease; its Goodness.*

*Baldæus.*  
*Serpents.*

**S**ERPENTS are very common all over the isle of *Ceylon*: the *Sea Serpents* are sometimes eight, nine, or ten yards long. The *Land Serpents*, called *Ratcatchers*, are also very large, live on the tops of the houses, but are harmless creatures. The most dangerous are those called *Cobres Capellos* by the *Portuguese*, which frequently used to kill people whilst I lived in *Jafnapatnam*. So soon as any body is stung or wounded by these serpents, they apply the *Adderstone* to the wound, and give the patient some milk. Our surgeon, *Albert van Lambergen*, writ to me 1666. that being stung by a serpent, he became blind, but after some time recovered his sight. A parishioner belonging to the *Church of Manipay*, as he was mending the top of the church, happened to be wounded by a serpent that lay hid among a heap of leaves, and died soon after. I

*Remedies*  
*against*  
*their sting.*

fav once two serpents twisted round one another sporting under the wall of the same church, which I ordered to be cut to pieces by a soldier. Such of the inhabitants as retain still some remnants of paganism, will not allow the serpents to be killed.

The *Malabars* call the serpents *Pambo* and *Naga*, and give their cattle and children their names, nay, they feed them because they should do them no harm. The serpents come frequently into the houses, especially in the rainy season. During my abode at *Jafnapatnam*, two dogs were stung to death in the house; and I have seen them sometimes pass up stairs over the beds. Another time a serpent passed so near my wife in the house, that he touched her leg with the tail, and was afterwards killed by the servants.



*Baldæus.* There is also here a kind of adders, called vipers by the *Portuguese*; they are speckled, and very venomous. Whilst I lived at *Jafnapatnam*, a certain *Higb-German* foldier belonging to the garrison (commonly known by the name of the *Serpent-Catcher*) being sent for by Mr. *Anthony Pavilion*, governor of *Coromandel*, to take a certain *Cobre Capel* that was in his lodging-room. He came accordingly; and with his hat only before his face, laid hold with his other hand of the serpent, without receiving the least harm: he did handle the creature afterwards in our presence, and not only carried it away in his snafack, but also used to sleep near it. I suspecting some witchcraft in the matter, talked to him seriously about it; but he assured me, That nothing was done but by natural means; and that he always carried the head and heart of a serpent about him: wherewith I was forced to rest satisfied, he being not willing to discover the whole mystery.

An odd story of a serpent-catcher.

Among the inhabitants of the coast of *Coromandel*, and the *Cingalese* and *Malabars*, are certain fellows, who have an art of making the serpents stand upright, and dance before them, which they perform by certain enchanting songs. Those that are to take an oath in those parts, put one of their hands into an earthen vessel, wherein is a serpent: if they escape without being wounded, they are supposed to swear true; but if not, on the contrary.

Remedies against the stings of serpents.

Upon this occasion I cannot forget to mention some remedies used against the stings of serpents. First of all, it is requisite to bind the affected part, above and below the wound, to prevent the poison from being communicated to the mass of blood; and afterwards hold it over, or as near to the flame as it is possible. I would have every body that goes to the *East-Indies*, to provide himself with some *Orvietan*, *Theriac*, *Mitbridate*, confection of *Alkermes*, balsam of *Peru*, *Rue*, *Scordium*, *Scorzonera*, *Angelic*, and *Contrabier-va* roots, these being great cordials and antidotes.

They must keep to a cooling diet, and avoid purging and bleeding; but instead thereof make use of bathing, to open the pores of the body. The peel of lemons or citrons taken fresh from the tree, is accounted an excellent remedy, and fasting spittle applied to the wound. If you can take the serpent that has given the wound, bruise the head, and apply it to the affected part. However, the *Adderstone* surpasses all the rest; but is often adulterated. The right one raises no bubbles

upon the water, and sticks close to the lips, if put to the mouth.

*Baldæus.*

The serpents of *Ceylon* are not altogether so large as those of *Java* and *Banda*. At *Batavia* there was once taken a serpent, which had swallowed an entire stag of a large size, and one taken at *Banda* had done the same with a negro woman.

Besides these serpents, *Ceylon* produces several sorts of other crawling creatures, as *Thousand Feet*, called *Millepie* by the *Portuguese*, which are sometimes seven inches long; scorpions, spiders of a prodigious bigness, frogs, tortoises, toads, &c. *Ceylon* also affords divers precious stones, as *Sapphires*, *Rubies*, *Topazes*, *Granats*, &c. Some say it also produces gold, silver, iron, and other metals; but that their kings will not allow these mines to be dug. This seems not improbable, it being certain that iron has been bought out of the country. It affords also chrystal in abundance. The commodities chiefly vended here by the *Portuguese*, were coloured stuffs of all sorts, velvets, silks, red caps, porcelain spices, *Amfra* or *Opium*, *China* root, camphire, musk, sandal-wood, lead, copper, tin, salt-petre, brimstone, gilt looking-glasses, glass bottles, painted calicoes of *Suratte* and *Coromandel*; all which are still in vogue here.

Commodities sold here.

The isle of *Ceylon* has besides fish, several products of the sea. Of the pearls and pearl-fishery we have spoken before, in the description of *Tutecoryn*. *Ambergreese* is found here sometimes near the sea-shore, in good large pieces, and of the best kind: they call it *Panabambar* in the *Maldive* islands. This precious drug was altogether unknown to *Hippocrates*, *Dioscorides*, and *Galen*; and to this day its true origin is a riddle to us, though some will have it to be the seed of the whales, others a certain fine earth, others a certain pitch or rosin, growing at the bottom of the sea, and forced thence to the shore by tempests. Certain it is, that it is generally found after stormy weather. Mr. *John Huygan van Linschoten* mentions a piece of *Ambergreese* taken up near the cape *Comoryn*, 1555. which weighed thirty quintals. It is said, That the birds are very fond of the scent of it; and the prints of the bills of birds have sometimes been perceived in the *Amber*, and is accounted a certain sign of its goodness.

Its origin.

Mr. *Rochebford*, in his *Natural History* of the *American Islands*, says, That the amber there, when first taken, has so nauseous a scent, that the birds are drawn towards it as by the smell of a carrion: he says it smells like rank bacon.

The

*Baldæus.* The *Amber* is of different kinds; the black (the worst of all) is found near the isle of *Mauritius*; next is the white, and the grey, the best of all. In some parts of *America* there is a kind of amber, they call the foxed amber, because it is swallowed and vomited up again by the foxes without any alteration, except that it loses something of its scent. The best ambergrease is of an ash-colour, like ashes mixed with wax. It is adulterated with wax, rosin and pitch; to know the real goodness of it, you must thrust a hot needle into it, and by the smell of the moisture that adheres to it, you may judge of its goodness: you may also lay a small quantity of amber upon a hot knife; if it be good, it will melt im-

Goodness,  
how to be  
tryed,

mediately like wax; and provided the knife be very hot, it will quite evaporate without leaving the least dregs behind. *Scaliger, Garcias, Monard, Fernandes Lopes, Clusius, and Rocheford,* have written of the ambergrease; its medicinal virtues we leave to the judgment of the physicians.

The sea about *Ceylon* produces likewise whole coral-trees, some branches whereof curiously grown I preserve in my study. It affords also certain horns of sea-horses, called *Chankos*, which are frequently transported to *Bengale*, besides divers other sorts of horns and shells, (but not so curiously twisted as those of *Amboyna*;) sea-aples, sea-stars, and such like.

T H E  
I D O L A T R Y  
O F T H E  
*East-India* P A G A N S.

G I V I N G

A true and full Account of the Religious Worship of the *Indosthans*, the Inhabitants of *Coromandel*, the *Malabars*, and *Ceylonefe* ; with a Description of their Idols.

P A R T I.

C H A P. I.

*The general Consent of all Nations concerning the Existence of God. Divers Sects of the Brahmans. Their Opinion concerning the Creation. The Idols Ixora and Quivelinga.*

*Baldæus.*  
The existence of a God.

**T**HE existence of a God, or supreme being, is so firmly rooted in the heart of mankind, that there is no nation in the world but what has acknowledged the same. What is alledged to the contrary by some of the *Chilese*, *Tapujars*, *Brasilians*, *Madagascarians* ; as also of the inhabitants of *Florida*, the *Caribee Islands*, and especially of the cape of *Good Hope*, must rather be attributed to the want of knowledge of those authors, than real truth. Of this I was sufficiently convinced, 1666, when I tarried three months at the cape of *Good Hope*, where I found these barbarians to perform their religious service in the night-time, which I had no opportunity to observe in 1665, when I came that way before. What is said of *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Cyrenaicus*, *Bion*, *Evemerus*, *Lucianus*, *Epicurus*, and especially of *Protagoras*, *Abderites*, and *Socrates*, and their denial of the existence of God, being to be understood only of the plurality of Gods, which was always

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rejected by the wiser sort among the pagans : Whence it is, that we meet with the titles of *Ens Entium*, the *Being of all Beings*, *Ens primum*, the *First Being*, *Primus motor & vis motrix*, the *First Moving Cause and Substance*, in their writings.

This being laid down as a fundamental rule, we will proceed to give an account of the idolatry of the pagans inhabiting the coast of *Malabar*, and the *Indies* on both sides of the cape *Comorin*, viz. at *Tutecoryn*, *Trevanor*, *Coulang*, *Calecoulang*, *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, *Calecut*, *Cannanor* ; as also on the coast of *Coromandel*, and the isle of *Ceylon*. According to *Rogierius*, the *Brakmans* are distinguished into six sects, viz. *Weistnouwas*, *Seiria*, *Smaerta*, *Schaerwaeka*, *Pasenda*, and *Tscheetea* ; and the *Benjans* of *Gusuratte* into no less than sixty-three : But in the forementioned parts, the *Brakmans* are divided into four head-sects.

The first are the *Centrawack*, who use neither fire, nor candles, nor cold water,

*Baldæus.* for fear it should contain some living creatures; they do not pass the streets, unless they be swept before with a broom, which they always carry with them, for fear of treading upon any thing that is living. They believe neither God, nor providence, but that all things are produced by chance.

The second sect is called *Samaræth*: they actually believe a God.

The third *Bisnou*, who call their god, *Ram*. They have a fast, which begins in *August*, and holds forty days.

The fourth sect is that of the *Goegii*, who have no habitations of their own, but sleep in the night-time in the churches: they walk generally naked, having only a cloth to cover their privities, and besmear themselves all over with ashes. They believe a God, (whom they call *Bruyn*;) the creator of the universe, who is in every thing, whether man or beast, (though he cannot be seen by the creature,) gives light to sun and moon, and annihilates what and when he pleases. They say, that such as die in their faith, go directly to their god *Bruyn*: They do not burn, but bury their dead. Whoever embraces their sect, is obliged to take near a pound of cow-dung, every day among his ordinary food, for six months successively, the cow being accounted sacred, and her dung the purest thing among them. They are very superstitious: a cart, buffler, or ass without a load, a dog empty-mouthed, a he-goat, ape, a goldsmith, carpenter, barber, taylor, smith, cotton-weaver, a widow, a burial, or some body going to a burial, are altogether ill omens to them; as an elephant, camel, an horse without a burden, a cow, an ox and buffler laden with water, portends good luck in their opinion. Some acknowledge one *Vistnou* for their supreme god; but the most, one *Ixora*. We will first treat of *Ixora*, and afterwards of *Vistnou* and *Bramma*.

See Rogerius, Texeira, Carolina, John van Twilt, &c.

Opinion of the Brahmans concerning the creation of the world.

The *Brakmans* have a very odd opinion of the creation of the world (of which more hereafter.) They say, that this world will diminish by degrees, till it comes to a drop of water, which is the *Ixoretta*, or *Divinity* itself: after that, it shall encrease again, when *Ixoretta* crying out aloud, *Quen, quen*, will make it turn again into a single drop of dew. This will make it revive again, first into a mustard-seed corn, then turn to a pearl; and, lastly, into an egg, containing the five elements. This egg, they say, is to have seven distinct shells or partitions, like an onion; whence will break forth the fire and air upwards, and the others down-

wards; and the egg being thereby broken into two pieces, the upper part produced the heavens, as the under part did the earth; and because the egg had seven shells, which by the division thereof made fourteen half ones; the seven uppermost parts furnished the matter for seven heavens, as the seven undermost did for as many worlds. An unpardonable contradiction, when they themselves acknowledge their *Bramma*, and implore him, as the creator of heavens and earth; and how incongruous is it, to make the *Ixoretta*, or divinity, subject to decrease?

They further add, that at the opening of the before-said egg, there appeared a thread drawn all along the middle, which joined the fourteen upper and under worlds: *Ixoretta* then taking his place in the highest sphere of the heavens, there arose at the same time, a mountain on the earth, named *Calaja*; on the top of which, stood a triangular substance (*Tricon Sa-cra*) which produced a round substance, called *Quivelinga*, i. e. the members of generation of both sexes; which *Quivelinga*, they say, is *Ixoretta*, or the divinity: for finding that all living creatures were procreated by the carnal copulation of men and women, they revered this *Quivelinga*, as the original of all created things, and adorned him in their temples with the best sweet herbs and flowers. They have a certain religious order called *Joguis*, who wear the figure of this *Quivelinga*, either of wood or copper, about the neck, and offer him daily the best of their victuals. *Rogierius* speaks to the same purpose of the *Lingam*, i. e. *Membrum virile in muliebri*, as the *Ixora*, or *Eswara* is represented in their *Pagodes*.

*St. Austin* \* tells us something like this of the *Priapus*, which used to be carried in procession, in honour of *Bacchus*, through the cities of *Italy*; and that the matrons used to crown his *membrum virile* with garlands. I have read in several authors of known integrity, and speak it upon the credit of divers people yet living, That the *Canarins*, and inhabitants about *Goa*, do carry their brides to such a *Priapus*, in order to deliver them of their virginity. The whole matter whereof, I will, for modesty's sake, relate in *Latin*: *Sponsa magno comitatu multaque cum pompa inter plausus ac sonos musicos ducitur ad idolum, quod aenea virga vel ferrea, vel eburnea prominente præditum conspicitur, & ad hanc nudata veste sponsa a matre vel a proximis sanguineis vehementer impellitur, quod cumque gravi dolore fieri nequeat, illi qui adsunt, cantando & saltando sponsæ flebiles voces opprimant*

\*L. 7. c. 21. de Civitate Dei.

Canarins offer their brides to Priapus.

*Baldæus opprimant, si quæ est, quæ dolorem immensum verita, hoc modo Virginitate privari recusat, blandis consanguineorum verbis ad idolum paulatim adducitur, atque ad id a matre tamdiu (invita quamvis) adigitur, donec virginitatem amiserit; postea sponsa domum rediens sponso traditur, qui de hoc præ se suscepto Labore sibi maximopere gratulatur.*

*Baal Phegor* seems to have been the *Priapus* of the *Jews*. *Jerome*, in his commentary upon the prophet *Hosea*, says, That the *Jewish* women worshipped *Baal Phegor*, ob *obscæni magnitudinem membri, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare.*

The *Brahmans* will indeed not allow of this interpretation, alledging, that they adore under this, the circular figure, which is infinite; whereas the signification of the word sufficiently contradicts them. *Quivelinga* being composed out of the word *Linga*, or *Lingam*, i. e. the *manly yard*, and *Quiven* the same with *Ixora*; and the figure carried by the *Fogii*, expressly represents the conjunction of the members of both sexes.

*Quivelinga* then (as we said before) is *Baldæus* of a circular figure, which being inclosed in three distinct rinds or shells, which they say are transmuted into three gods, *viz. Bramma, Vistnum, and Quiven*; the first and hardest produces *Bramma*, the second *Vistnum*, and the innermost *Quiven*. *Quivelinga* being thus despoiled of his shells, was burnt to ashes by fire, and fixed in the triangle. *Quivelinga* being thereby become a thing without sense or motion, it was requisite it should be guarded by some body; which *Bramma* and *Vistnum* refusing to do, *Quiven* undertook the task, and constantly attending *Quivelinga* with prayers and sacrifices of flowers, deserved thereby to be ranked above his brothers, and obtained the title of the *great god*, as their poets call him. The *Brahmans* say, that *Bramma, Vistnum, and Quiven*, or *Ixora*, are commissioned by the first being to rule the world in the nature of his viceroys. They say *Ixora* resides in *Calaja*, *Vistnum* in the *Milk-Sea*, and *Bramma* in *Sattiolagam*, or the highest place in heaven; of which more hereafter.

CHAP. II.

A Description of *Ixora*: His Wives. Abstinency of the *Brahmans*. Divers Sorts of *Eunuchs*.

A Description of *Ixora*.

**I**XORA is as bright and white as milk, with three eyes; two whereof are placed as those of other men, and the third in the front, being so full of fire, that it consumes every thing it looks upon. His stature is immense; for *Bramma* being desirous to see his head, soared up high into the earth, but could not reach it. *Vistnum* (whom they call the god of inventions and changes) having the same curiosity to see his feet, which reached deep into the ground, transformed himself into a hog, the better to dig up the earth, but could likewise not obtain his wish; for, say they, *Ixora* is of so vast an extent, that the serpent *Bategu* (which is so long as to compass the seven worlds and the seven seas) was not big enough to serve him for a bracelet. I heard a pagan once ridicule a *Brahman*, because he put the figure of *Ixora* in his chamber; whereas, according to their opinion, it was much larger than the serpent *Bategu*.

*Ixora* has no less than sixteen hands, wherewith he holds the following things: a heart, a chain, a fiddle, \* a bell, porcelain basin, capalla, i. e. *Bramma's* bead, a trident, a rope, an ax, fire, gold, a drum, beads, a staff, an iron wheel, a serpent, with a crescent or half moon on his fore-

head. His apparel is a tyger's skin, his cloak the hide of an elephant, surrounded with serpents †. He wears about his neck a collar of the skin of a certain creature, called *Maudega*, on which is fastened a bell, such as our oxen or sheep commonly have about their necks.

He has also about his neck three chains, one whereof being intermixed with roses and other flowers, affords an odoriferous scent. The second is made of the heads of *Bramma*; for they say, that *Bramma* dies and revives every year; and that *Ixora*, gathering his heads as often as he dies, had made this chain of it. The third is made of the bones of *Chatti*, one of *Ixora's* wives; for it is to be known, that he has two wives, one named *Grienga*, or the *Goddess of the Seas*, whom he always carries in his hairlocks; the other this *Chatti*, otherwise called *Parameferti*, who they say dies and revives once a year; and as often as she dies, he takes one of her bones, which are put into this chain. He carries also the same beads as the *Brahmans* do, his whole body being besmeared with ashes, and thus rides in triumph through *Calaja* upon an ox named *Irixapatan*, unto whom they offer certain sacrifices.

† Part wore the skin of a panther, the spots whereof imitated the variety of stars, flowers, &c.

This Pan was anciently represented with horns, reaching up to the clouds.

\* As Pan had his flute.



The Idol Ixora

*Baldæus.* His attendants are called *Pudas*, *Pixaros*, and *Pes*. *Pudas* is represented like a fat and short person, with a large paunch, without a beard, having serpents hanging down, with their tails from his head. He wears a bracelet on his left arm, and two others about his thighs, made of serpents, and a staff in his right hand. The *Pes* and *Pixaros* are represented much taller, with burning torches in their hands in the night-time.

They say that *Bramma* has created the universe, *Vistnum* governs it, and *Ixora* kills and puts a period to every thing. They further add, that *Ixora* has communicated part of his substance to his wife *Paramesceri*, alias *Parvati*, and she again to him; so that they are both hermaphrodites; and *Ixora* is sometimes represented as such; and *Rogierius*, *Lib. II.* says, That the *Brakmans* call their *Ixora*, *Arakhanari*, i. e. a *Manwife*. There are, however, a certain sort of *Brakmans* called *Tirimimpi*, who are so far different from the rest, that they won't as much as cast an eye upon a woman; for which

A strict  
sort of  
Brahmans.

reason as often as they pass through the streets, they have certain persons, who bid the women go out of the way: thus the *Hierophantes* of *Athens*, and the priests of the goddess *Cybele* among the *Romans*, used to deny themselves the use of venerary, the first by castrating themselves, the others by certain drugs. The *Jews* distinguish betwixt eunuchs made by God, and those made by men; the last are believed to owe their original to the *Persians*; and among the *Jews* they had certain persons, called *Impingentes*, because they used to run against posts and doors, rather than to look upon a woman.

*Rogierius* \* mentions another sort of *Brakmans*, called *Sausiazii*, who renounce all worldly pleasures, abstain from women, and even the *Betel*, (though generally used all over the *Indies*), eat but once a day, have no fixed habitations, use nothing but earthen vessels, and live upon alms. The fundamental rules of their sect being to withstand *lust*, *anger*, *covetousness*, *pride*, the pleasures of the world, and *revenge*.

*Baldæus.*

*Divers*  
sorts of  
eunuchs.

\* *Lib. II.*

c. 4.



## C H A P. III.

*Contest betwixt Bramma, Vistnum, and Ixora, who is obliged to be a Mendicant twelve Years. A Child produced out of the Blood of Vistnum, occasions new Differences.*

*Baldæus.* THE residence of *Ixora* is upon the silver mount *Calaja*, to the south of the famous mountain *Mahameru*, being a most delicious place, planted with all sorts of trees, that bear fruit all the year round. The roses and other flowers send forth a most odoriferous scent; and the pond at the foot of the mount is inclosed with pleasant walks of trees, that afford an agreeable shade, whilst the peacocks and divers other birds entertain the ear with their harmonious noise, as the beautiful women do the eyes. The circumjacent woods are inhabited by a certain people called *Mumis*, or *Rixis*, who avoiding the conversation of others, spend their time in offering daily sacrifices to their god.

It is observable, that though these pagans are generally black themselves, yet do they represent these *Rixis* to be of a fair complexion, with long white beards, and long garments hanging cross-wise, from about the neck down over the breast. They are in such esteem among them, that they believe, that whom they bless, are blessed, and whom they curse, are cursed.

Within the mountain lives another generation, called *Jexaquinnera* and *Quendra*, who are free from all troubles, spend their days in continual contemplations, praises, and prayers to God. Round about the mountain stand seven ladders, by which you ascend to a spacious plain, in the middle whereof is a bell of silver, and a square table, surrounded with nine precious stones, of divers colours. Upon this table lies a silver rose called *Tamara Pua*, which contains two women as bright and fair as a pearl; one is called *Brigafiri*, i. e. *the Lady of the Mouth*; the other *Tarafiri*, i. e. *the Lady of the Tongue*, because they praise God with the mouth and tongue. In the center of this rose is the *triangle* (mentioned in the *first chapter*) of *Quivelinga*, which they say is the permanent residence of god.

*Ixora* being one time diverting himself in this *Cajala*, or *Paradise*, with *Pudas*, *Pes*, and *Pixajos*, let fall some words, intimating him to be the greatest in all the world, which *Bramma* and *Vistnum* not able to brook, a contest arose about the precedence; to decide which, *Ixora* told them, that which of the two could take

a full view of him from head to foot, *Baldæus.* should be accounted the greatest.

*Bramma* hereupon got upon his bird *Annam*, (whereof more anon) and passed up into the air, to get sight of *Ixora's* head, whilst *Vistnum* transforming himself into a hog, dug into the ground, to come at his feet. Whilst he was thus employed, meeting with a most poisonous serpent, he was so startled at it, that he desisted from his enterprize. This story is related more at large by several of the *Malabar* poets.

*Bramma* on the other hand, resolute in his designs, soared very high into the air, when being met by three flowers, they asked him whither he was a going; he replied, to get sight of the head of *Ixora*: they told him, *his labour was in vain*, by reason of the vast distance; which made *Bramma* change his resolution; but at the same time desired the flowers to tell *Ixora*, that he was prevented from coming so high as his head by a sudden giddiness in his brains; which they promised, and did accordingly; but *Ixora* being sensible of the deceit, did with his *Chacra*, or scymetar, cut off one of the four heads of *Bramma*, and cursed the flowers. Out of the blood of *Bramma's* head, came forth a man with five hundred heads, and a thousand hands, named *Sagatracavaxen*. The day on which *Bramma's* head was cut off, was ever after looked upon as ominous, and named *Pongalacha*, i. e. *Dies infestus*; whence arose the proverb of a thing that is never to be done, *It shall be at Pongalacha*.

The three flowers were cursed, *viz.* That one of them should grow upon a dunghill, and be cut down there; the other to be turned into a crow, and the third into a cow.

The *Brabmans* further say, That *Ixora* to expiate the crime he had committed, by cutting off the head of *Bramma*, turned mendicant as the *Jogü* do, with *Bramma's* skull in his hand, till the same should be filled with alms; whence arose that custom practised to this day, that he who kills a *Brakman*, must beg alms for twelve years in the skull of the *Brakman* killed by his hands. *Ixora* therefore begged alms for twelve years; for though he received sufficient alms, yet by the fiery

*Baldæus*. rays that darted from his eye in his forehead, it was all consumed and turned to ashes in an instant.

*Ixora attacked by the Mumis.*

One day as he was gathering alms among the beforefaid *Mumis*, their wives came running with whole ladles of blood to fill the skull; but not being able to sustain the glance of his eyes, they were so surprized, that they let slip not only their ladles, but also their clothes. The *Mumis* seeing their wives naked, did fall pell-mell upon *Ixora*; one attacked him with an ax, which he seized and got up into the air; another would have killed him with a serpent, which he took in his hands, without receiving any harm; then they brought a furious tyger to devour him; this he killed and scald, and made a garment of the skin; then they set upon him a wild elephant, who underwent the same fate, his hide serving him afterwards for a cloak; this *ax*, *serpent*, *tyger*, and *elephant*, are the same trophies he holds in his hands.

*Vistnum* willing to deliver *Ixora*, appeared to the *Mumis* in the shape of a most beautiful virgin, which occasioned such a surprize to them, that the men (as their wives had done before) fell into a trance, and *Ixora* spilled his seed upon the ground, which *Vistnum* with his hand formed into a child.

*Relieved by Vistnum.*

*Ixora* being towards the end of the twelfth year quite tired with his mendicant life, had recourse to *Vistnum*, who

commiserating his condition, put out the *Baldæus* fiery eye, that consumed all the alms in the skull; which done, *Vistnum* wounded himself in one of his fingers, and filled the skull with the blood, which put an end to his pilgrimage, but gave birth to the order of the *Jogii*, who in the memory of *Ixora's* pilgrimage, lead a mendicant life to this day.

*Another contest.*

Out of the blood of *Vistnum* a child was procreated, called *Vareu*, which occasioned new contests, *Bramma* challenging it as his own, because it was begot in his skull, *Vistnum* because it came forth out of his blood, and *Ixora* because it came out of his hands. To reconcile this difference, *Devaindra*, a king of the aerial spirits, persuaded them to relinquish their pretensions by joint-consent; which they having consented to, *Devaindra* educated the child at *Devalogam*, where becoming a famous bowman, he protected that place against *Sagatracavaxen*, who, as we told before, being the product of *Bramma's* head, had five hundred heads and a thousand hands. Afterwards *Ixora* returned to *Calaja*, his former residence.

It is observable, that if one of their kings dies, they tie his hands and feet, when certain soldiers come to threaten him with their sticks; which affront, they believe, is a means to expiate the trespasses committed by him in his life-time against his subjects.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The Children of Ixora. The Nativity and Constitution of Quenavady. The Origin of Sura. Quenavady castrated. Contest betwixt him and Superbennia. His Habitation and Gluttony. Funeral Feasts of the Malabars.*

*Children of Ixora.*

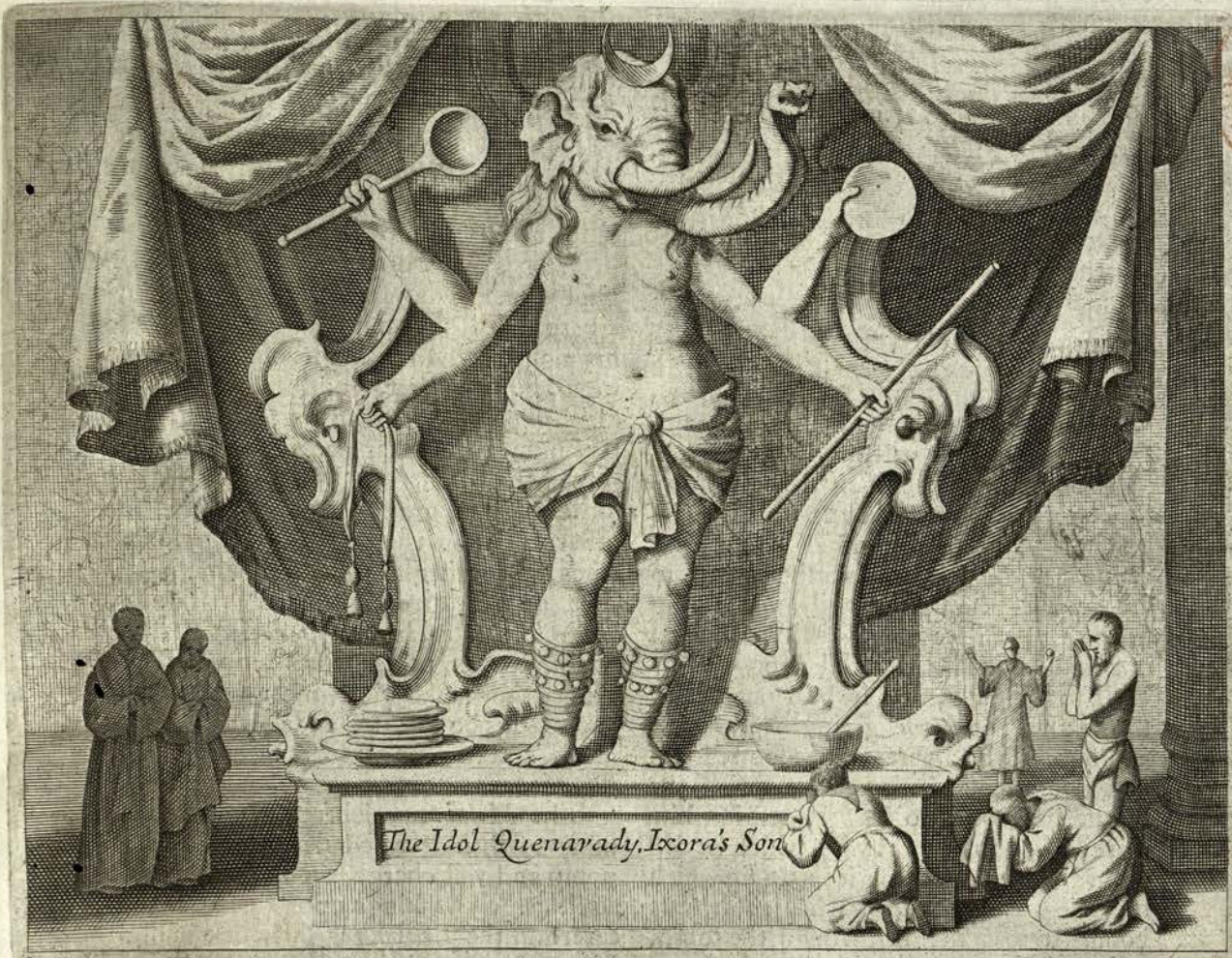
**I**XORA had three sons and one daughter, the eldest resembling an elephant, the second an ape, the third had six faces and twelve hands. The daughter, who was as black as a coal, had the face of a hog. The eldest son named *Quenavady*, was born in the wood by *Piragu*, with an elephant's head and face, the rest of his body being like other men; for *Ixora* walking one time with his lady *Paramefceri* towards the wood *Piragu*, she saw an elephant sporting with a female of the same kind, and so raised her appetite, that she desired *Ixora* to be both transformed into elephants; which being done accordingly, they eat of a certain fruit in the wood, which made them quite frenzical, so that they made the same

*Quenavady's original.*

noise, overturned the trees, threw up the sand with their trunks, and did all the other actions of elephants, not excepting even their copulation. The female having conceived immediately, brought forth this child with the elephant's head and face, and soon after they resumed their own shape. *Paramefceri* tried to give suck to this young monster, but being in danger of having her breast torn in pieces by it, she delivered it up to *Ixora*, who had it brought up in *Calaja*.

This *Quenavady* had the hand, teeth, and face of an elephant, with large hanging ears, and ugly lips, with red pimples all over the face: His hair is long, (like his father's,) tied about with a serpent, or adder, with a crescent or half moon

*A description of him.*



The Idol Quenavady, Ixora's Son

*Baldæus.* moon on his forehead, and four hands, besides the trunk; the rest of his body like other men, but shining like gold, with a large paunch tied about with a red piece of stuff: he wears also the girdle of the *Brahmans*, and on his feet divers gold rings and bells.

They tell you another story of *Ixora*, viz. That being one time inebriated with the *Sury*, or juice of the coco-tree, and having carnal copulation with *Paramesceri*, a small quantity of *Ixora's* seed was spilt upon the ground, and afterwards covered with earth by *Paramesceri*, this produced a palm-tree. *Ixora* coming soon after into the wood, and seeing the young tree, cut off the top thereof with his *Chakra*, or weapon. The liquor which issued thence so well pleased *Ixora*, that he took a good quantity of it in his cup he always carried along with him; and having drank his full share, tied up the tree, and so returned to *Calaja*. He repeated this so often, that *Paramesceri* finding him always return in drink from the wood, took the next opportunity to follow him thither; and finding the juice very acceptable, she tasted so long of it, till she was also inebriated. *Ixora*, when he first

A story of Ixora.

espied his wife behind him, cried out to *Baldæus*, her, *Calli*, that is, you *she-thief*; whereupon she answering, *Calla*, i. e. *thief*: the *Malabars* to this day call the said juice *Calla*. *Ixora* being well pleased with the young tree, he stretched it with his hand higher and higher, and so turned it into a palm-tree.

It seems somewhat odd, that the *Brahmans*, who pretend so much to sobriety, should make their *supreme god* a drunkard, when they are so nice in this point, that they will never make use of our ink, for fear there should be some wine in it. Thus the *Samoryn* of *Calecut* killed his own brother-in-law, because he was drunk; and the king of *Cochin* did the same to a company of drunken *Nairos*.

The *Brahmans* averse to drunkenness.

They further tell us of this *Ixora*, that he caused his son *Quenavady* to be castrated, because he once, whilst yet in his mother's arms, touched her privy-parts with his trunk: others say, he actually enjoyed her; which is the reason the *Malabars* say, that the elephants have no testicles.

*Quenavady* castrated.

It is to this *Quenavady*, the pagan artificers, workmen, &c. offer the first-fruits of their labour. After they have revered, and offered sacrifices to him for

twelve

*Baldens.* twelve years, he moves one of his ears, as a sign that they must continue the same; which being done twelve other years, he shakes the other ear, to give them to understand, that he requires still more at their hands; if they hold on twelve years longer, he opens his eyes, and grants their requests.

How wor-  
shipped.

*Ixora* being at a certain time desirous to try the agility of his two sons *Quenavady* and *Superbennia*, offered a very fine fig as a reward to him who should carry the day. *Quenavady* having a very thick skin, and riding only upon a mouse, whereas *Superbennia* had six faces, and twelve arms, and rid upon a peacock, being sufficiently convinced, that his brother would carry the prize, took his opportunity, whilst the other was riding round the *Calaja*, to turn short, and so lay hold of the fig. *Superbennia* having taken his turn, pursuant to the wager, and not finding the fig, did fall upon *Quenavady* so furiously, that he beat out one of his teeth: but *Ixora* giving *Superbennia* another fig, the difference was soon ended. But not knowing what to do with the tooth, he gave it to *Vistnou*, desiring him to restore it to *Quenavady*; which he did accordingly, by putting it into a fig which he gave to his nephew, who, as he was going to eat the fig, found the tooth, which he turned into a nice writing-pen, and kept it to write his poetry with.

Difference  
betwixt  
*Quenava-  
dy* and *Su-  
perbennia*.

For the rest, *Quenavady* is represented as very voracious; for they say, he could devour the whole world; nor is he to be fatiated, but in the *Sugar-Sea* called *Jexucadhil*, which is of a vast extent; and always boiling-hot, having in the midst a mount composed of nine very fine stones, with a plain on the top, deliciously seated, in the center whereof, stands the tree *Luola*, inclosed with a row of precious stones curiously wrought. In this enclosure, is a structure of the finest red coral, covered with precious stones: the doors whereof, as well as the avenues to the place, are guarded by a good force of the *Pudas*, who spend their time in holy meditations and prayers in the company

The Sugar-  
Sea.

of a good number of women, who sing to the praise of God. Close about the tree *Luola* are seats of gold, and a table made of the most precious stone called *Bairacalle*, upon which stand a bright shining mouse, and a rose, in the leaves whereof are written fourteen letters or characters. This is the residence of *Quenavady*, who rides upon the said mouse.

*Baldens.*

He has on each side of him a most beautiful woman, who are continually employed to lade sugar mixed with honey into his mouth; and for fear he should be tired with the same diet, good store of *Affes*, (*Indian cakes*;) fried in butter-milk, butter, and divers other provisions, stand always before him. The hills near it, afford also figs, grapes, coco-nuts, and all other sorts of the best fruits, as well as roses and other flowers. The musicians that attend divert him with fiddles, trumpets, flutes, hautboys, and other musical instruments; as many women are employed to make rich incenses, and to anoint his body with sandal-wood, civet, musk, and to offer all sorts of odoriferous flowers.

The *Malabars* celebrate yearly the memory of their deceased friends with great pomp and vast charge, according to their abilities. The kings upon this occasion, entertain the *Brabmans*, (who are in high esteem there, as being the interpreters of their *Vedam*, or law-book) magnificently, and distribute money after the feast. And, because in the *Indies*, but especially on the coast of *Malabar*, there are many petty kings, as those of *Trevancor*, *Coulang*, *Calecoulang*, *Porca*, *Cochin*, *Cranaganor*, *Cananor*, &c. these feasts are frequent in those parts, and the *Brabmans* will be sure to partake of them, though they travel sometimes ten, fifteen, nay, twenty leagues for it, and take their full share; for though they value themselves much for abstaining from flesh, fish, eggs, wine and other strong liquors, yet will they make themselves a full amends with such victuals, as are allowable by their constitution.

Funeral  
feasts of  
the *Malabars*.

## C H A P. V.

Of the other Children of *Ixora*. *A Coco-Nut in the Head of an Ape.*  
*Siri Hanuman born an Ape. Revived from the Dead. Combat betwixt Superbennia and Quenavady. His Cursing of the Moon.*

THE next to *Quenavady*, is stiled *Egafourubum*, or the true God, represented with an elephant's head, and

eleven hands. He is only to be worshipped by the *Brabmans*, though others also sacrifice to him, but must at the same time, abstain

*Baldæus.* abstain from flesh, fish, eggs, and wine. Next to him, comes *Ceuxci*, whose origin is related thus: *Paramesceri*, *Ixora's* spouse, having anointed her body with oil and saffron, and washing herself in a pond, did form from the impurities of her body, a living man; *Ixora* seeing him at a distance, and believing him to be her lover, hastned thither, and struck with his weapon his head off at the foot of the mountain *Calaja*, which was turned into a coco-tree; whence it is, that the *Indians* say, that the print of a man's face was fixed in the coco-nut. *Paramesceri* being sorely afflicted at her son's death, *Ixora* pleaded his ignorance; and to comfort her in her affliction, cut off the head of a white elephant, which he put upon the shoulders of her dead son, and so restored him to life again. He is represented with an elephant's head, and two hands.

Why the coco-nut has the print of a man's face.

The wives of the Nairos slip off their clothes in dancing.

*Ixora* had also another son, named *Siri Hanuman*, by *Paramesceri*, which was born an ape. *Ixora*, it seems, was a most celebrated dancer, and used frequently to shew his activity in the presence of the celestial spirits, as well as his spouse *Paramesceri*, who was so active in dancing, that one time when she had lost a ear-jewel out of one ear, she took it up with two toes of her feet, and put it in her ear again, to the incredible surprize of the spectators. Hence, perhaps, arose the custom used among the ladies of the *Nairos*, who, whilst they are dancing at a certain feast celebrated in honour of one of their idols, let on a sudden slip all their clothes, and remain naked. But to return to *Ixora*: Having invited many of the celestial spirits to see him dance, *Paramesceri* happened to see two apes sport together in the adjacent wood, she desired *Ixora* to transform both her and him into apes; which done, they leaped about in the wood, till coming to a bambo-tree, *Paramesceri* then conceived an ape. In the mean time the celestial spirits being come, according to invitation, and among them *Jecxa*, *Quinnera*, and *Quendra*, and finding their host abroad, they sent the *Wind* (as the nimblest of all) to find out *Ixora*, who having told him his errand, they both resumed their former shapes.

*Paramesceri* being now ashamed of her burden, requested the *Wind* to convey the ape into the womb of *Anbema*, one of the ladies of the celestial spirits; and so they returned home, where *Ixora* danced to the admiration of the whole assembly. *Anbema* afterwards brought forth an ape as white as *Ixora* himself, who being endowed with peculiar virtues by his father, performed many noted exploits; of which more hereafter in the history of *Siri Rama*.

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Two odd stories they tell of this ape: First, That being one time very hungry, and taking the fun for a dainty bit, he was endeavouring to leap up towards it, but was beat back by the iron weapon of *Ixora*, who gave him a good knock on the pate, but without any harm, whence he got the name of *Hanuman*. The other is, That meeting one time with a white elephant called *Acrapadia*, on which was mounted *Devaindra*, king of the celestial spirits, a quarrel arose betwixt them, in which *Hanuman* was slain: his father, the *Wind*, being afflicted at his death, hid his face under ground, so that the inhabitants of the earth being ready to perish for want of air in the extremity of heat, they addressed themselves to *Ixora*, who restored *Hanuman* to life, and recalled the wind above ground.

*Baldæus.* Odd stories of the ape. *Siri Hanuman.*

Thus the wind was adored as a god both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Atbenians* erected a temple to the wind, as *Augustus* did in *France*; the *Phenicians* did the same. This ape has divers celebrated *Pagodés* erected to him by the *Indians*. We read in the *Portuguese* histories, That in 1554, when they plundered the famous *Pagode* upon the *Adam's-Mount* in *Ceylon*, they found an ape's tooth (the most sacred relick of the pagans of *Pegu*, *Ceylon*, *Malabar*, *Bengale*, *Coromandel* and *Bisnagar*) enclosed in a box set with precious stones, which they carried to *Goa*; some of the *Indian* princes offered seven hundred thousand ducats to redeem it, but it was not accepted of, by reason the bishop of *Goa* opposed it.

Another son of *Ixora* was called *Superbennia*, with six faces, and twelve hands; the occasion whereof happened thus: *Paramesceri* being one day employed in washing herself in a cistern, six weavers happened to pass by, who inflamed with lust, looked very wishfully at her: this having the same effect upon her, she conceived the same instant; but fearing *Ixora's* anger, she threw it out with her spittle upon the ground, which turning in an instant into a child with six faces and twelve hands, much resembling in all other respects the six weavers, they took it along with them, and educated it in all manner of accomplishments. One time being engaged in a dispute with *Ixora*, he was so taken with his wit, that he received him for his son, assigned him a place at *Calaja*, and presented him with a peacock to ride upon.

A conception by fantasy.

Before I conclude this chapter, I must tell you one thing more of *Quenavady*. Returning one day pretty late at night from a banquet, when the moon was not very

*Baldæus*. light, it being only the fourth day after the new moon in *August*, with his umbrella in one hand, in the other a poem, and some cakes under his arm, he ran unwarily against a post with such violence, that he fell upon the ground, and dropped not only his umbrella, but also his poem and cakes. As he was most concerned for the last, so he took a good bite or two of them before he rose again, or looked for his book and umbrella. The moon seeing this pleasant spectacle, could not forbear laughing; which *Quenavady* perceiving, broke out into this curse, *Who-*

*ever, O moon, shall see thee for the future Baldæus, upon this day in August, shall be damned in his privities.* Hence it is that the pagans will not stir abroad the 4th of *August* after sun-set, nay, even not on the 5th, for fear of partaking of this curse; and if any one is obliged to stay without doors, he covers his face, and even will not look into the water for fear of seeing the moon, though they see the *St. Thomas* christians, the *Jews*, and *Magometans*, look upon it at the same time without the least detriment.

## CHAP. VI.

*Ixora's Daughter; and the Origin of the Small-Pox: Fear of the Malabars of that Distemper. Their Pagode Amadyri plundered by the King of Cochin. She comes to Coulang.*

A Certain giant named *Racxada* (of which more anon) having lived twelve years with *Bramma*, he received, among many other presents, a book from him, and some bracelets, as also the virtue of being invulnerable. The natives of *Coromandel* believe these giants to have been children of the *Brakman Cassiopea*, by his wife *Aditi*, just as the *Jews* say, that *Lilith* brought forth devils begotten by *Adam*. *Darida* finding himself thus placed above the common rank of men, by his strength bestowed upon him by *Bramma*, would needs challenge *Ixora*, who knowing his strength, sent against him a certain female, named *Sorga*, who cut off one of his heads; (for besides his true head, he had many others, but only in appearance.) But *Darida* returning the next day, reiterated his boasts, when *Ixora* engaged five holy women, called *Chamundigal* by the *Malabars*, in his quarrel, who cut off his false heads; but all to no purpose; so that *Darida* persisting in his insolence, *Ixora* consulted with *Vistnum* what to do in this exigency. Whilst they were debating the matter, *Vistnum* sent forth from his body a certain matter, (called *Bixa* by the *Malabars*,) which entering that of *Ixora*, passed again through the eye on his front, and falling upon the ground, produced in an instant a female, which *Ixora* acknowledging for his daughter, gave her the name of *Patragali Pagode*.

Darida.

A description of Ixora's daughter.

This daughter had eight faces, sixteen hands as black as a coal, with large round eyes, her teeth like the tusks of a boar. In lieu of pendants she has two elephants

in her ears, and serpents about her body, instead of a garment; her hairlocks are peacocks tails; in her hand she carries a sword, a trident, a large porcellain basin, another vessel called *Capala* by the *Malabars*, a scymetar called *Mautegam*, a hanger called *Carutela*, an arrow, a weapon called *Cona*, a rope, an ape with an iron wheel.

This monster was no sooner born, but she went to revenge her father's quarrel, and fighting for seven days successively, she cut off seven of his imaginary heads; but finding all her endeavours in vain, and that *Darida* was not vulnerable as long as he kept the book and bracelets given him by *Bramma*, she applied herself to *Sorga*, intreating her to take upon her the habit of a beggar, and by that means endeavour to get the before said things into her hands. Accordingly *Sorga* took the opportunity to ask alms of *Darida*, when he was at some distance from his house, who told her, That if she would go to his house, his wife would answer her desire; which if she did not, he would do it himself. *Sorga* then went to his house, and asked his wife for the bracelets and book in her husband's name, who freely delivering the same, she brought them instantly to *Patragali*. *Darida* having thus lost his best treasures, wherein *Bramma* had inclosed all his happiness, and thereby being bereaved of his former strength, was soon after engaged again, and had his true head cut off by *Patragali*.

Being much exalted by this victory, she came strait to *Ixora*, who being then just undressed,

*Baldeus*. undressed, leaped into a cistern, for fear of being seen by *Patragali*, from whence he gave her some flesh and blood; but finding her not satisfied thus, he ordered her to hold out her basin, and cutting off one of his fingers, he filled it with his own blood; but *Patragali* continuing still unsatisfied, took one of her golden chains, (composed of small pieces, like pepper corns,) and threw it into his face, which raising in his face great numbers of pimples, or small ulcers, he cried out with great surprize, *Basuri*, i. e. *O you revengeful woman!* and desiring her to desist, created two young men, named *Birapatrem* and *Quetraquele*, whom he bestowed upon her, and thus pacified her anger; but to rid his hand of her for the future, he presented her with a vessel of sandal wood, ordering her to go with it into the world, and to reside (though unknown) among the mortals, and to require vows and sacrifices at their hands.

Opinion of the pagans about the small-pox.

The pagans therefore imagining that it is *Patragali* sends the small-pox among the people, leave the patient so soon as he is seized with it; and hence perhaps it is, that they have a certain idol representing a female, with a child laying his arms about her neck, and imploring her assistance. They deliver up these patients to the care of the *Comaras*, a fraternity belonging to the *Pagode* of *Patragali*: these offer the blood of some cocks and other sacrifices to the goddess in behalf of the sick; and for the rest give them only some *Cansies*, or rice boiled in water; and leaving them for the rest to their own disposal, more die for want of good looking after, than by the violence of the distemper, nay, sometimes are killed by *Comaras*, who inherit all their moveables.

We told you before, that *Ixora* called his daughter *Basuri*, which to this day signifies the *small-pox* among the *Malabars*, which they say is the sword of *Patragali*, and for that reason endeavour to mitigate her wrath by sacrifices, wherein they follow the footsteps of the antient *Greeks*.

The Pagode of Patragali in Cranganor.

They say that *Patragali* has her chief residence in the *Great Pagode* of *Cranganor*.

*nor*, called the *Pagode of Pilgrims*, from *Baldeus*. the vast number of zealots that flock thither; and as this brings in a revenue of many thousand *Fanams* to the king of *Cranganor*, so the king of *Cochin*, who said would have had a share in the booty, did post some forces on the passes, who robbed and plundered the pilgrims, intending by this means to oblige them to resort to the *Pagode*, built in the kingdom of *Palurti*, under his jurisdiction. Thus the old king of *Cochin* did plunder and rob the famous *Pagode* of *Ammadiri* of all its treasure, at the head of a body of ten thousand men, and afterwards laughed at them into the bargain, saying, That he had taken it only as his inheritance, as being the son and heir of the idol; just as *Dionysius*, the *Sicilian* tyrant, did with *Jupiter* and *Æsculapius*.

The king of Cochinchina robs a famous Pagode.

But to return to *Patragali*; she was no sooner got out into the main with her vessel of sandal-wood, but being attacked by some fishermen and ape-hunters, was forced to return to *Calaja*, where finding *Ixora* overwhelmed with sleep, she overturned his bedstead; which awakening him, she told him her disaster; whereupon being endowed with new vigour by *Ixora*, she returned to her vessel, and having defeated the ape-hunters, and landed safely on the south side of *Coulang*, (a city of *Malabar*;) the queen thereof sent for her to court, and entertained her there for twelve years as her own daughter.

Adventures of Patragali after she left Ixora.

The lord of *Couleta* (a country seven leagues to the north of *Calecut*) then desiring *Patragali* in marriage for his son, the same was concluded, and she taken home, where she lived for twelve years, without ever cohabiting with her husband, as boasting herself to be the daughter of *Ixora*. *Mendoza* speaks of a certain idol in *China*, with a child hanging about her neck, which the jesuits would fain persuade the world to have been intended for the virgin *Mary*, though it seems much more probable, that it was intended for this *Patragali*. What *Mr. Le Blanc* tells us of the female idol of *Calecut*, seems very suspicious to me.

## C H A P. VII.

*Patragali's Father and Mother suffer Shipwreck: She sends her Husband to sell her Jewels; and goes in quest after him. Nine several Adventures which happen to her. The rest of Ixora's Children: Their Adventures. What further becomes of Paramesceri.*

*Baldæus.* **A**fterwards *Patragali's* father and mother-in-law being embarked aboard a ship with all their riches, in order to traffick with them in foreign countries, they were attacked at sea by the ape-hunters, who sinking their ships, they lost all their riches. *Patragali* then gave her golden foot-rings to her husband to sell them; who departed accordingly; but meeting upon the road a goldsmith, (a highwayman of *Pandy*;) he under pretence of viewing the rings, entertained the husband, till by several by-ways they brought him to *Pandy*. Here the pretended goldsmith (who had not long before stolen just such rings from the queen of *Pandy*) accused *Patragali* of the robbery; who was put in prison, and afterwards empaled alive on a palm-tree. The goldsmith's wife having an aversion to so foul a fact, upbraided her husband with it, who killed and buried her near a well.

*Patragali's husband executed.*

*Patragali* having staid six days without hearing any news from her husband, resolved to go in search after him.

*Patragali's adventures whilst she goes in quest of her husband.*

The first thing she met with, was a pigeon, which she asked, *Whether she had seen her husband?* The pigeon replied, she had seen him go that way, but not return. In recompence whereof *Patragali* gave her this blessing, That she should never want water in *February*, (being the driest season here,) and presented her with a piece of her chain, which she threw about her neck: (the turtles have such a ring about the neck.)

*Patragali* following the way shewn her by the pigeon, met with another bird; of whom having enquired as she did before of the pigeon, she received the same answer; which made her bestow a tuft upon his head, being perhaps the same we call the *Pievot* in our country, called *Carpenteiro* by the *Portuguese*.

Afterwards *Patragali* coming to a mango-tree, she asked the same question; but receiving no answer, she cursed it, That for the future the dead corpse should be burnt with no other wood; and that all vessels built of that wood should rot, and be worm-eaten at sea.

•Meeting next a cow, she was kicked by her hindermost legs; which she re-

*Baldæus.* sented so ill, that she gave her this curse, That of her four teats one should be for the use of the *Pagode*, the other for the prince of the country, the third for the owner, and the fourth only for her calf; that they should make drums of her skin, and that consequently she should be subject to blows, both dead and alive.

The fifth she met with being a *Nairo*, or soldier of *Malabar*: this fellow had dug a hole, and having covered the same with some twigs and sand, *Patragali* fell into it as she passed along: she gave him this curse, That he should be called coward all his life-time.

The next was a *Naira*, or a *Nairo's* daughter; who being asked by her, whether she had not seen her husband? she clapped her hands, saying in a scornful tone, What are you running after your husband? I have not seen him. She gave her this curse, That she should be married to a *Nairo*, a coward, who as soon as he turned soldier should leave her in forty days after.

She then coming to a jaquo-tree, she asked after her husband again: the tree bowing its twigs, furnished her with some of its milky liquor, (as this tree does, if you cut any of its twigs,) she bestowed this blessing upon it, That its fruits should be highly esteemed by the kings and princes; and that though its stem might corrupt, it should continue to bear fruit, (as in effect it does,) and that they should employ its wood in making their cymbals, called *Tabelyne*, and the statues of their idols.

The eighth she met with was a *Polia*, a man of mean extraction, who not going out of her way, (as they usually do,) she told him, That he should not be admitted into the houses of persons of quality from *October* till *February*.

The last she met with was a *Parrea*, likewise a person of low birth; but having paid her the usual reverence, she admired at his civility, which made her ask him, Whether he did know her? He replied, that he took notice of her swines tusks, and the elephants in her ears; which so pleased her, that she told him, He should drink of the liquor of the palm-tree, (which in effect they do when they gather it,) and that



*Baldæus.* that he and his family should feed upon cow's flesh; then tracing the way shewed her by the *Parrea*, she found her husband empaled upon the palm-tree; which being too high for her, she obtained by her prayers, that the palm-tree broke, and so delivered her husband, whom she brought to life again.

Patragali  
revenges  
her hus-  
band's  
death.

*Patragali* now burning of revenge to punish the murderers of her husband, addressed herself to *Ixora*, who having furnished her with a strong body of *Raxaxos*, or devils, (having been wicked men in their life-time,) she entered the territories of *Pandy*, and at last killed the king and the goldsmith. His wife she revived from the dead; who having brought forth a son, she granted him a privilege to work in the *Pagodes*, and to receive to himself the tenth part of all the gold he should make use of, the fourth in ten of what he should work for the king, and as much as he could get from private persons.

We told you before of the *Pagode* of *Patragali* in *Crangavor*, where, besides her statue, stands that of a large man in marble, which the *Brahmans* knock every day with hammers upon the head, to keep it from growing too big.

Pedegree of  
Paramesceri.

Thus much of *Ixora's* children, who were, properly speaking, only four in number, (*Superbennia* being only an adopted son:) we must also go on in the story of *Paramesceri* his spouse, and her origin. *Jecxa Prajava*, king of the *Peringales*, had four daughters, the eldest whereof was *Paramesceri*, otherwise called *Parvati*; *Sarossodi* and *Gojatris*, the second and third, being married to *Bramma*, and *Pagode Siri* to *Vistnum*. Their father being desirous to see his daughters in their full glory, invited *Bramma* and *Vistnum* to a most magnificent feast. *Vistnum* asking him whether he had invited *Ixora*; he answered, No, (*Ixora* being then in his mendicant state;) but afterwards considering the matter, he invited him at last; which *Ixora* took so heinously, that he resolved to spoil the feast.

Rogierius  
gives a  
somewhat  
different  
relation.

The day appointed for the feast being come, *Siri-Pagode* came in great pomp in a stately chariot, made of nine most precious stones, most artificially wrought, herself being adorned with numberless jewels and pearls, and attended by a splendid retinue of servants and musicians. *Sarossodi* and *Gojatris*, the other two sisters, appeared with the same splendor. *Paramesceri* in the mean while having obtained leave to go to the feast from *Ixora*, he ordered her to put on her best apparel, and gave her his serpents, his umbrella of peacocks tails, his chain of bones, his tyger's skin, and elephant's hide: thus equipped, she mounted upon

an ox, and with a large attendance of *Baldæus.* drummers, and *Pudas* and *Pixares*, came to her father's palace, where being met at the gates by her sisters and the other guests, these seeing her equipage much below what they expected, instead of welcoming her as they ought to have done, burst out into laughter; which so vexed *Paramesceri*, that without more ado, she returned to *Calaja*, where she gave an account of what treatment she had met with, because her sisters appeared at the feast in a most sumptuous equipage, their apparel being covered all over with precious stones and pearls, whereas she, who was the eldest sister, and married to *Ixora*, had been despised for her mean appearance.

*Ixora* moved at the just complaints of his spouse, sent his son *Quenavady* to spoil the feast. *Vistnum* being well acquainted with *Quenavady's* temper, ordered good store of cakes to be set before him in the hall; which pleased him so well, that he soon forgot his father's orders. *Ixora* wondering at *Quenavady's* long stay, sent his brother *Superbennia* upon the same errand; *Vistnum* knowing him not to be diverted with trifles, sent out to him some ingenious perions, who entertained him so well with subtle discourses and arguments, that he likewise neglected his father's commands.

At last *Ixora* finding both his sons to stay behind, ordered his daughter *Patragali* thither. *Vistnum* no sooner heard of her coming, but he commanded a most delicious banquet to be set before her in the hall, through which she was to pass, which so diverted her senses, that she soon forgot what she came about.

*Ixora* finding all these endeavours to prove ineffectual, resolved to go thither in person. Which *Vistnum* no sooner got notice of, but he told king *Jecxa Prajava*, his father-in-law, that not being able to cope with *Ixora*, he would retire with his wife; and *Bramma* doing the same, the sun and the moon (two of the guests) staid only behind. *Ixora* coming to his father-in-law's palace, upbraided him with the contempt he had put upon him and his wife *Paramesceri*, and so taking him by the hair, full of anger, there came forth at the same instant, a stout warrior armed cap-a-pee, (like the *Mars* of the ancient pagans,) called *Virapatnen* by the *Malabars*, who cut off *Jecxa Prajava's* head, the hands of the god of the fire, and beat out the teeth of the sun. What *Rogierius* says concerning *Jecxa Prajava's* having got a goat's head instead of the other, and that the moon also got a good banging, I could never learn either from these pagans themselves, or from the *Portuguese* histories.

## PART II.

## CHAPTER I.

*The Idol Vistnum; and his Transformation into a Fish. Mat's Altar.  
Another Transformation of Vistnum. An Account of the Milk-Sea.  
Cauram's Altar.*

*Baldæus.*  
Vistnum's  
descent  
and resi-  
dence.

**V**istnum, the second in rank among the gods next to *Ixora*, is also descended from *Quivelinga*. He is of a black colour, with one head, and four hands; he resides on the *Sugar-Sea*, and governs the world sleeping. Instead of a bed, he reposes upon a noted serpent called *Annatan*, with five heads; two whereof serve him for pillars, one for a bolster, and two under his hands. This serpent, as they say, being once in the humour to try the power of *Vistnum*, got a sixth head, which *Vistnum* no sooner saw, but he got another hand to lay upon the head, and the serpent having got a seventh head, he got likewise another hand; so that as the serpent's heads did grow to the number of a thousand, his hands increased in proportion; whence it is that they look upon the serpents as celestial spirits, keep them in great veneration, and never kill them, though they are often hurt by them. Thus the serpents were reckoned by the ancient *Lithuanians*, *Samogitians*, *Prussians*, and *Egyptians*.

Wears a  
print on his  
breast.

They tell us further, that *Vistnum* wears the print of a foot upon his breast: for one *Ricxi Sirwelstena* being desirous to know which of the three was the most *Potent God*, came to *Calaja*, and gave *Ixora* a good box on the ear, who transformed him into a stone; but having after twelve years recovered his life, he did the same to *Bramma*, who let him go without doing him any harm. Then coming to *Vistnum*, and finding him upon his bed, he set his foot upon his breast, which *Vistnum* fixed there, so that he was forced to continue there one hundred years.

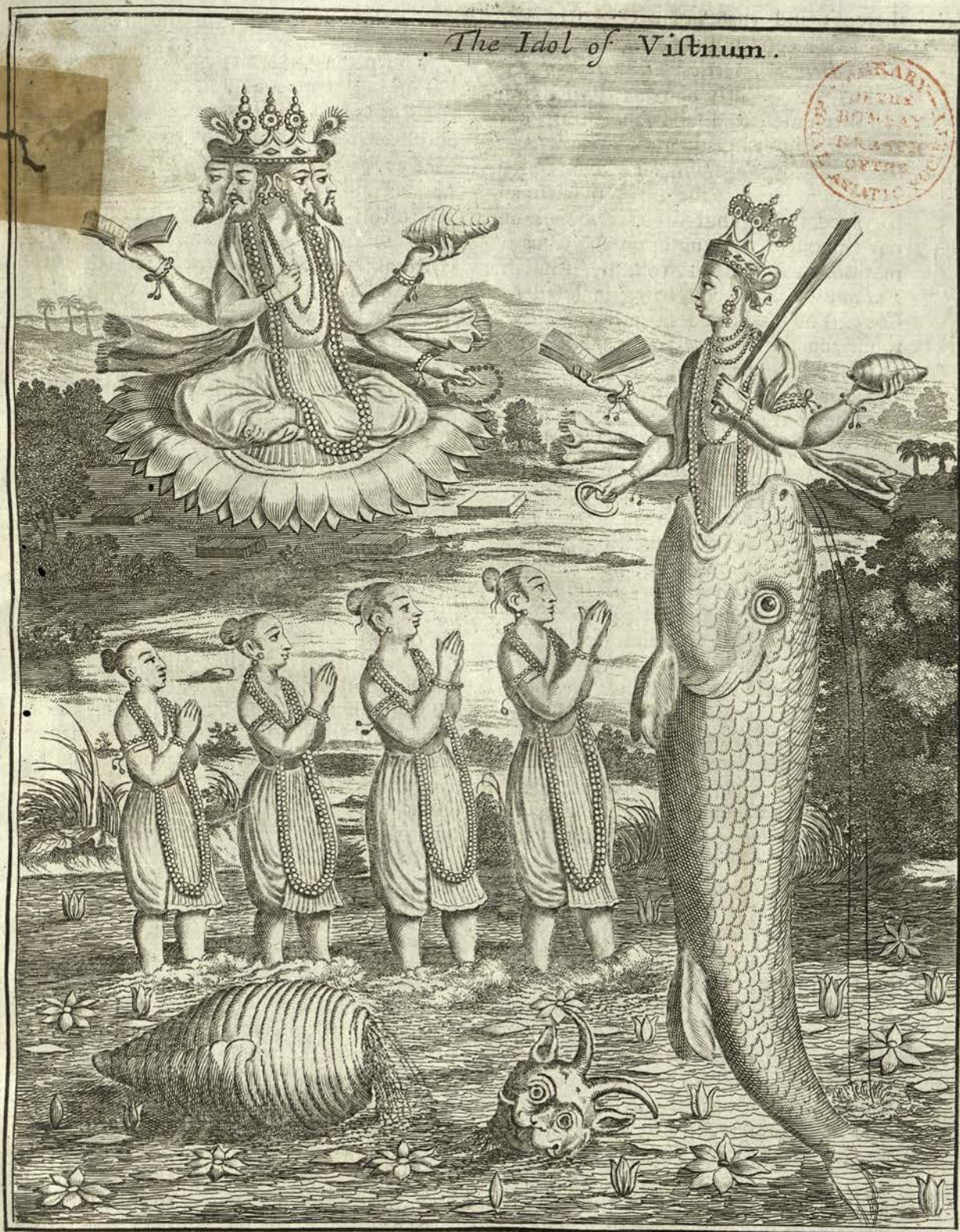
Vistnum's  
wives.

*Vistnum* had two wives, one called *Leximi*, alias *Laetzemi*, and *Siri Pagode* beforementioned. The first, *Vistnum* found in the *Milk-Sea*, in a rose of one hundred and eight large, and one thousand and eight lesser leaves; her chief business is

to scratch his head. The other is called *Baldæus*. *Pumi Divi*, i. e. the *Goddeſs of Heaven*, in whose lap he lays his feet, which she is to rub with her hands.

They attribute no less than ten several transformations to *Vistnum*, nine whereof, they say, are accomplished already; but the tenth is to come. *Father Kircher* the jesuit \* mentions the same to have been \* China related to him by *father Hen. Roth*, an *illustr. Austin* frier; and *Rogierius* says likewise *part 3. Ed. 6.* something of them: but as under these ten transformations are hid the chief mysteries of the pagan religion on both sides of the *Ganges*, so we will treat of them *Vistnum* at large with this precaution, That these *ten times* pagans often give divers names to the *trans- formed.* same god, by reason of the great difference betwixt the languages of the *Benjans*, *Gentives* and *Malabars*: so, though they acknowledge the same *Ixora*, *Bramma*, and *Vistnum*, some of them called *Ixora Mabex*, or *Makadeuw*, *Bramma*, *Bruma*, or *Ram*, and *Vistnum Bexuo*, &c. which seems to intimate as if they had a certain respect to the *Trinity*; just as the *Chinese* worship three divine attributes under the name of *Pussa*, and the *Greeks* placed the three *Charities* near the throne of *Jupiter*; and if the modern *Jews* were not quite obstinate in the denial of the *Trinity*, they might be convinced by their own *Rabbies*, *Rabbi Isaac*, *Rabbi Judas Nagi*, and *Rabbi Simeon*.

The first transformation was into a fish, *The first* occasioned by *Raxiata*, alias *Adirem*, *transfor- mation was* who having carried away the law-book into a fish. of the inferior gods called *Devagal*, or *Dewetas*, hid himself at the bottom of the sea. The inferior gods making their complaints to *Vistnum*, he transformed himself into that ravenous fish the *Shark*; and thus diving to the bottom of the sea, laid hold of *Raxiata*, otherwise called *Seremiasen* and *Sancafoor* by the *Benjans*, killed him, and seized the law-book, divided into four parts; the first whereof



*Baldæus* whereof treated of the souls of the Blessed; the second of the vagabond souls; the third of good works; the fourth of bad works. But what *Rogierius* says l. 1. c. 5. viz. That the fourth part is lost, I could never be convinced of. The fish is called *Mat*, or *Mathia*, though the *Malabars* and *Benjans* call it *Zecxis*. The *Benjans* tell us, that these books were stolen from *Bramma*, but the *Malabars*, from the *Dewetas*, or inferior gods. The *Benjans* say, that *Bramma* was transform-

ed into a fish, whereas the *Malabars* ascribe it to *Vistum*. The *Benjans* call these transmutations *Altars*; so that according to their supposition, *Mat's* altar being the first, has now stood two thousand five hundred years.

Upon this occasion, I must agree with *Rogierius*, when he says, l. 2. c. 3. That he could not dive into the mysteries of the transformations; because I am certain that it cost me a great deal of trouble, before I could attain to the knowledge thereof,

*Baldæus*. thereof; and that not without the assistance of a certain *Brahman*, who coming from *Bengale*, settled at *Jafnapatnam*: and as I frequently conversed with him, so I often used to discourse with him concerning the animadversions made upon this head by *Rogerus*. He being afterwards converted to the christian faith, and baptized in the church of *Vanarponne*, and our discourse running upon the transformations of *Vistnum*, he told me, That this *Vedam*, or law-book, being inclosed in a *Chanki*, or sea-horse's horn, the same was found out by *Vistnum*: whence it is that they say, the prints of the fingers are to be seen in these horns to this day; and that they have put the *Saccaram*, or sword, and the *Chanki*, or horn, into his hands, as you see in the preceding draught; though some ascribe the same to *Bramma*.

But before we enter further upon the description of the transmutations, we must add certain preliminaries, as tending to the explanation thereof.

Four remarkable divisions of time.

All these transformations were performed in four different times or spaces: The first, called *Kortefinge* by the *Benjans*, they say, continued one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years. The second *Tretafinge*, one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand years. The third *Duaperfinge*, eight million and sixty-four thousand years. The fourth, *Kallifinge*, four million and thirty-two thousand years, being the same term of time we now live in; so that according to their computation at *Suratte*, there were in 1657, at least four thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight years elapsed of this last term of time. For it is to be known, that the *Benjans*, and most other pagans, *Egyptians*, *Chinese*, and *Japonesse*, differ several thousands of years in their computations from ours. And to convince you, that the *Benjans* have the same years with ours, it is to be observed, that they, as well as we, divide their years into twelve months, amounting in the whole to three hundred and sixty days in the year; and to make amends for our odd-days, they have thirteen months in every fourth year; yet so that the thirteenth month hath no more than sixteen days. And it is further their opinion, that after the expiration of this last term of time of four million and thirty-two thousand years, the world shall be renewed. In which point they follow, in some measure, the foot-steps of *Plato*, who allowed no less than thirty-six thousand years before the sun could pass through the three hundred and sixty degrees of the *Zodiack*; though they make their *Anus magnus*, as the antient pagans called it:

T

*Interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum*\* *Baldæus*.

The pagans on the coast of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, call these four terms of time, *Critagom*, *Treitagom*, *Dwaparugom*, and *Kaligom*; where it is to be observed, that according to the computation of the pagans and the *Gentives* of *Suratte*, there are in this year 1670, elapsed four thousand seven hundred and seventy-one: whereas those of *Coromandel* compute four thousand seven hundred and seventy, being only one year's difference: but finding in 1665, that the inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam* computed then the four thousand eight hundred and sixty-fourth year of the last term, I told them that they did not stand for one hundred years, less or more, whereat they smiled.

But it is time we should now proceed to the second transformation. The thirty-three gods and the *Adires* held an assembly in the *Milk-Sea*, to consult how to get into their possession the *Ambrosia*, called by some *Amurtam*, and *Amortam*, by others *Amratam*. Some say, That *Ixora* and *Vistnum* having called together all the good and evil spirits, entered upon a debate, how to find out something endued with such a virtue, as to make men live without victuals or drink, and without danger of death, or being tired. Whereupon it being agreed, that they should turn the mount *Mahameru*, (called *Merrawwa* by *Rogerus*.) like as the turners do, and instead of a rope, make use of the serpent *Harugu*, called *Sescha* by the *Brahmans*, being of so vast a bulk, as to enclose the seven worlds and seas: accordingly they began their turner's-work; but finding the mount immoveable, they addressed themselves to a noted ape called *Baly*, (of whom more anon in the history of *Siri Rama*.) by whose assistance the mount began to stir; and meeting at the same time with a beautiful woman named *Dara*, they bestowed her upon *Baly*, as a reward for his services. But continuing their work, the mount by turning round, tumbled into the sea; so that being destitute of all means to recover it thence, they were forced to have recourse to *Vistnum*, who taking the shape of a *Tortoise*, dived to the bottom, and brought the mount up on his back. Here it was, that *Vistnum* met with the beautiful *Macha Lecxemi*, whom he married afterwards. But the mount being exceeding high, *Vistnum* took the shape of a bird, and flew round about it, till it was brought lower. This story seems to have some relation to the fable of mount *Atlas*, and what is said *Heb. i. That God bears up the world*.

\* *Virgil.*  
1.3. *Æneid.*

The

*Baldaeus.* The gods and the *Adires* then continuing their work, did light upon some poison; which being too strong for them, they sent to *Ixora*; but were still in pursuit after the *Ambrosia*, which they intended to present to their great king *Deva Indra*, (who was then very sick,) surnamed *Quiera Navam*, because his whole body was covered with *manly yards*, in revenge of the adultery he committed with the wife of the great *Rixi Quendama*: For *Deva Indra* being extremely in love with the said lady, transformed himself into a cock, and coming to her house in the night-time, began to crow most briskly. *Rixi* thinking it had been near break of day, got out of his bed; and whilst he was going to an adjacent pond, to perform his usual devotions, *Deva Indra* took the opportunity to enjoy his wife. *Rixi* returning from his devotion, and perceiving the cheat, transmuted his wife into a stone, and laid the other punishment upon her lover.

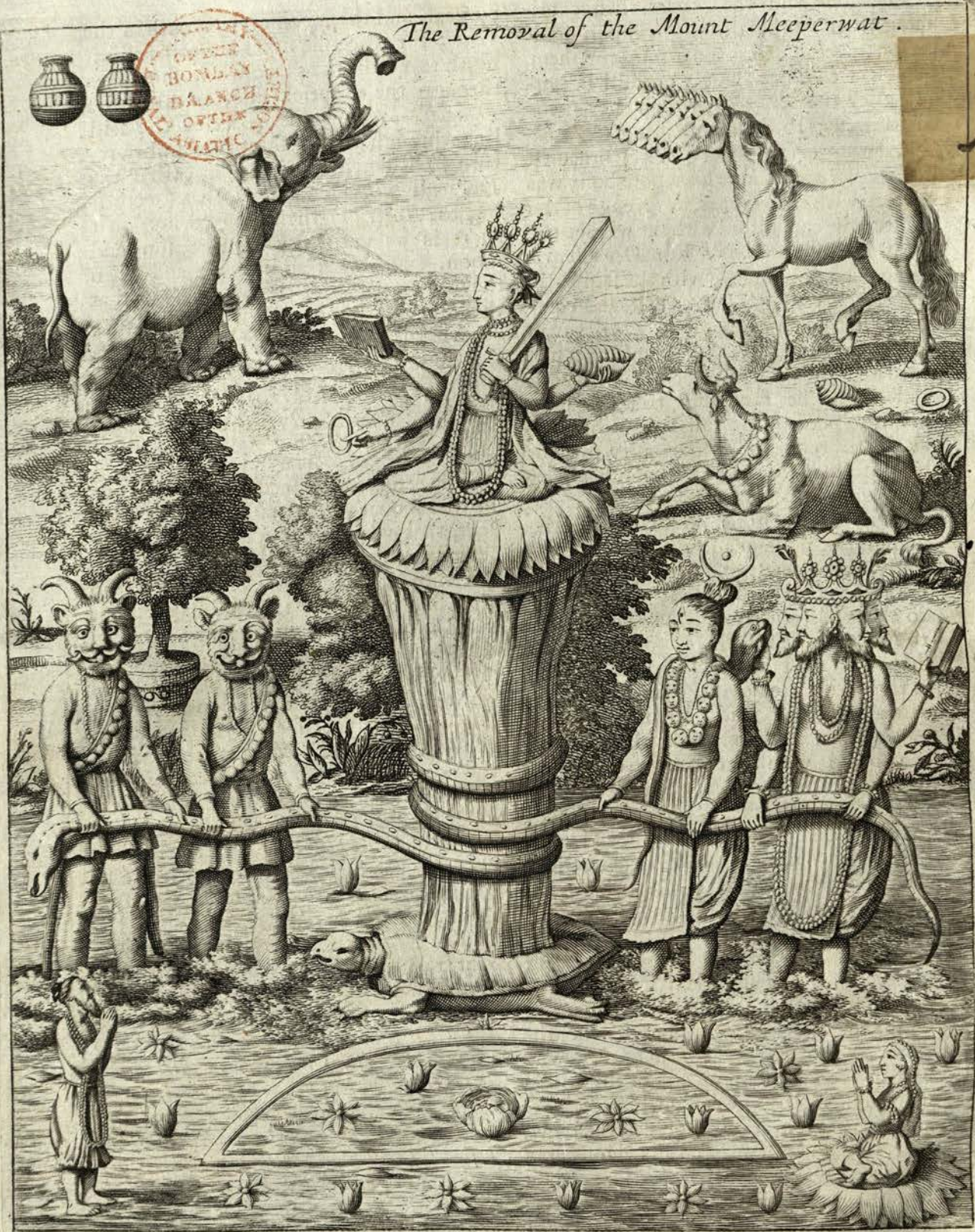
By this time the *Adires* having seized upon the *Ambrosia*, without giving a share to the gods, these made their applications to *Vistnum*; who, thereupon taking the shape of a most beautiful nymph, sat down at table with the *Adires*, when their attendants were just ready to distribute the *Ambrosia* among them. Being all extremely enamoured with her beauty, every one courted her for his spouse. To decide the matter, she told them, That they should put the *Ambrosia* into her hand, and with their eyes shut, and hands tied behind them, but their mouths open, receive every one their share of the *Ambrosia*; and that he, upon whom she should pitch for her husband, should be the last. This being done accordingly, she seized upon the *Ambrosia*, and carried it to the gods. But whilst they were all opening their mouths to receive the said *Ambrosia*, *Ravaben* (who had assumed the shape of one of the gods,) shewed his boar's tusks; which *Vistnum* seeing, gave him such a powerful blow, that his head flew from his shoulders; whence the *Adires*, whatever shape they assume, always retain their tusks. However, *Vistnum* throwing the body and head into the air, the same were transformed into two planets, called *Rahu* and *Quendaum*. *Rogierius* calls them, *Ragou* and *Ketou*, which, in the *Malabar*, signifies as much as *Caput* and *Cauda*, or the *Dragon's-head* and *tail*. But here, the *Brahmans* commit an error in astronomy; for they have no planets, but a fixed *sidus*, consisting of thirty-one stars on the north-side without the *Zodiac*; where the moon passing from south to north, and again from the north to south, goes through this *Ecliptick-line*, being the same the sun passes through eve-

*Baldaeus.* ry year, and the moon every month in the year; for when she takes her course from south to north, the place where she passes through the ecliptick-line, is called the *Dragon's-head*, as the place of the said line through which she passes in her return from north to south, is called the *Dragon's-tail*. Hence it is, that (according to *Rogierius*) these pagans say, that there is an antipathy betwixt sun and moon, and *Ragou* and *Ketou*; and when they see an eclipse of the sun or moon, that they are fighting with *Ragou* and *Ketou*, or that they are devoured by them.

The inferior gods employ part of the *Ambrosia* they had got, in restoring their great god to health, and removing the *manly members* from his body, instead whereof, he got as many eyes.

The before-mentioned poison taken out of the mount *Mahameru*, being so virulent, that whatever it touched, was consumed to ashes, was given to *Ixora* in the presence of *Paramesceri* his spouse, who dreading the effects thereof, clapped her hand to his throat, to prevent him from swallowing it; and laying the other hand upon his mouth, for fear he should spue it out again, and set the world on fire, mingling at the same time her prayers (*Nila candamtre acxeram*) with her endeavours, the poison forced its way through *Ixora's* ear, and was in an instant transformed into a devil, called *Canda Carna Pixaxo*. The prints of *Paramesceri's* finger left three black spots on *Ixora's* throat, whence he got the surname of *Nili Candaon*, i. e. *black throat*, or *black head*.

The *Benjans* and *Gentives* give a different relation of this second transformation. They say, That the sea being swollen with pride, broke out in these words: *Who is it that can compare with the riches contained in my azure marble vaults? here it is, the moon has fixed her habitation; the water of Tammarith, which renders those that drink it immortal, is enclosed in my bosom! The elephant with his seven trunks, and the seven-headed horse dwell in the depths, which produce black, white, and red coral in vast quantity!* The great god of heaven being exasperated at this vanity, commanded the giant and the four-headed god *Bramma*, to go to the river *Siam Boerwetty*, near which lies the golden mount *Meeperwat*, seated in the center of the earth, and forty thousand leagues high; and to remove the said mount into the sea, by winding the serpent *Signage* about it, and thereby force the sea to cast out her treasure, which had rendered her so vain-glorious. This being put in execution accordingly, the sea cast out the following fourteen things. 1. The money



*Baldæus*. called *Leefemy*. 2. The most precious jewel *Consenckmany*, or the carbuncle which carries a lustre like the full moon. 3. The tree *Paertsatig*. 4. The vessel *Silxeren*, with the water of *Sora*. 5. *Doctor Dannerwanter*. 6. *Indemademaen*. 7. The white cow of plenty, called *Camdoga*. 8. The immortal water, called *Amarith*. 9. The elephant with seven trunks, *Hiera Wannesty*. 10. The beautiful female dancer, *Remba*. 11. The seven-headed horse,

*Exmognora*. 12. The bow *Dennok*. 13. The *Baldæus* horn *Chiank*. And, 14. The poison *Sabar*. This done, the sea began to abate of its pride, the mount and serpent had their peculiar places assigned them, and the treasures of the sea were distributed to different places and persons. Thus far of the second transformation, containing two thousand five hundred years of the first term of time.

CHAP. II.

Vistnum transformed into a Hog: Waras's Altar. Some Reflections upon the Fables of the Pagans. Vistnum's fourth Transformation into half a Man, and half a Lion.

*Baldæus.*  
The third transformation.

A Certain *Adiren*, named *Renniacxem*, was of such vast length, that taking up the earth, he rolled it together like an anchor-cable, and carried it upon his

shoulders to the infernal places called *Baldæus*, *Padalas*, whilst *Vistnum* was asleep in his bed. He no sooner heard of the presumption of this *Adiren*, but he assumed



The Idol of *Vistnum* in his third Transformation, as describ'd by *y* Benjans.

*Baldens* the shape of a hog, and digging with his snout through the earth, till he came to the *Padalas*, killed the robber, and taking the earth upon his tusks, fixed it in its former place. Hence it is, that in the *Pagode*, called *Adi Warraku*, in the city of *Trimottam*, not far from *Sinzi*, there is to be seen the head of a hog, which the *Brabhans* say was the product of the earth, and is revered as the true idol of *Vistnum*, in memory of this transformation.

The *Benjans* and *Gentives* of *Indosthan* and *Suratte*, give us the following account of it. During the first term of time, say they, the world was so over-burthened with sin, that the serpent of a thousand heads, unable to bear the weight thereof any longer, withdrew herself from underneath it, whereby the world, together with men and beasts, were cast into, and perished in the depth of the sea. *Bramma* addressing himself to the great god, desired him to retrieve the world out of the abyss of the sea, which he willingly granted; whereupon *Vistnum* assumed the shape of a boar's head, with tusks as big as an elephant's trunk, white all over his body, with four arms and hands, having in one hand a great sword, called *Godda*, and in the other a book, as likewise a horn and round *Ticker*: thus transformed, he threw himself into the sea, being at first no bigger than a man's finger, but increased before he reached the bottom to such a degree, that in case the earth had been placed on the surface of the water, and he stood upon it, his head would have touched the stars. Coming to the bottom of the sea, he killed the dreadful giant *Hirnaks*, whose blood tinged the whole sea with red. *Vistnum* having trampled him under his feet, lifted with his tusks the earth out of the sea, and placing the tortoise upon the water, and the serpent with a thousand heads upon the tortoise, he retired to his residence, and *Bramma*, with one word, created a new generation of men. This transformation comprehends two thousand and seven hundred years, in the first period of time.

This story seems to intimate, that these pagans have heard something of the deluge, considering especially that the *Benjans* do live nearer to the borders of *Persia* and *Armenia*, than the rest of the *Indians*; there being also mention made of the giants, *Gen. vi. 4.* And it is very probable, that the antient pagans were not quite ignorant of the history of the deluge, which they afterwards ushered into the world, under divers peculiar deluges, as for instance, the *Diluvium Ogygium*,

which happened in *Attica*; and *Deuca-Baldens* lion's deluge in *Thessaly*; and the *Prometheus* of the antient pagans, is by most critics taken for the same with *Noah*.

But we come to the fourth transformation; yet before we enter upon the particulars thereof, we must add something more relating to the third transformation. The earth being restored to its former station, *Vistnum* upon an exact view found it something inclining to the south; which *Vistnum* not being able to remedy, he addressed himself to a certain saint of very low stature, named *Rixi Agassia*, (*Rogorius* \* calls him *Agastea*), who having laid \*Lib. II. his holy book upon that part inclining to the south, put it into a just equilibrium.

*Vistnum* walking with this *Agassia* near the sea-side, the sea asked *Vistnum*, *Who it was that walked with him?* *Vistnum* replied, *He is a saint who is going to restore the earth to its true ballance*; whereupon the sea, scorning his low stature, (he being not above the height of a joint of a finger,) wetted him with its waves; which affront being highly resented by *Agassia*, he took some of the sea-water in his hand, and beginning to drink, did not desist till he had drunk up the whole sea. *Dewetas* and *Rixis* seeing the sea thus exhausted, interceded with *Agassia* not to rob the world of so singular a benefit, and prevailed upon him so far, that he pissed out again all the water he had drunken before; and this is the reason their philosophers alledge for the saltness of the sea.

*Agassia* after having restored the ballance of the earth, took his leave of *Vistnum*, who to prevent the like for the future, ordered the great serpent to wind herself about the seven worlds and seven seas; and for more security's sake, appointed eight guardians to watch over it, called in the *Malabar* by the following names, 1. *Indra*, the king of the celestial spirits. 2. *Vanni*, the god of fire. 3. *Padurpati*, king of the evil spirits. 4. *Nirurdi*, king of the infernal spirits. 5. *Varunna*, the god of the sea. 6. *Maril*, the god of the winds. 7. *Cubera*, the god of riches, called otherwise *Bassironnem*. 8. *Ixananam*, or *Ixora* himself. Hence it is, that you see frequently eight stones placed at the entrance of and about their *Pagodes*.

The fourth transformation, into half a lion and half a man, was occasioned thus: During the first period of time, a certain giant, *Hirrenkessop*, (as the *Benjans* call him, but the *Malabars* *Remiacxen*) having been forced to abscond for twelve years, on the account of *Bramma*, afterwards made the following request to him:



Baldæus. him: Most potent Bramma, grant me the favour to make me a great monarch upon earth; and bestow this farther blessing upon me, that I may not be killed either by day or by night, either within or without my house, either by heaven, earth, sun, or moon, by thunder, lightning, stars, or comets, neither by clouds, winds, hail, snow, or rains, or birds, beasts, men, devils, fishes, or water, not by serpents,adders, poison, sword, arrows, or any other

weapons. Bramma having granted the Baldæus. giant's request, he soon made himself master of the whole earth; and overcome with pride at his success, issued out a mandate, That no body should be adored but himself, under the forfeiture of the lives of such as should contravene it. Things continuing in this state for some years, the Brakmans began to murmur, That they should be obliged to adore any terrestrial power, though never so great, to

The Idol of Vistnuum transformed into half a Man & half a Lyon.



*Baldæus*. the prejudice of the celestial spirits: they resolved therefore, to make their supplications to *Vistnum*, imploring him, to deliver them from the oppressions of this tyrant; who gave them for answer, That the giant should have shortly a son born, who should be their deliverer, and till then they must have patience.

Within ten months after, *Naeckseu*, the giant's wife brought forth a son named *Prellade*, who, when he was five years old, was put to a school-master; being one time sent for by his father, his master instructed him how to pronounce his father's name in short writing, which was *Irenia*; but instead thereof, the boy said, *Ary*, being the abbreviated name of *Vistnum*. The master astonished, put his hand upon his mouth, bidding him to forbear, for fear of being the occasion of his own death; but the more he forbid him, the more the boy persisted in saying, *Ary, Ary*, instead of *Irenia*.

The school-master not knowing what to do, brought him to his father, telling him, That his son would not pronounce his name, which he had taken so much pains to teach him. The father asking him the reason, the boy answered, Your name is not the true name, but the other is the truth itself. His father asking further, What is truth? the son answered, *Vistnum*, who fills the fourteen worlds, is the truth. What benefit, said the father, do you receive from *Vistnum*? And what benefit, replied the son, shall I receive by yours? The giant told him, Whoever repeats my name, shall be blessed with riches, honour, dignities, and life. How, says the son, can you give life and riches? Yes, I can, replied the giant, and will convince you immediately, it being in my power to take away your life. That will scarce happen, answered the son, according to your providence and discretion. What is providence and discretion? asked the giant. That is the eternal divine name of *Vistnum*, replied the son, the creator of the fourteen worlds. The father asking him, Where is this name to be found? The son answered, In every thing, both in heaven and earth, every thing being filled with *Vistnum*. What, replied the father, and is *Vistnum* also in this pillar? Yes, replied the son, and likewise in you and

me. The giant not longer able to contain himself, told him, Boy, because thou insistest thus upon the name of *Vistnum*, I will beat your brains out with this stick: but if thou wilt pronounce my name, thou shalt neither die, neither be beaten. That will not be, says the boy, for your name's sake; because God has ordered it otherwise. But I will spoil that ordinance, replied the giant; and with that, struck with his golden staff at the boy, who hiding himself behind the pillar, implored the name of *Vistnum*. The giant turning again with more fury than ever against the son, struck with such violence, that the pillar burst, and produced a monster, half a man, half a lion, an hermaphrodite, with breasts both above and below, breathing fire and flames out of its nostrils.

The *Benjans* say, That the giant did erect a red-hot pillar to tie his son to, telling him at the same time, Let us see who can deliver you out of my hands. The son then invoking the assistance of *Vistnum*, the pillar burst, and forth came the monster. All the standers by were amazed at this spectacle, and the giant himself trembled for fear. *Vistnum* resolving to revenge his own quarrel, and at the same time not to break the promise made by *Bramma* to the giant, laid hold of the giant, and hurrying him under ground directly under the threshold of his own house, and keeping him there till sun-set, tore his body in pieces, thereby fulfilling *Bramma's* promise, That he should not be killed within nor without his house, neither in heaven nor upon earth, neither by beasts, birds, sword, wind, rain, hail. The giant's son succeeding his father in the empire, ruled with great applause, for many succeeding years.

Thus ended the fourth transformation of the first period of time, called *Kortefinge* by the *Benjans*, comprehending in all one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years; for though all these transformations were transacted within the time of seven thousand seven hundred years and three days, the rest, viz. one million seven hundred and twenty thousand years, three hundred and sixty days, must be supposed to have been the intervals of these transactions.

## C H A P. III.

*The fifth Transformation of Vistnum into a Brahman. Great Plenty under Mavaly. The Request of the transformed Vistnum. Praflaram's Altar and Birth: He kills Reneca his Mother. Raja Inder's Cow of Plenty. Praflaram's great Actions.*

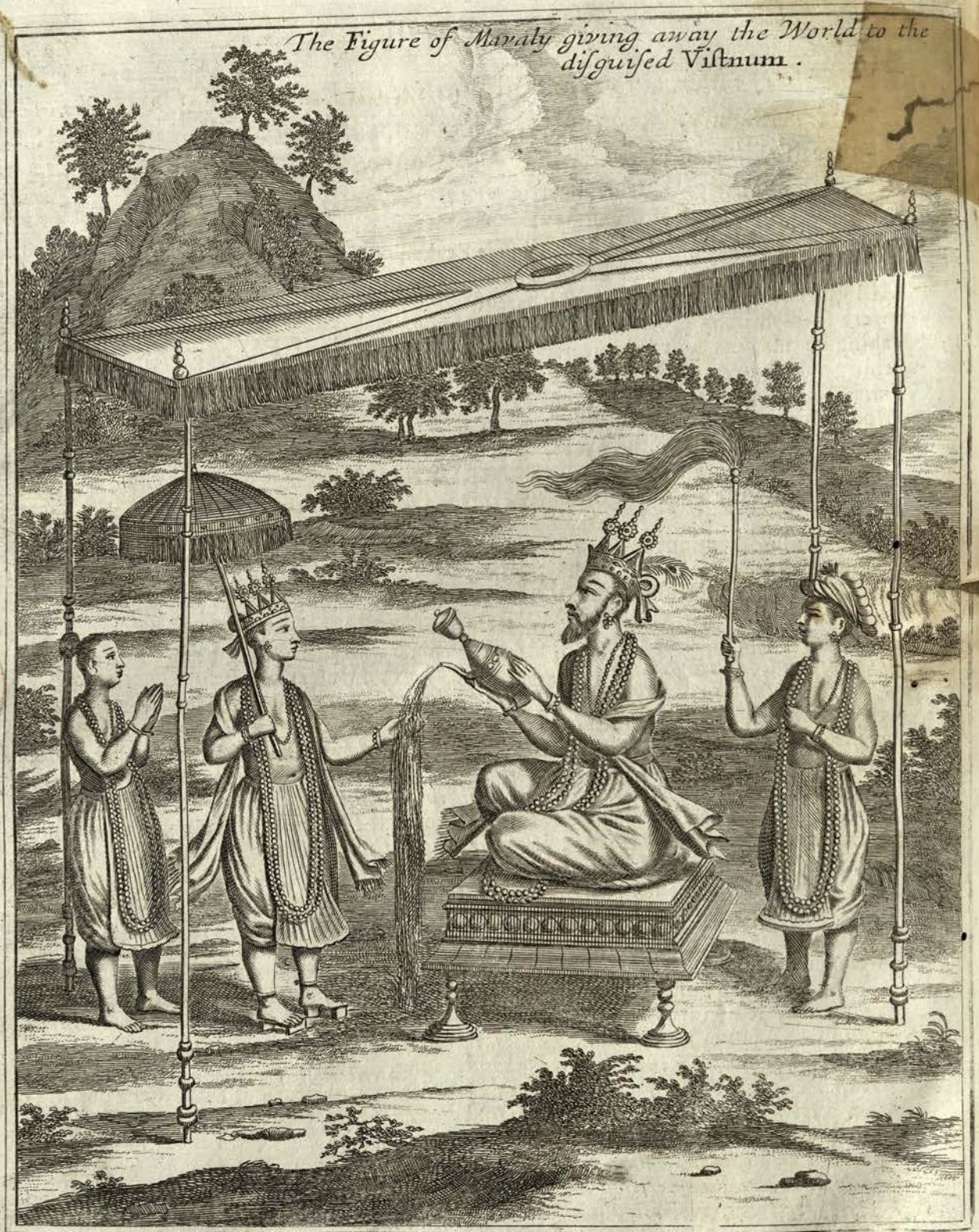
*Baldæus.* **W**HILST Mavaly (called Belragie by the Benjans and Gentiwes) ruled the world, the inhabitants thereof were so plentifully provided with every thing by his bounty, that poverty was a thing unknown among human race. Vistnum perceiving that as the case then stood, there were no different degrees, nor any dependance in the world, either on God or man, resolved to divest Mavaly (by fraud) of the government of the world.

With this intention Vistnum assumed the shape of a Brahman, and appearing in a mendicant posture before Mavaly, he asked him, *Who he was, and upon what errand he came?* The pretended Brahman replied, *Having heard of your charity, I am come to crave some alms.* Mavaly answered, *I who have granted the requests of many kings and princes, will not deny thee, let it be what it will, whether kingdoms, money, honours, or whatever else you can ask.* The Brahman replied, *My aim is not at such mighty things; but after all, for fear of denial, I beg of you to promise me, without exception to grant my request.* Mavaly answering that he would, the Brahman begged him to confirm it with an oath.

Mavaly being just upon the point of confirming it by oath, the planet Venus (who stood just by) told him, *And is it customary to swear to the giving of alms?* Which Mavaly being not in the least moved at, swore to the Brahman, who told him, *I am not covetous of kingdoms or provinces; my desire is confined to three foot of ground, where I may erect a hut, where to lay up my books, umbrella, and drinking-cup; I beg you therefore to pour some of your water upon the ground.* For it is a custom among these pagans, that whenever they dispose of, or sell any thing, they confirm their promise or bargain by pouring some water upon the ground, part whereof the buyer catches with his hands, and drinks, in confirmation of the bargain; just as Jacob desired Joseph to lay his hand under his hips, when he was going to make him his promise upon oath, *Gen. xlvii. 29. & xxiv. 2.* where the hips (according to some interpreters) are

*taken pro partibus generationis, in quibus circumcisionis signum dabatur.* *Baldæus.*

Mavaly told him, *Ask a kingdom, and I will grant it.* The Brahman replied, *Were I a king, I must punish criminals, which I could not do without trespassing the rules of the order of the Brahmans; wherefore I desire no more, than three foot of ground.* Mavaly replied, *That will not be enough to build you a house upon.* I want no house, said the Brahman, *having neither wife nor children, I desire only three foot of ground, which you cannot refuse without being perjured.* Mavaly telling the Brahman that he never broke his promise, and ordering Venus to bring him some water, she desired him not to pour the water upon the Brahman, whom she looked upon as an impostor. Mavaly replied, *Of what consequence can three foot of ground be? Take heed, answered Venus, for this is Vistnum himself, who is come in disguise to deceive you.* Mavaly returned, *I have not sinned against Vistnum, and therefore have no reason to fear him.* Notwithstanding which, Venus continued to persuade him by many arguments, not to trust him: but Mavaly persisting in his resolution, told her, *Let come on it what will, if it should cost me my life, I will not break my oath.* Then taking the vessel with the water, he bid the Brahman to hold up his hands, which Venus perceiving, she held Mavaly's arms, desiring him not to pour out the water; but Mavaly pushing back her hand, bid the Brahman a second time to hold up his hands. Venus then changing her shape, stopped the pipe of the vessel, which Mavaly endeavouring to loosen with a twig, he hurt Venus's one eye, whence she got the name of *Cbueren*; then water coming out of the spout of the vessel, the Brahman did drink. This done, Mavaly ordered him to measure the three foot of ground where he pleased. Vistnum having by this time reassumed his own shape, he covered the whole earth with one of his feet, and with the other the paradise called *Sorgalogam*. Whilst Vistnum was extending his foot, *Bramma* poured water upon it, which produced the river *Ganges*, so highly celebrated among



*Baldæus.* among the *Indians* and other pagans. *Vistnum* having thus measured two foot, *Mavalay* told him he might also take the third, which he did, by measuring the inferior region, called *Padalas*, and thus became master of the whole world.

*Vistnum*  
master of  
the world.

The *Gentives* add, that this *Brakman*, (whom they call *Vanam*, i. e. a black dwarf, and *Rogerus* calls him *Barmasari*, i. e. a young *Brakman*, by the name of *Wamara*\*) set his left foot upon *Mava-*

*ly's* breast or head, and thus kicked him *Baldæus.* through the ground into the infernal region, whereof he made him king. But *Mavalay's* wife upbraiding *Vistnum* with ingratitude, he carried her to her husband; and as a reward of his piety, bestowed upon him the government of the place of darkness, *Vistnum* himself remaining with him nine days to guard the entrance thereof. *Rogerus* calls this *Mavalay* a devil, named *Belli*, and says, That whilst

\* Lib. II. c. 19.

*Baldicus*, whilst the waters of the *Ganges* were flowing from above *Ixora's* head, and risen out of the hip of a faint, sixty thousand men were brought to life. This fable had questionless its origin from the want of knowledge of the true source of the river *Ganges*, for which reason they generally stile it the *Heavenly River*.

*Mavalv* being not satisfied with his present station, made his complaint to *Vistnum*, who told him, That in regard he had been a charitable person, a man of truth, and without sin, he would constitute him king of the paradise. *Mavalv* making a deep reverence, (called by them *Sambaja*,) returned for answer, It is not my ambition to reign; being only affected with the hardships of my former subjects, who have no body now to provide them with necessaries, as I used to do. *Vistnum* replied, The poor shall serve the rich; and be maintained by them; so that he that will work, shall want for nothing. I will also constitute you the door-keeper of the paradise, so that no body shall enter there without thy knowledge. But, replied *Mavalv*, how shall I then be able to judge at such a distance, how you deal with mankind upon earth? I will, answered *Vistnum*, assign you a certain place in heaven, from whence you may overlook the earth; and so made him door-keeper of the paradise.

*Three sorts of people.* Accordingly *Vistnum* distinguished mankind into three sorts, rich, poor, and middle-sized, which were to have a reciprocal dependance on one another; that such as had lived piously, and done acts of charity, should be received after their death, and live in plenty and splendor; but such as did otherwise, should, after their decease, be transformed again into slaves and drudges, to do penance for their former sins, till by their good works they should merit paradise, which they were not to enter, however, without *Mavalv's* consent. He also constituted a feast, (called *Ona* by the *Malabars*,) to be celebrated yearly in *August*, when they spend several days together in feasting, and other sorts of diversions, and appear in all their best apparel.

*The sixth transformation.*

The sixth transformation happened thus: After the appearing of *Hanumans*, mentioned in *Chap. v. Part. I.* one *Braman* and *Bramani* being joined in wedlock, did for a considerable time lead a pious and contented life near the river *Bewa*; but the woman being barren, (a thing much despised among the *Benjans*,) they resolved to retire into some desert, there to implore God's assistance. Having

thus for some time led a vagabond life, *Baldicus*, they came to a certain *Pagode*, built in a forest, near which stood a very fine tree, under the shade whereof they reposed themselves for some time, and sent forth their prayers upon their bended knees. After some time, finding their prayers ineffectual, the woman told her husband, That they ought to leave this shady place, and in lieu thereof to expose themselves to the injuries of the sun, rains, and storms, to try whether, perhaps, by this humiliation and penance, God might be prevailed upon to bless them with children. They persevered in this austerity and continual prayers for some longer time, but in vain; the woman growing beyond all patience, told her husband, That being quite weary of life, she desired him to fast with her, till thereby they could put a period to their miserable life. Accordingly having spent nine days without eating or drinking, *Vistnum* appeared to them in the shape of a child, asking them, What was the occasion of their mortification and fervent prayers. The woman answered, All our prayers are directed to *Vistnum*, to bless me with such a handsome child as thee. *Vistnum* replied, And do you instead of gold and silver desire children, who commonly prove the toils of life? *Bramani* answered, All the riches and pleasures of this world are not so valuable to me, as a son of my own, so well shaped as thyself. *Vistnum* replied, Your prayers are heard; and as you have three several times mortified your bodies, so three sons shall be born thee successively; and so he vanished.

Being both exhausted with fasting, they died soon after; but the soul of *Bramani* was infused into the body of the new-born *Reneca*, and that of *Braman* into the body of the new-born *Braman*, surnamed *Siamdickemi*, who being come to their riper years, were joined together in marriage; *Reneca's* sister being at the same time married to the great *Raja Sestraarsum*, who had a thousand arms.

*Siamdickemi* retired with *Reneca* to a solitude near the river *Ganges*, where they built a hut of straw, with an intention to live upon the fruits of the earth, and pass their time in praying to *Vistnum*.

It was not long before *Reneca* (pur-Prassaram; suant to the promise made by *Vistnum*) the son of *Reneca* brought forth a beautiful son, unto whom she gave the name of *Prassaram*, who being carefully educated under the tuition of his father, did, in his twelfth year,

*Baldæus* interpret the most abstruse characters that could be laid before him. His mother having received a certain cloth from *Vistnum*, which, keeping water as well as any earthen vessel, *Reneca* going to fetch water one time out of the river *Ganges*, she happened to see the great *Raja Sestraarsum* with his spouse (her sister) a hunting near the river-side. *Reneca* asked one of his attendants, who it was? and being answered, that it was *Raja Sestraarsum* with his queen, she advanced towards them; but finding that her sister took no notice of her, she sat down in a very melancholy posture upon the bank of the *Ganges*, complaining of the vast difference there was betwixt her sister and her.

*Alas!* said she, *she is a queen, and I a poor Brahman's wife; she is possessed of riches, honour, and plenty, and I know nothing but want and misery.*

She was then going to fill her cloth with water, but found it, to her great astonishment, leaky; and being afraid to return home, staid abroad till after sunset. *Siamdichemi*, surprized at her long stay, looked out at the doors, and finding her sitting in a melancholy posture, asked her whether she had brought any water; but she answering, she had not, and giving him the reason for it, he told her, that he was certain she had uttered some expressions contrary to his zeal and piety; and being exasperated to the highest degree, commanded his son *Prassaram* to cut off his mother's head with an ax. *Prassaram* would have excused himself; but finding his father resolute, he was forced to obey, and cut off his mother's neck. The father being highly taken with the obedience of his son, told him, That he should ask him what he pleased, and it should be granted him. Then, said the son, *Resuscitate my mother from the dead.* The father then taking some of the sanctified water of the *Ganges*, besprinkled the body with it, and muttering out certain prayers, restored it to life again.

*Reneca killed;*

*And revived.*

*Reneca* could not forbear to make her complaints concerning the harsh usage of her husband, occasioned only by some weaknesses and reflections upon her sister's good fortune, representing to him her piety, fidelity, and obedience, she had shewn upon all occasions. These reasons were so prevailing with the husband, that he received her into his arms, and banished all revenge from his thoughts.

*Prassaram goes to Raja Inder.* *Prassaram* (though not above twelve years of age) being by this time advanced so far in the knowledge of the

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law, that he was past his father's teaching, was advised by him to apply himself to *Raja Inder*, king of the *Blessed Souls*, for his further accomplishment, which the son did accordingly. So soon as the son had left him, he resolved to pay his devotions to *Vistnum* for twelve years successively, sitting cross-legg'd with without intermission upon the ground (a thing much practised among these pagans.) Thus 1659, I saw a certain *Jogy*, or mendicant, at *Columbo*, whose arms were grown together over his Head, by sitting in that posture.

Soon after it happened, that the beforementioned king *Raja Sestraarsum*, coming to give a visit to his brother-in-law with a great retinue, he was so fast asleep, that all the noise of the hounds, horns, and drums, could not awaken him: his wife *Reneca* therefore having roused her husband, by sprinkling some warm water upon his head, he arose; when *Raja* saluting the *Brakman*, told him, That the fame of his piety had induced him and his retinue to come to sup, and to take a night's lodging with him.

The *Brakman Siamdichemi* being much concerned how to provide for so many thousand persons, at last considered of the *White Cow*, called *Camdoga*, belonging to *Raja Inder*, which furnishes those that have her in their possession with every thing they wish for. Having therefore desired *Inder* to send him the said cow, he granted his request; and the cow being sent down, the *Brakman* desired *Raja* and his attendants to sit down at supper; which was served with such variety and plenty, that *Raja*, who was come upon no other account than to ridicule his brother-in-law's poverty, stood amazed thereat; and further to try his ability, asked him, to present him with some jewels; which the *Brakman* having presented him with, (much beyond what could be expected,) *Raja* asked him for some clothes and money for his people; which being likewise brought him by his brother-in-law, he resolved also to stay the next day: and being served at table with the same plenty as before, he stayed also the third day; when meeting with the same entertainment, he was amazed to find out whence all this plenty of provisions, clothes, and riches, could come, in a place where he expected so little; especially, since he observed that all was brought out of the *Brakman's* hut, which was not big enough to hold half the quantity. This made him order some of his spies to take particular notice, whether there was not a vault under-ground, from whence these things were brought. The spies

*Baldæus.*

*Raja Sestraarsum visits the Brahman.*

*The cow of plenty.*

*Raja plentifully entertained.*



*Baldus.* Spies watching all opportunities to satisfy their master's curiosity, found at last that a slender white cow did bring forth all these things, (which she threw out of her stomach,) whereof immediate notice was given to *Raja*.

The next morning as he was taking his leave from the *Brakman*, being asked by him, whether he was desirous of any thing else, he told him, That he wanted nothing more, but only the white cow he had

seen in his hut. The *Brakman* replied, *Baldus*. That being not his own, she was not in his disposal. And, said *Raja*, will you deny me so small a request, after you have heaped so many obligations upon me before? What I did before, said the *Brakman*, was in my own power, but this is not. How, replied *Raja*, don't you know, that it is in my power to take her against your will? And then calling to some of his followers, he commanded them to fetch the white cow out of

*Baldca.* of the hut. The *Brakman* seeing this beloved white cow thus snatched from him, told her at parting, *Dear Camdoga, whyt I thus leave you, how can I answer this to Raja Inder, your master? Revenge thy self at once both of thine and mine ene-*

Raja's people defeated by the white cow.

Siamdichemi murdered.

Reneca burns herself with his corpse, whence the custom of burning the dead.

Prassaram revenges their death.

*mies.* The cow *Camdoga* no sooner heard these words, but assuming a shape three times bigger than her own, she laid about her with her horns to that degree, that she killed and trod under foot several thousand of *Raja's* people; which done, she flew like lightning up into the air to her own master. *Raja* exasperated at the slaughter of his men, and burning with revenge, returned to the hut of the *Brakman*, where they killed and left him wallowing in his blood. The unfortunate *Reneca*, unwilling to outlive her husband, set fire to the hut, and burnt herself with his dead carcase.

*Camdoga*, in the mean while, meeting with *Prassaram* not far from her master's house, told him what had happen'd; who declared he would revenge the same twenty-one times upon all the *Ketteriis* (a wicked generation;) and thus making the best of his way with his *Perzy*, bow and arrow, he penetrated into the middle of *Raja's* troops, and killed him with all his guards; thence travelling through the world, he killed all the *Ketteriis* he met with; but could not do it so effectually, but that some escaped his fury; who multiplying by degrees, he was forced to renew his revenge against them; which he did twenty-one times, till they were quite rooted out from the face of the earth.

By this time *Vistnum* remembering his promise made to *Prassaram's* parents, viz. that they were to be blessed with three sons, he commanded *Bramma* (the god with four heads) to send down from heaven the souls of *Siamdichemi* and *Reneca*, and to convey them into the bodies of *Ragia d'Asserat* and his wife *Couzila*, (slain among the *Ketteriis*;) unto whom he had made a promise of exalting their posterity.

*Bramma* finding by the celestial records, That their time was expired, (for these pagans believe that nothing is done without divine providence, and that the fate of men is written in *Bramma's* hand,) infused the soul of *Reneca* into the body of *Couzila*, and the spirit of *Siamdichemi* into that of *Ragia*, which brought forth a son

The story of Ram.

Prassaram endeavours to kill Ram.

named *Ram*. This *Ram* having married *Sytka*, and making his publick entry into the city, (according to the custom of the *Benjans*;) was met by *Prassaram*; who being informed, that he was descended of the race of the *Ketteriis*, did let fly at him; which *Ram* perceiving, did the same from his elephant on which he was mounted; but the arrows hitting against one ano-

ther in the air, did no mischief, except *Baldca.* that all the strength of *Prassaram's* arrow being lodged in that of *Ram*, he was thereby bereaved of all his advantage, being no more than a common *Brakman* for ever after, whereas *Ram* increased every day in power.

The *Malabars* say, That this transformation was made by *Vistnum* in the shape of *Siri Parexi Rama*: for the *Rixi* living in the desarts, being no longer able to endure the oppressions from the neighbouring kings, offer'd their sacrifices to *Vistnum*, desiring his assistance against them. A certain famous *Rixi*, named *Para Jara*, sacrificing one day to *Vistnum*, he appeared in the shape of a child, and assisted at the ceremony of the sacrifice; which done, *Parexi Rama* took up an ax, and killed forty-four kings, who used to infest the *Rixi*, and put them into the possession of their territories. *Siri Parexi Rama* being afterwards desirous to erect certain temples, and not finding sufficient room for that purpose, (because the sea then touched the mount *Gatte*) he offered his sacrifice, when a sieve appearing to him, (such as they used to cleanse the rice with,) he found that as often as he did shake it, the sea retreated backwards from the shore; but whilst he was doing it a third time, *Varrinem*, the god of the sea, having transformed himself into pismires, (called by them *Carreas*;) gnawed the sieve in pieces. However, *Siri Rama* built one hundred and eight temples, and erected as many stones near them, from *Mangalor* to the cape *Comoryn*, much revered to this day by the *Indians*.

In the mean while the fishermen of that coast making their complaints to *Parexi Rama*, That by this means they had been bereaved of their subsistence, he constituted them his guards of the temples he had built, with a sufficient allowance for their maintenance; so that these fishermen being thus become *Brakmans*, they used always to wear a thread of a fishing-net about their necks whilst they were performing their sacrifices, and introduced that custom among the pagans, for a new-married couple to go a fishing with a linnen cloth instead of a net.

*Parexi Rama* being one time employed, in his solitude, in sacrificing to the gods, *Siri Rama* (or *Vistnum*) appeared in the shape of a man; which *Parexi Rama* taking notice of, his jealousy was raised to such a height, that he would needs enter into a single combat with him; but being prevented by the *Rixii*, they discovered themselves to one another, and entering into a strict friendship, *Parexi Rama* presented his bow to *Siri Rama*, who returned to the *Milk-Sea*.

The origin of the Brahmins.



CHAP. IV.

The seventh Transformation of Vistnum into Rama. His Birth. He gains his Bride Sytha by shooting. Beauty of Lekeman. His meeting with Souppenekhia. Rawan takes away Sytha; performs Wonders. Ram and Lekeman go in quest of Sytha. Hanuman's great Actions in Ceylon.

*Baldæus.* **I**XORA being revered by all the world, but especially by one *Rawan*, (called *Rawana* by *Rogeri*, who makes him a son of the *Brahman Kassopa*.) who for three hundred years offered him a hundred flowers every day. *Ixora* having one time a mind to try his sincerity, took away one of the flowers, and afterwards charged him with want of duty. *Rawan*, ignorant of the deceit, counted his flowers, and finding no more than ninety nine, would have torn out one of his eyes, to compleat the number of a hundred. But *Ixora* stopping his hand, told him, That having now had a sufficient proof of his integrity, he should ask what he pleased, and he would be sure to grant it. *Rawan* then asked a share with *Ixora* in the government of the world; which being granted him by *Ixora*, *Rawan* nevertheless continued his daily devotions, and being asked the reason by *Ixora*, he told him, That he would not desist from his prayers, till he had given him ten heads and twenty arms; which being likewise granted by *Ixora*, he fixed his residence in the country of *Lanka*, in the famous isle of *Ceylon*, called by others *Sanka*, who also say, that he built seven palaces there of gold, silver, steel, iron, and other metals.

*The story of Rama, or Siri Rama, is so famous in the Indies, that kings and princes paint it upon their arms and palace.*

Having thus ruled for some thousand years over all the neighbouring kings, he became so proud, as to force his subjects to worship him instead of *Ixora*; which they were forced to do for twenty five years, till being quite tired out of all patience by his tyrannies, they implored *Ixora* to deliver them from *Rawan*, that so they might recover their former freedom of adoring him.

About that time, there lived a certain *Ragie*, named *Dasserat*, or *Desseratha*, or *Decxareda*. This king having three wives, one of them named *Cousila*, after some time brought forth a son, named *Ram*, by the *Brahman Wissiroe*, who increased daily in wisdom and understanding, beyond what could be expected from his tender years. His second wife *Keggy*, (called *KaiJa* by the *Malabars*.) brought forth another son, named *Barrat*; and

*Somettery*, or *Somittra*, the third wife, *Lekeman* and *Setteroukan*. The *Malabars* say, that these four sons were born from these three women by the means of four pills.

*Vistnum* being thus brought into the world, in the shape of a *Ram*, was educated by the *Brahmans* in all manner of wisdom and knowledge. There happened to live at that time a certain *Ragie*, named *Sannek*, in the country of *Siannak*, who having fixed a prodigious strong bow in a certain inclosure made for that purpose, issued his proclamation to encourage all such as would venture to draw and break the said bow, offering his daughter *Sytha*, with a great portion, as a reward to him who should accomplish it. This being likewise come to the ears of the *Brahmans*, *Ram* solicited his tutor to let him try his strength, which the master, not without some reluctance, having consented to, he went along with him, under the notion of his servant, and coming to *Rag. Sanneck's* court, heard him offer the same reward to any one that could manage and break the bow, telling them, that he who would enter the list, should take the vessel with *Betel*, which was offered by his own hand.

*How Ram or his bride Sytha.*

*The Malabars say, That he was a going to sacrifice, and invited the Brahman to oppose the demons, that sometimes used to disturb those ceremonies.*

Immediately after he saw the before-mentioned *Rawan*, with ten heads, take the *Betel*, and boasting of his strength, told them, that no body but him should pretend to *Sytha*. Then drawing the bow with his utmost strength, he let slip the sinew, which striking his thumb off, he fell into a swoon. Divers other *Ragies* tried to manage the same bow, but finding their strength fail them, were forced to desist.

The *Betel* being next brought to the *Brahmans*, among whom stood *Ram*, he at last obtained leave from his master, to accept of the *Betel*, which he did accordingly, and entering the list, found a tall mast, or poll, fixed in the center of the court, on the top whereof was a fish, and at the bottom a cistern, with water, wherein plainly appeared the shade of the fish. *Ram* then drew the bow with

*Baldæus*. such violence, that he not only shot the fish into several parts, but also broke the bow to pieces.

The bride, rejoiced at his success, presented him with a whole dish full of jewels, as did all the rest there present proportionable to their abilities: his parents being also sent for to partake of the honours done to their son, they came with their other three sons, who married the three daughters of *Raja Sannek*, viz. *Barrat* married *Onnemela*; *Lekeman*, *Sekby*; and *Setteroukan*, *Lila*.

*Ram* then desired to return to his native country; which being granted, not without great reluctance, he went back with his father, mother, and three brothers, with their wives, where his father delivered up the kingdom to him; but having received a wound in his thumb, which proved very painful to him, it was healed at last by his wife; in acknowledgment of which benefit he told her, that he would grant her whatever she would ask. She then desired her husband to send his three sons, *Ram*, *Lekeman*, (called otherwise *Laatsmana*, and *Settrugna*.) and *Setteroukan*, for twelve years into foreign countries, and to surrender the kingdom to her son *Barrat*, (called *Baratka*, and *Pareda* by the *Malabars*.) *Barrat* on the other hand, was unwilling to accept of this offer; notwithstanding which, *Ram* departed with his family and two brothers to the village of *Baratpery*, twelve *Cos* from *Afonti*, but leaving a pair of his slippers behind, *Barrat*, who still refused to encroach upon his eldest brother's right, used to sacrifice flowers, sandal-wood, and saffron, to them in his absence.

*Ram* in the mean while travelling along the river *Ganges* to *Pousourwattivan*, where, after a month's stay, whilst the brothers were busy in erecting the huts, *Lekeman* used to go every day to gather fruit for their subsistence; he being a very handsome person, and got upon a tree to gather some fruits, was espied by a certain woman, named *Souppennekkia*, (and *Churpanaga* by the *Malabars*.) the sister of *Rawan*, and widow of one *Vivali*, (killed in *Rawan*'s service,) who being come to wash herself in the *Ganges*, told him, That she looking upon him as the handsomest person in the world, she must be miserable for ever, unless he would vouchsafe to love her; which if he refused, she would turn her love into hatred, when he must prepare to engage with her in single combat. *Lekeman* replied, That his love being fixed in another place, he could not oblige her; and that to fight with her, would not turn to his honour. O unfortunate man! cried she,

how little best thou acquainted with my *Baldæus* strength! if I cannot enjoy thee, I will have thy life before I part from this place.

*Lekeman* then considering whom he had to do with, told her, That though he was willing, it was not in his power, she being of the family of the *Raches*, and he of the tribe of the *Bram-Ketteris*; but that if she would go to his brother *Ram*'s hut, which was not far thence, and obtain his consent, he would not be backward to gratify her desire. She no sooner came to *Ram*'s hut, but he knew her at first sight, and looking upon this as a fit opportunity to revenge the affront he had received of *Rawan*, he gave her a letter directed to his brother *Lekeman*, wherein he ordered him to cut off those parts in which her strength was lodged. Thus she left *Ram* well satisfied, hastening to her pretended bridegroom, whom she found busy in gathering of fruit; and delivering the letter to him, bid him read his brother's consent. But *Lekeman* understanding his brother's intention, run towards her, and under pretence of taking her up in his arms, cut off her nose and ears, wherein her strength was lodged.

Thus mortified, she went away, threatening revenge to the two brothers, and making the best of her way to her brother *Rawan*'s palace; but lighting by chance upon an uncle's house of hers, named *Char*, who commanded ten thousand horse, she stopped there; and being asked how she came so defaced, she told them that some robbers near the *Ganges* had treated her in this manner.

The youngest of her uncles ordered immediately three hundred horse to be in readiness to march with him to the *Ganges*, where they attacked *Ram*'s habitation with such fury, that *Lekeman* was put under no small consternation; but *Ram* defended his habitation so courageously, that he killed most of the horsemen with his bow, called *Dienuoekbaanne*, with their leader. *Char* had no sooner received intelligence of this defeat, but putting himself at the head of the remaining nine thousand and seven hundred horse, he marched to the same place; but with no better success, being slain by *Ram*, with all his forces.

*Souppennekkia* having been an eye-witness of this defeat at a distance, made all the haste she could to come to her brother *Rawan*; who having asked her the reason, she told him, That meeting with a very beautiful woman near the river *Ganges*, she endeavoured to persuade her to come along with her, with an intention to present her to him; but being overtaken by her husband and his brother, they had so mortally

*Ram* travels along the *Ganges*.

He cuts off her nose and ears.

Ten thousand horsemen killed by *Ram*.

*Rawan*'s sister in love with *Lekeman*.

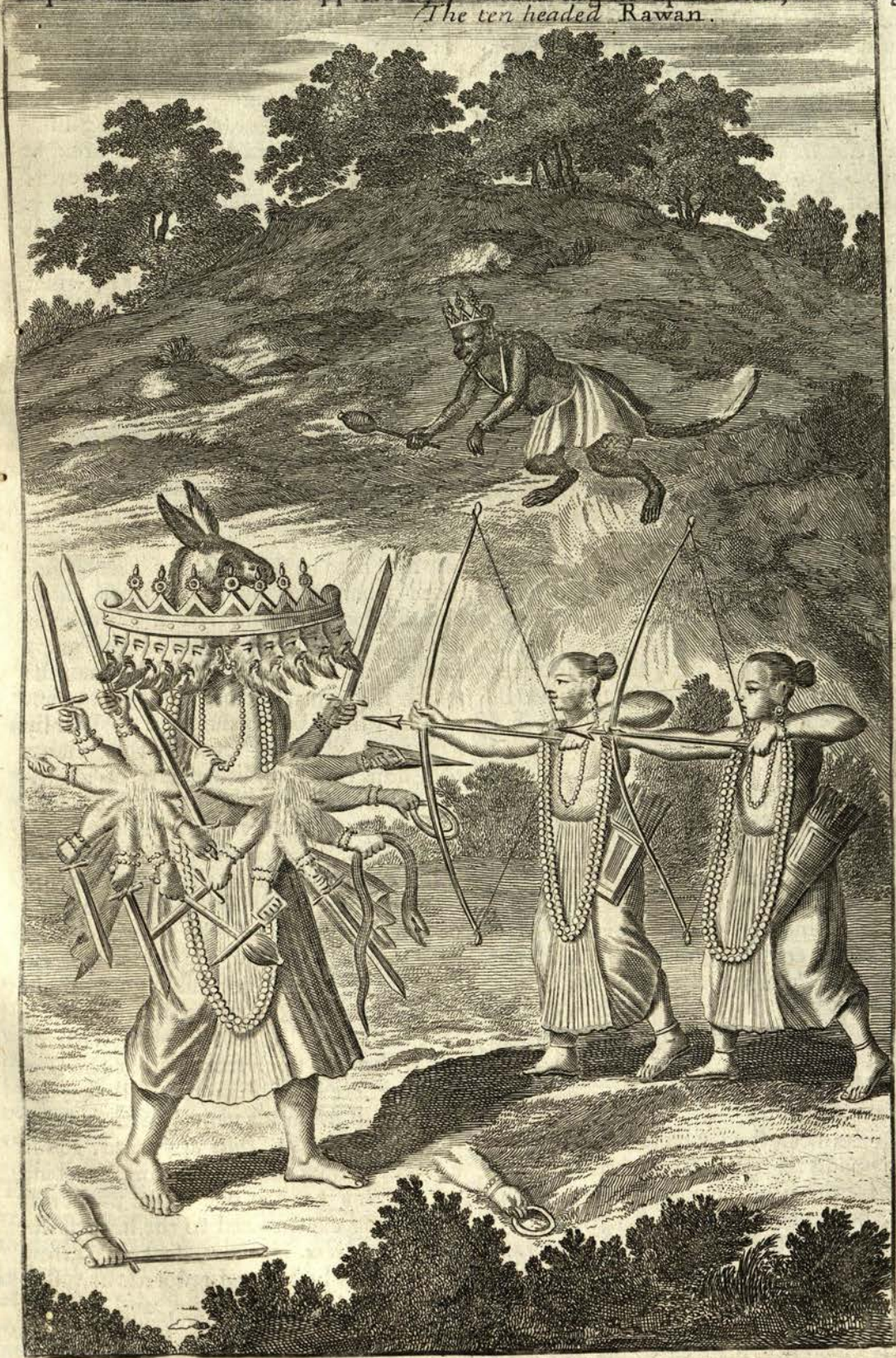
*Baldæus*. mortified her in that manner as they now saw her. *Rawan* highly exasperated at this usage, bid her to shew him the place where it happened; which she did accordingly, and at the same time gave him an account of what had happened to her uncle and the ten thousand horsemen.

*Rawan* transformed into a stag.

*Rawan* thus fore-warned, assumed the shape of a stag with two heads, and so did feed near *Ram's* hut, the better to surprize him with the first opportunity;

but being espied by *Sytba*, *Ram's* wife, *Baldæus*. she was so much taken with his bright skin, that she desired her husband to shoot him, and to make her a vest of his skin. *Ram* told her that the same could not be done without danger; but she persisting in her intreaties, he consented, yet under condition, That she and his brother *Lekeman* should not pass three certain circles he made with chalk cross the hut. He no sooner got into the field, but the two-headed stag set up his heels, and being

The ten headed *Rawan*.



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*Baldeus*, pursued by *Ram* for three *Cos*, was shot with an arrow in the breast.

*Is first of Ram.*

*Rawan's* ghost at the same time entering into the body of a *Fakier*, he went traitways to *Ram's* hut, and with a doleful voice cried out to *Lekeman*, to succour his brother, who was in danger of perishing by his enemies hands. *Sytba*, thunder-struck at this voice, begged *Lekeman* to succour her husband, who told her, That he believed this voice to be fictitious, as not questioning that his brother, who had so lately slain ten thousand men, could be in a condition to cope with one. But *Sytba* imploring his assistance with a flood of tears, he went accordingly.

In the mean time the *Fakier*, endowed with *Rawan's* spirit, having assumed the shape of a beggar, came to beg some alms of *Sytba*, who excused the matter; yet at last was prevailed upon to give him some fruit that were left the day before; but as she was extending her arm towards the beggar, he caught hold of her hand, and pulling her over the circle, (under pretence of bringing her to the place where her husband was engaged,) he carried her to the country of *Lanka*, in the isle of *Ceylon*.

*He carries away Sytba.*

As he was carrying her along, he met with the giant *Siattank*, of the tribe of the *Raches*, who begged some victuals of him in a threatening tone. *Rawan* having no provisions to give him, took up a stone, which he rubbing against his thigh, made a large hole, the blood whereof turned the stone into meat, which he gave the giant, who had no sooner eat it, but it turned to a stone again in his stomach, and oppressed him to such a degree, that he was not able to stir or move.

Then *Rawan*, pursuing his journey, came to the mountain *Resmokperwat*, where he met with the apes with bears heads, called *Hanuman*, *Suckerige*, *Anget*, and *Siamboemt*; and *Sytba* dropping her ring, the same was taken up by *Hanuman*.

*Places her in a garden in Ceylon.*

*Rawan*, coming into *Ceylon*, and not daring to bring *Sytba* into his house, placed her in a garden under a certain tree called *Sysem*; and having appointed her a guard of twelve giants, he daily made his courtship to her; but she refused all his offers.

In the mean time *Ram* returning homewards, and meeting with his brother *Lekeman* by the way, they both came to the hut, but to their great surprize found *Sytba* gone. *Ram* in a most violent rage upbraided his brother with leaving the hut; but having understood the reason, they resolved to go in quest of *Sytba*.

As they were passing through a very

long subterraneous passage, they met with *Baldeus*, a certain giant at his devotion, who being surprized to see them, *Ram* told him, That the desire of finding out his spouse had brought him through this dangerous place, asking him, Whether he had not heard any thing of her. He answered, that he had seen a giant flying through the air, holding a woman upon his hand. *Ram* further enquiring what way they were gone, he answered, Towards the country of *Dekendesfa*.

*Ram and Lekeman go in quest of Sytba.*

*Ram* verily believing this to be *Sytba*, blessed the giant, and pursuing his journey to the mount *Resmokperwat*, met with the beforementioned apes with bears heads, where *Hanuman* prostrating himself at his feet, asked him, What brought him to this remote part of the world? *Ram* answered, To look after his spouse. *Hanuman* replied, I saw a giant pass through the air, with a woman sitting upon his hand, who dropped this ear-ring. *Ram* infinitely rejoiced at the sight thereof, (knowing it to be his wife's,) asked him, What way they had taken? *Hanuman* replied, To the country of *Lanka*, in the isle of *Ceylon*; and at the same time offering his service for the recovery of his spouse, he entreated the ape *Suckerige* to assist him in this enterprize; promising him, that in case they succeeded, *Ram* should restore to him his wife and his estate in the valley of *Kieckenda*, taken from him by his brother *Bael*. But *Suckerige* remembered his brother's strength, how he had worsted the giant *Rawan*, and held his head two months under his arms, (before the government of the world was committed to him by *Vistnum*;) besides, several other giants told him, that *Ram* being only of a middle stature, was not likely to conquer him.

*Hanuman gives an account to Ram of Sytba.*

*Hanuman*, however, persisting in his persuasions, and extolling the power of *Ram*, *Suckerige* asked a token, viz. that he should shoot his arrow through some of the branches of the trees, whilst they were agitated by the wind. *Lekeman* having understood his request, spoke to his brother *Ram*, who bidding them shut their eyes, he shot at once with his arrow through seven trees, and at the same time ordered *Suckerige* to challenge his brother *Bael* in his name; which being done accordingly, *Bael* appeared, and in a scornful tone told *Ram*, That he would cut off his head at one stroke; whereat *Ram* being exasperated to the highest degree, he drew his bow, sent his arrow through his body, and restored the valley of *Kieckenda* to *Suckerige*, and with it his wife.

*Ram kills Bael.*

*Baldæus.* Ram having now taken a resolution to stay with his brother in the mountain, sent *Hanuman*, *Anget*, *Suckerige*, and *Sucking*, chieftains of the apes, into the valley of *Quicxinta*, (as the *Malabars* call it,) not far from the valley of *Kieckenda*, in quest of his spouse. *Hanuman* being ready to depart with his company, gave him his ring as a token to shew to his spouse *Sytba*. Accordingly they set out on their journey, taking two different roads, two and two together; but not meeting with *Sytba*, they met at a certain place near the sea-side, full of despair at their ill success. However, *Hanuman* bid them have a good heart, telling them, that *Ceylon* lying opposite to them cross the seas, he would, according to the power granted him by *Vishnum*, fly over the sea into *Ceylon*, where *Rawan* kept his residence.

*Hanuman*  
flies into  
*Ceylon*.

*Hanuman* being at last, in disguise, arrived in the isle of *Ceylon*, met with ten female giants that were appointed her guard by *Rawan* in the air: these refusing him passage, he assumed the shape of a fly, and thus escaping their hands, advanced to the shore of *Ceylon*; but being there met by a huge giant, who stopped his passage, was forced to reassume his own body of an ape, and so to engage the giant, who seeing him to fight so courageously, commended his bravery, telling him, That he should succeed in what he desired. *Hanuman* answering, That he came only to look for his master *Ram's* wife. The giant replied, She is kept by the most potent *Rawan* in a garden under a sycem-tree.

Hears of  
*Sytba*.

*Hanuman* then pursuing his journey, and being extremely tired, did fall into a swoon upon the sea-shore; where having slept eighteen hours, and forgotten the name of the place assigned him by the giant, he transformed himself into a cat, and running through all the houses and corners of *Ceylon*, but without success, at last happened to light upon the top of *Rawan's* house, from whence espying the tree where *Sytba* was kept, he advanced towards it; but whilst he was in doubt whether it were *Sytba* or not, he saw *Rawan* coming towards her, and renewing his courtship, offering all his territories and treasures, in case she would consent to be his wife; but *Sytba* replied, That being *Ram's* alone, she would never encourage his addresses, threatening to consume him by fire, if he persisted in his demands.

*Rawan* was no sooner gone, but *Hanuman* dropped the ring given him by *Ram* into *Sytba's* lap; who burst out into tears, imagining that *Ram* had been killed by some of the giants: but *Hanuman* throw-

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ing himself at her feet, told her, That *Baldæus.* *Ram* was in good health, and had sent him to look after her. *Sytba* still questioning the truth, *Hanuman* told her, That the ring was given him as a token to her, yet not with an intention to bring her to him, but only to learn news of her. Then haste away, replied she, and desire *Ram* to deliver me out of the hands of the tyrant *Rawan*.

*Hanuman* went his way; but considering with himself, he would not forsake *Lanka* without leaving behind him some remembrances of his having been there, he returned to *Sytba*, asking her leave to gather some fruits, which she denied, telling him, That he would be unfortunate in his enterprize, if he fed upon any other fruit but what he found upon the ground. Well, said *Hanuman*, and so laying hold of the next fruit-tree, and tearing it up by the root, he eat the fruit; the same he did to most of the other trees in the garden, except that where *Sytba* was placed. The gardiner seeing the next morning what havock *Hanuman* had made, told his master what happened, who being incensed to the highest degree, ordered ten thousand giants to kill this ape. *Hanuman* seeing them advancing against him, laid hold of one of the biggest trees, and made such havock among these giants, that scarce one of them escaped.

*Hanuman's*  
actions at  
*Ceylon*.

*Rawan* no sooner heard of this defeat, but he sent twenty five thousand more to revenge the quarrel of their comrades; but these having undergone the same fate, he sent his youngest son at the head of twelve thousand of the choicest giants, *Great* who put *Hanuman* so hard to it, that they *slaughter* made him reel several times; but his *of the gi-* strength being continually renewed by *ants.* *Ram's* care, he at first slew *Rawan's* youngest son, and at last the whole army.

*Mandory*, *Rawan's* spouse, did all that lay in her power to persuade her husband to deliver up *Sytba* to *Ram*, for fear of losing his whole estate; but *Rawan* was so far from hearkening to her counsel, that he issued a proclamation, that he who thought himself the strongest man in the isle of *Ceylon*, should engage with the ape: but there being no body who durst compare for strength with *Rawan's* eldest son, named *Inderfiet*, (who formerly had vanquished *Raja Inder*,) he ordered him, That whenever he was a going to shoot his arrow, he should utter certain words taught him by *Bramma*, which had that effect, as to turn the arrow into a serpent, and to entangle his adversary.

*Inderfiet* thus bold with hopes, advanced at the head of his giants against *Hanuman*,

*Baldau* man, who laid so bravely about him, that he made the giants shrink, which *Inderfiet* perceiving, let fly his arrow against *Hanuman*, which being in an instant transform'd into a serpent, was tore to pieces by *Hanuman*; which *Inderfiet* seeing, he flew like lightning thro' the air to the holy *Bramma*, upbraided him with deceitfulness, and threatening him with no less than the loss of his life, unless he shew'd him the right way of vanquishing his enemy.

*Inderfiet* makes use of a bewitched arrow.

*Bramma* being put to such a nonplus, hastned to *Hanuman*, and casting himself at his feet begged of him not to oppose *Inderfiet's* arrow, as wanting not means to protect himself against his attempts, by divers other ways. *Hanuman* taking compassion of *Bramma*, granted his request; who then told *Inderfiet*, that by his charms he had so ordered the matter, as to render his arrow more effectual than before. *Inderfiet* encouraged by his promise, sent forth his arrow against *Hanuman* a second time; which turning into a serpent, stuck close to his limbs, that the giants had sufficient opportunity to exercise their weapons upon him, though he received no more harm by it than if he had been touched with a feather. However, they carried him before the ten headed *Rawan*; who asked him by what means he was become invulnerable. *Hanuman* replied, by *Ram's* blessing, whose wife thou hast carried away; which if thou dost not restore forthwith, thy whole country shall be laid desolate.

This story seems to have some relation to that of Sampson.

*Rawan* exasperated at this answer, commanded ten thousand giants to kill him; but finding their endeavours prove unsuccessful, he asked *Hanuman*, by what means he might be bereaved of his strength; he replied, If you dip my tail in oil, wrap it in cotton, and then set it on fire, all my strength will vanish in an instant. *Rawan* believing the matter, put it in execution, notwithstanding which, *Hanuman* pulled the serpent to pieces like a piece of thread, killed most of the giants, and set fire to the houses. This done, he took his leave of *Sytba*, who gave him one of her bracelets as a token, to shew *Ram* that he had seen her, charging him at the same time not to look back till he had past the seas, else he would be in great danger. *Hanuman* strictly observed this rule till he came to the sea-shore, when approaching on a sudden to a great flame, he looked back, and the flame reaching his tail, he was glad to run into the sea, to extinguish the fire.

Then taking his course through the air, he passed the seas, and meeting with

his comrades, told them what had happened; who thence made the best of their way to the mountain *Resmokperwat*; and having shewed *Sytba's* bracelets to *Ram*, who immediately ordered *Suckery*, lord of the valley of *Kieckenda*, to summon all the apes under his jurisdiction to arms against *Rawan*; he accordingly appeared under their eighteen kings, each whereof appeared at the head of twenty thousand apes, amounting in all to three hundred and sixty thousand apes.

*Ram* and his brother *Lekeman* marched at the head of this powerful army to the sea-side, directly opposite to the isle of *Ceylon*; where *Ram* having spent three days in fasting and praying, to open a passage for his forces through the sea, but in vain, he drew his bow, threatening the sea to reduce it into such narrow bounds, that where then was nothing to be seen but water, the terrestrial creatures should sport upon the pleasant sands without danger. The waves of the sea thereupon humbling themselves before *Ram*, told him, That to open him a passage through the depth, could not be done without a total destruction of a vast number of fishes; but that there was in his army a certain ape called *Sichem*, endowed with such a quality by his master the holy *Narsy*, that whatever stone he should only touch, would swim on the surface of the water like wood. Accordingly *Ram* ordered a vast quantity of stones to be brought from the neighbouring mountains, which being only touched by *Sichem*, and then thrown into the sea, did swim upon the surface thereof, and making a bridge of one hundred leagues in length, afforded an easy passage for his whole army.

A stone bridge of a hundred leagues across the sea.

The inhabitants of *Lanka*, or *Ceylon*, being soon alarm'd by the noise of their drums, and other warlike instruments, *Rawan's* wife intreated her husband to take a view of that prodigious army from the top of his house; whom *Ram* no sooner spied at a distance, but with his arrow he shot off his ten crowns from his ten heads. His wife laying hold of this opportunity, exhorted him once more to deliver up *Sytba* to *Ram*, who, says she, can with the same arrow, which took off your ten crowns, also take off your ten heads.

But *Rawan* persisting in his resolution not to part with *Sytba*, *Ram* told his brother *Lekeman*, that to leave nothing unattempted to reduce *Rawan* to reason, they would dispatch the ape *Anget* to him to demand *Sytba*; and in case of refusal, to tell him now, that they were

*Baldæus*. were come to destroy all with fire and sword.

*Rawan* being advertised of his arrival, called together all his giants, (among whom was his brother *Bebickbem*;) and having caused ten statues to be made with ten heads like himself, he took his place in the midst of them: *Anget* coming boldly into the room, asked, What monsters these were, and which of them was *Rawan* himself? Whereat *Rawan* being highly exasperated, asked, Who it was that dares affront him thus? threatening to make him repent his boldness. *Anget* replied, *Were I not here in the quality of an ambassador, I would try my strength with thee, being sent by Ram to let thee know, that he did not come with this army to destroy thy subjects, but to recover his wife Sytha; which if thou refusest to do, he declares himself innocent of all the effusion of blood that shall ensue.* But *Rawan* answering, That he was resolved not to deliver her; *Anget* brought this answer to *Ram*.

*Raman's brother comes over to Ram.*

At the same time, *Rawan's* brother, with five of his chief counsellors, finding him not in a capacity to cope with so powerful an army, assumed the shape of apes, and throwing themselves at the feet of *Ram*, craved his mercy and protection.

The apes of *Ram's* army taking them for spies, handled them very roughly at first coming into the camp; and *Hanuman*, or *Hanneman*, especially, would have dissuaded him from having the least concern with them; but were appeased by *Ram*, when he told them, That he knew them to be men of honour and probity.

*Rawan's obstinacy.*

By this time *Rawan* had armed ten thousand of his boldest giants to attack *Ram's* camp; but these being soon defeated, he sent eighteen thousand more; who having undergone the same fate, he sent thirty thousand more; and these also succeeding no better, he sent fifty thousand more, who were all routed like the rest.

Then *Rawan's* eldest son entreating his father to let him engage alone against the whole camp of *Ram*, he could not consent to his request; but having convinced his father of the advantages he had lately got by the instructions of *Bramma*, he put him at the head of ten thousand of his choicest giants. With these troops being advanced to *Ram's* camp, he encouraged them to fight bravely, whilst he soaring up into the air, did hide himself behind one of the wheels of the chariot of the sun, till coming directly over *Ram's* camp, he sent forth one of his magical arrows, which turning immediately into a serpent, sent forth such a

vast number of other serpents among the *Baldæus*. apes, that their arms and legs being quite entangled, they were knocked down on all sides by the giants.

*Ram* not a little surprized at this disaster, asked *Rawan's* brother, what was best to be done; who told him, That if he would send for his winged *Garroude*, the serpents would vanish in an instant. *Ram* following his advice, *Garroude* no sooner appeared, but the serpents vanished; and the apes fought it out bravely with the giants.

In the mean while, *Ram* having advised with his council, how to attack *Inderfiet*, *Rawan's* eldest son, in the air, and *Lekeman* having offered his service, he got upon *Hanuman's* back, who carrying him up into the air, *Inderfiet* sent a shower of arrows against him; but these being repulsed by *Lekeman's* shield, and *Inderfiet* seeing him advance towards him, threw away his bow and arrows, and laying hold likewise of his sword and buckler, a most furious combat ensued, which remained dubious for some time; till *Lekeman* giving him a blow on his *Rawan's* neck, cut off his head at one stroke, *eldest son* which dropt down before his father's feet. *slain.*

*Mandory*, his mother, burst out into a most violent passion for the loss of her beloved son, tearing her hair and breasts with her nails, and upbraiding her husband with cruelty, injustice, and lasciviousness; but to little purpose, *Rawan* persisting in his resolution of not delivering *Sytha*.

Being resolved to make his utmost efforts, he craved the assistance of his brother, a most famous giant, named *Coukeringh*, (or *Kompacarna*, as *Rogerius* \* \* C. 3. *He seeks for assistance by his brother.*) this giant calls him after the *Malabars*;) this giant used to spend his whole life in sleeping, except one day, when he appeared in his full activity; and to spend his time in filling his belly with victuals for the whole succeeding year. It being then in third month of his sleep, *Rawan* called to him aloud, Brother *Coukeringh*, rouse, rouse, and come to my assistance, or else we are lost! *Coukeringh* asking him, half asleep, what was the matter; *Rawan* told him, That being attacked by a vast body of apes under the command of one *Ram*, who had killed two of his sons, and no less than seven generals, with two hundred thousand giants, he had no other means left to relieve himself and his subjects from destruction, but to implore his aid. The giant reply'd, Thou beest unfortunate, *Rawan*, to have entangled thyself in an unjust war against an army headed by the divine *Ram*; I have foreseen it in my sleep, that the same will turn to the

*Baldens* the destruction of thy self and thy country.

*Rawan* stood amazed, but full of despair, told his brother, That if it was his fate (written in his forehead) to die by the hands of *Ram*, it was in vain to avoid it, desiring once more his assistance. The giant replied, My life is at your service: and so ordering his chariot drawn by ten pair of asses, to be got ready, put himself at the head of *Rawan's* army composed of giants. *Ram* in the mean while, understanding that the great giant was coming against him, he appointed some thousands of apes to throw upon him the tops of the rocks; which they did accordingly, though in vain, the giant piercing the mount that was thrown upon him with his arrow, notwithstanding it had one hundred leagues in compass.

This made *Ram* ask *Bebickbem*, *Rawan's* brother, by what means the giant *Coukeringb* might be vanquished. *Bebickbem* replied, You must retreat three paces backwards. That cannot be, answered *Ram*, because I am descended of the race of the *Ketteriis*, who dare not retreat under pain of banishment. But there is no other remedy, returned *Bebickbem*; but the best advice I can give you, is to descend from your chariot, and let the same be carried three paces backwards. This being approved by *Ram*, was done accordingly; so that whilst the giant was making a most horrid slaughter among the apes, he shot his head off, which falling upon the ground, shook the earth, as if a whole mountain had tumbled down, a whole river of blood, as black as pitch, gushing out of his veins.

The giant  
Couke-  
ringh slain.

Notwithstanding this, the trunk of his body continued to make a great slaughter among the apes; so that *Ram* being again obliged to have recourse to *Rawan's* brother, he told him, That if he sent out a party of apes, to get a blue cloth died with indigo, and therewith covered the body, it would become immovable. In the mean while, the trunk of the giant continued to make great havock among the apes, but to little purpose, they being revived (by the aspect of *Ram*,) as fast as they were killed.

By this time, the blue cloth being brought, was thrown upon the trunk, which in an instant remained as unmovable as a stone in the field. *Rawan* seeing himself thus reduced to despair, had recourse to the goddess *Bowanni*, unto whom he offered a sacrifice of fresh butter, sandal-wood, flowers, and spices,

*Rawan's*  
last sacrifice

implored her aid against *Ram* with such fervency, That it is believed he would have obtained his request, had not the ape *Hanuman* defiled the sacrifice by throwing one of the dead carcases of the slain giants upon the altar, erected in a deep hole for this sacrifice.

*Baldens*.

*Rawan* thus drove to the last extremity, put himself again at the head of his forces, and like a desperate person slew all the apes he met in his way, forcing all the hills before him the apes threw in his way, till *Ram* drawing his bow, shot off nine of his heads. And then calling to him aloud, *Rawan*, said he, Desist from blood-shed, return me my *Sytha*, and I will heal thy wounds, and restore thee thy heads and kingdom, without which thou wilt certainly lose all. But *Rawan* replying, That if fate had so ordained it, he would rather lose his ten heads also, than *Sytha*. *Ram* shot likewise his tenth head off: but perceiving that the headless body laid still about him with its twenty-four arms, he threw some water upon it, and muttering out certain words, made it as immovable as a stone.

*Rawan*  
slain by  
*Ram*.

*Mandory* was no sooner informed of her husband's death, but she threw herself at *Ram's* feet, bewailing his obstinacy, notwithstanding the many forebodes of his fall, an unfortunate raven and a doleful owl having settled upon his house, with very dreadful lamentations and outcries, the fore-runners of his misfortune. As I have, added she, been innocent of what has happened, so I hope you won't deny me my protection. *Ram* bid her be satisfied, ordering her at the same time, to pass seven times through the smoke of the fire kept at *Tchie*, to purify herself, and renew her virginity; which done, he would marry her to her husband's brother *Bebickbem*, who accordingly was put into *Rawan's* place. Then *Ram* being carried in his rose-litter to the tree *Sysem*, where *Sytha* was kept a prisoner, she embraced him, returning him a million of thanks for her deliverance. The next thing *Ram* did, was to revive his apes slain in the late engagement; and so marched back over the same bridge that had carried him into *Ceylon*. Being come to the opposite shore, he ordered the stones to be carried to the place whence they had been taken, and marching to the valley of *Kieckenda*, he would there have taken his leave of *Suckery*; but he refusing to part with him thus, would needs accompany him with all his forces as far as the village of *Baratpoeri*, where *Ram* was received by his father, mother, and brother, with great demonstrations

His wife  
married  
to his brother.

*Ram* meets  
again with  
*Sytha*.

Returns  
home.



*Baldæus.* strations of joy, the sweet-scented rose-water, saffron, betel, and other perfumes, being lavishly bestowed upon him and all those that had attended him home.

Ram having bestowed his blessing upon Suckery, he returned home; but Hanuman staid with him. He reigned in peace eleven years after his return, and begat two sons, Lan and Chus. Then taking his opportunity when he had sent Hanuman out of the way, he ascended into heaven with the inhabitants of the earth, except his two sons.

The Malabars say, That Ram being jealous of Sytha, would have murdered her, had she not cleared herself by the fire and a solemn oath. Another time being again seized with a jealousy, because she had Rawan's picture drawn upon a piece of board, she purged herself, by putting her hand into a vessel filled with serpents.

They further add, That her husband *Baldæus.* being become extreme jealous, caused her to be thrown before the elephants, and afterwards before the tygers, but she escaped without the least harm. They say, That when Hanuman saw Ram ascend into heaven, he cryed aloud to him, O divine Ram! what have I done, that you will leave me behind! Ram answered, Hanuman, be not dissatisfied, thou shalt never die, and many Pagodes shall be erected to thy memory. Farewell.

Thus ended the second period of time, which, according to the computation of the Benjans, contains one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand; whereof Ram reigned two thousand. This second period is called *Treitagom* by the Malabars, and *Tretanike* by the Benjans.

C H A P. V.

*The eighth Altar. The Parents, Birth, and Education of Kifna: His miraculous Deliverance. Ragia Kans endeavours to murder him. Kifna turns a Shepherd, and flies with his Company to Goggel.*

*The eighth transformation the most remarkable.*

AS the eighth transformation of *Vistnum* is accounted of the greatest moment above the rest; for, say the pagans, in all the others, *Vistnum* appeared in the world with some part of his divinity; but in this, he carried along with him the whole substance of it, so that he left his place vacant in heaven. This transformation happened with the beginning of the third period of time; and, according to the relation of the Benjans, was thus:

One *Ragia Kans* living in the city of *Mottera*, twenty-five *Cos* from *Agra*, upon the river *Siemmena*, had a young sister named *Deuki*. About three *Cos* higher up the same river, lived a certain *Brahman* named *Wassendeww*, in the city of *Goggel*; The said *Deuki* being arrived to a marriageable age, her brother *Ragia Kans* looked out for a husband for her; but meeting with none for his purpose in that city, he sent to the city of *Goggel*; where his messenger hearing of the worth and piety of *Wassendeww*, the same was, at his recommendation, married to him when he was only nineteen, and she no more than twelve years of age.

The said *Ragia* having understood that there was among his subjects a certain *Brahman* named *Narret*, well skilled in chiromancy, (a thing in high esteem among the pagans,\*) he sent for him, desiring him to look into his sister's hands,

and to foretel, without dissembling the matter, what good or bad fortune was like to befall her. The *Brahman* having viewed her hand, told the king, That according to the lines of her hand, she was to bring forth six sons, and one daughter; the youngest of whom will not only take away thy kingdom, but also thy life.

The king being not a little surprized at this prophecy, ordered the said *Deuki* and her husband to be imprisoned in a strong castle; and that all the children begotten upon her body, should be killed immediately. Accordingly, the midwife brought the new-born babes to her brother, who beat out the brains of six of them (*viz.* five sons and one daughter) against a stone. Afterwards understanding that she was with child with the seventh, he enclosed her in a room with iron doors, and appointed her a guard of one hundred soldiers, with strict orders, That the child, as soon as it was born, should be brought to him. Upon this occasion, I cannot but observe, that this, as well as the ensuing part of the story of *Kifna*, seems to have a near relation to the history of the birth of our saviour, his flight into *Egypt*, the murder of the innocent children by *Herod*, Christ's miracles, and ascension, &c.

\* See Vof. sius, l. 2. Idol. c 47 & Pucer. de Divin.

*Baldæus.* The time of her reckoning being expired on the day \* *Aetben*, of the month *Sowwanne*, this unfortunate lady being overwhelmed with grief, she brought forth a son about midnight, without the least pain, whose face was as bright as the full moon; but as she had occasion to rejoice at the birth of so fine a child, his fate put her into incredible affliction: but *Vistnum* (whose divine virtue was infused

into this child) comforted his mother, *Baldæus.* telling her, that he would find means to escape the hands of his uncle, and deliver her out of her prison. Then speaking to his father, Pray, says he, carry me to *Goggel*, on the other side of the river *Siemmena*, to the *Brakman Nen*, whose wife being lately brought to bed of a daughter, exchange me for her, and leave the rest to my disposal.

\* The 8th day of the decreasing moon.

The deliverance of Kisna



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*Baldous.* *Wassendeww* answered, How is it possible to remove thee out of a chamber so closely guarded and kept, that not the least thing could pass in or out? *Kisna* (this was the child's name,) replied, the doors shall be opened to thee, and the guards so overcome with sleep, that nothing shall stop thy free passage. He had no sooner spoke these words, but the seven doors opened themselves, so that *Wassendeww* took the child, and carried him off without the least hindrance. But coming to the river *Siemmena*, directly opposite to *Goggel*, *Kisna's* father perceiving the current to be very strong, (it being in the midst of the rainy season,) and not knowing which way to pass it, *Kisna* commanded the water to give way on both sides to his father; who accordingly passed dry-footed across the river, being all the way guarded by a serpent that held her head over the child, to serve it instead of an umbrella. The *Benjans* call this serpent *Sickenasy*. Coming to the *Brahman's* house, the door opened itself, and finding the *Brahman* and his wife asleep, he exchanged his son for their daughter, which he carried along with him to the castle. In short, the water afforded him once more a free passage; and finding the doors of the castle open, and the guards asleep, he locked them after him, and delivered the girl to his wife.

The guards hearing the child cry soon after, entered the chamber, snatched it from the unfortunate parents, and brought it to *Ragia Kans*, who finding it a girl, upbraided the *Brahman* with want of skill, yet for fear of the worst, was going to strike the head against a stone; but the child slipping out of his hands, flew up into the air, and told him, *It was in vain to attempt to murder her, since he that was to take away his head and his kingdom, to revenge the death of his five brothers, and a sister, was safe at Goggel.* This said, it flew up high into the air, where it was turned into lightning by *Vistnum*, a thing never seen before in the world.

*Ragia Kans* not a little surprized at this accident, consulted all his friends, what he had best do in this emergency; but none being able to advise him to any purpose; whilst he was very melancholy, and ruminating upon the oddness of the thing, he understood that the pious *Brahman Nen*, who lived at *Goggel*, had a most beautiful son, which put it into his head, whether it might not perhaps be he who was to take revenge of him for his tyrannies. At last, to make sure work, he resolved to have the child killed; but not

thinking it safe to undertake so heinous a thing barefaced, (for fear of the common people,) he made his applications to his eldest sister *Poetena*, enjoying her, as she tendered his life, to go with some presents to this *Brahman's* house, and to endeavour to kill this child by anointing her teats with poison.

Accordingly coming with considerable presents to the child's mother at *Goggel*, she wished her much joy; and taking the child in her lap, she gave ample recommendations of its beauty; and then kissing and playing with the child, laid it to her breast: but this child being proof against all poison, did suck away, not only all her milk, but likewise the blood out of her veins, till she dropt down dead upon the spot.

*Ragia* sorely afflicted with this news, released his sister *Deuki* and her husband, asking his sister's pardon for his having pretended to thwart the immutable decrees of destiny, and desiring that all things past might be buried in oblivion. However, as the child at *Goggel* lay constantly in his head, he advised with his *Vizier*, or chief minister, upon the matter: he told him, That there lived a certain giant named *Sectasor*, at *Mottera*, who had the gift of transforming himself into a cart and oxen, by which means he might carry the child into the air and murder it. The king, pursuant to his advice, sent for the said *Sectasor*; who, at his request, crossing the river *Siemmena*, when he came near the city of *Goggel*, transformed himself into a little neat cart, drawn by two white oxen with gilt horns; and passing thus through the streets of the city, at last stopped near the *Brahman Nen's* door. One of the neighbouring women having just at that time *Kisna* in her arms at the door, set the child upon the said cart, which was no sooner done, but *Sectasor* flew with the child up into the air. The mother amazed at this spectacle, cried out aloud, *O Vistnum, protect my child!* her prayers were heard; for *Kisna*, when he saw himself high in the air, assumed the shape and strength of a giant, and gave such a blow near the giant's heart, that he beat the breath out of his body; then reassuming his former shape of a child, got upon his dead carcase, and so fell down with it upon the ground. His parents being eye-witnesses of the deliverance of their supposed son, were so surprized thereat, that looking upon him as something extraordinary sent them from heaven, they sacrificed to the gods, and gave abundance of alms to the poor.

*Baldæus.* *Ragia Kans* finding himself disappointed in his hopes, had recourse once more to his most trusty counsellors: one of them told him, That there was a certain *Deyt*, or giant, named *Turnawent*, who being endowed with the virtue of transforming himself into a whirlwind, the king engaged him on his side, in order to carry the child into the air. *Kisna*, who heard the whirlwind rolling cross the river *Siemmena*, towards the city of *Goggel*, being then in his mother's lap at the door, rolled down upon the ground; whence the whirlwind snatching him up into the air, his parents stood amazed at so strange a spectacle, imploring *Vistnum* for his assistance.

*Kisna* being carried to a vast height by the wind, assumed the shape of a man, and taking the giant *Turnawent* by the throat, turned his neck round; and then reassuming his former shape, got upon the dead carcass of the giant, and fell down along with it upon the ground, just before his parents door, to the great amazement of the inhabitants of *Goggel*, who could not but look upon this accident as miraculous, or that had something of divine in it.

*Kisna* in the mean while remaining upon the giant's back, cried most vehemently; his mother laid him to her breast, but he not ceasing to cry, she laid him in a hanging cradle; notwithstanding which, he continued crying, till his mother having recounted to him the story of *Ram*, (as related before,) he leaped out of the cradle, and taking the shape of *Ram*, with his bow and arrow, he cried out, *Lekeman*, let us go after *Rawan*, and deliver *Sythba*. His mother being ready to prostrate herself at his feet, he soon reassumed his former shape, and increased miraculously, both in strength and wisdom.

It happened one time, that his mother did bring upon the table a golden dish with rice-milk, and some herbs, dressed after the way of the *Benjans*, which *Kisna* seeing, he told her, He could not eat it, unless these things were all mixed together, which she did accordingly; but *Kisna* tasting it, desired her to separate them again; his mother answering him, That it was not in human power so to do, he laid his hand over the dish, and separated them immediately, to the astonishment of his parents.

His father being a *Brakman* of the cowherds, maintained his family by breeding of cattle; which, since the bringing of *Kisna* into the house, was increased to nine hundred thousand.

His mother being one time busy in

churning, he asked her for a little butter: *Baldæus.* she gave him a little, but not thinking that enough, he asked for more, which she refusing, he took the opportunity whilst she was gone out of the way, to take away some. His mother returning, asked *Kisna*, What was become of the butter? He answered, That the cats and rats had eat it. But the mother not thus satisfied, looked into *Kisna's* mouth, where she had a view of the whole world with its waters, forests, mountains, &c. inclosed in a blue circle. The mother astonished at so strange a spectacle, yet soon recovered herself, when she saw *Kisna* return to his childish shape and game again; so taking up a twig, threatened to strike him; but he running out of the town, she pursued him; but not being able to overtake him, he stood still at last, when she gave him three or four blows, urging him still to tell her what was become of the butter; he persisted in his former story, that the cats and rats had eaten it. She took all the ropes belonging to the hundred and ninety nine thousand cows, endeavouring to tie them together in knots; but notwithstanding all her endeavours, the knots would not tie, till *Kisna* finding her much out of humour at this disappointment, he permitted the ropes to be knotted, and himself to be tied with the ropes; but his mother finding him cry bitterly, she released him soon after.

Another time his mother being gone to milk the cows, ordered him to hold a stick in his hand, to make the cows stand still whilst she was a milking; but finding she had left her brass vessel, wherein she used to gather her milk, behind, and not daring to send *Kisna*, he told her, He would soon find a way to fetch the vessel, without stirring from the place, and so extending one of his arms so far as to reach the vessel, he gave it to his mother, and so reassumed the shape of a child.

In the mean while *Ragia Kans* being informed that the inhabitants of *Goggel* increased considerably in riches, (for *Kisna's* sake,) he ordered his governor to load them with heavy taxes; which being done accordingly, with the utmost severity, they advised with *Kisna*, whether they had not best remove with their cattle to the fertile valleys of the mountain of *Perwet*. *Kisna* approving their proposition, persuaded his parents to do the same; so that they transported all their moveables and cattle, to the most fertile valleys about the mount *Perwet*, or *Ooden Perwet*, near the river *Siemmena*. Here they fixed their habitations in a certain

*Baldæus*. certain village, called *Brindawink*, seated in the midst of most pleasant pasturages, planted with trees, and so abounding in grafs, that those vast herds of cattle were not able to consume it. *Kisna* was so

well pleased with the place, that he clad himself after their fashion, with a garland of peacocks feathers upon his woollen cap, and a flute to play away the rest of the cowherds.

C H A P. VI.

*Further Designs of Ragia Kans against Kisna by the means of certain Giants. Raja Inder and Bramma. Kisna produces a Pearl-Tree, and is made a King of the Cowherds.*

**R**agia Kans, highly exasperated at this removal of his subjects, summoned a certain giant, named *Bacassar*; who having the virtue of transforming himself into a hern, he sent him to carry away *Kisna*; which he did accordingly; and having carried him up into the air, endeavoured to swallow him; but *Kisna* transforming himself into a fiery flame, burnt the hern to ashes, and he returned to his parents, without receiving the least harm. The news thereof having soon reached the ears of *Ragia Kans*, he sent another giant, named *Wickeraak*, who transforming himself into the shape of a boy, came to *Kisna* as he was looking after the cattle in the field, and engaged in a wrestling match among the other boys, not questioning by this means but to draw *Kisna* into the game, and so make an end of him; but *Kisna* (who was not ignorant of his design) challenged him; and as they were wrestling, gave him such a kick upon his breast, that he tumbled down dead upon the spot.

*Ragia Kans* finding himself once more disappointed in his aim, sent the dreadful giant *Agasor*, whose entrails were all fire. This giant having laid himself close to the cowherds huts, opened his dreadful jaws, so that the uppermost reached up to the skies, his teeth representing like coco-trees, and his throat like the entrance of the huts. *Kisna* knowing the deceit, drove his cattle to his own stables, but the rest went straitways with their cattle into the giant's throat; which the giant no sooner perceived, but he shut his teeth, so that the poor wretches finding themselves in the midst of fire and flames, applied themselves to *Kisna*, who was got among them on purpose to make himself an instrument of their deliverance. He bid them not to despair; and then extending himself with all his might, made the giant to burst in pieces, and thus opened a passage for the rest to escape the flames.

This miraculous deliverance being soon spread all over the neighbouring coun-

try, *Ragia Kans* intreated the giant *Dawanneel* (who had the power of transmuting himself into a flame) to destroy *Kisna*. Accordingly he came to the place where *Kisna* and his companions were feeding the cattle, and setting all (not excepting even the trees and grafs) into a light flame, the cowherds fled to *Kisna* (who was at some distance) for help, which he promised them in an instant; and so advancing towards the giant, took and held him round the middle, till he forced him to swallow all the fire again.

*Ragia Kans*, almost reduced to despair, had recourse to the giant *Kasep*; who having assumed the shape of an afs of a prodigious bigness, advanced towards the cowherds, with a dreadful countenance; who being terrified at so dreadful an aspect, left *Kisna* alone, who was so far from being surprized at this monstrous sight, that he laid by his pipe, and advancing towards the afs, who came open-mouthed upon him, endeavoured to take him by one of his hindermost heels; but the afs gave him so terrible a kick with his foot, that he threw him eight or ten yards high into the air. *Kisna* finding himself thus roughly handled, thought fit to assume the shape of a giant, and so taking the afs by the hinder leg, did swing him three or four times about his head, and then throwing him against the ground, squeezed the breath out of his body.

The god *Bramma* being not ignorant of what had passed, and curious to know whether *Kisna* was not endowed with some divine virtue, took his opportunity, and carried off all the cattle belonging to *Kisna* and the other cowherds; who running to *Kisna*, and imploring his assistance, he bid them shut their eyes, which they had no sooner done, but he produced the same number of cattle they had lost. *Bramma* came about a year after, and brought back all the cattle, asking his pardon for what was past. *Kisna* told *Bramma*, That he had better keep within his own bounds; and causing

*Baldeus*. the cattle he had produced, to vanish immediately, he kept them brought back by *Bramma*.

Another time, all the cattle just after they had been drinking about noon out of the river *Siemmena*, fell dead on a sudden upon the ground. *Kisna* surprized at this accident, and knowing that *Garroude* having lately dislodged the monstrous serpent *Kallinaegb* from her dam, called *Rammene Drepek*, he shrewdly suspected that she had taken to this river, and infected the same with her venom; then getting upon a palm-tree, he assumed his white and black skin, and two more arms and hands; and sending for *Garroude*, ordered him to go to *Bramma*, and to demand of him the things taken out of the sea in the times of *Couram*, and left in his custody till his return. *Garroude* hastening to *Bramma*, brought back to *Kisna* the *Chianko*, or horn, the beauteous woman *Lekfemy*, and the jewel *Consenkmany*. This done, he took the horn in one hand, a piece of iron in the second, another weapon in the third, and a flower in the fourth hand. Thus equipped, he leaped into the river, in the presence of his companions, and diving to the bottom, met with the wife of some of the attendants belonging to the serpent *Kallinaegb*, who asked him what had brought him thither, forewarning him to retreat in time, before he should be seen by the serpent, which questionless would devour him in an instant. *Kisna* replied, That being come on purpose to find out the serpent, he desired he might be shewed him; which they refusing to do, he turned his eyes on all sides, and at last espying the serpent, he awakened him out of his sleep, bidding him to leave this river, unless he would pay for it with death. The serpent *Kallinaegb* swelling with rage, flew upon *Kisna*, and beat him backwards; but he recovering himself, squeezed the serpent's head to that degree, that not knowing what to do, he twisted himself about his body; but *Kisna* increased the bulk of his body in such a manner, that the serpent, ready to burst, was forced to let go his hold, being ready to drop down dead for want of strength. *Kisna* then got on the top of his neck, and putting an awl through his nostrils, rid upon him as if he had been on horseback. The wife and attendants of the serpent finding him quite out of breath, intreated *Kisna* to spare his life, promising to quit the river immediately. But *Kallinaegb*, not willing to consent to what they had offered, still endeavoured to get rid of *Kisna*; but finding all his endeavours in vain, and that *Kis-*

w

*na's* body increased every minute in *Baldeus*. weight, he was glad to approve of what had been offered by his wife. *Kisna* having pardoned his offence, told him, That he would double his strength, (because he had been engaged against a god,) and that *Garroude* should not any more disturb him in his den, provided he would leave this river, and for the future never hurt either men or beasts.

The serpent, with his wife and attendants, having paid their reverence three times to *Kisna*, left the river *Siemmena*; and *Kisna* arising on a sudden above the surface of the water, reassumed his own shape, and coming ashore, blew his horn, by the sound whereof all the cattle were in an instant restored to life.

All these miracles wrought by *Kisna* had such an influence upon the cowherds, that they consulted all possible means to pay him due reverence. One among the rest told him, You know that *Raja Inder*, the king of heavens, and the blessed souls, keeps an annual feast in the mountain of *Ooden Perwet*, with the believers; and since we have no less obligations to *Kisna*, let us make also a feast to his honour, and invite him to the said mountain. This being approved of by a general consent, they prepared a most splendid feast; which they celebrated with such demonstrations of joy, that the noise thereof coming to *Inder's* ears, and looking upon it with a jealous eye, called together the rains, (disposed in twelve peculiar places,) ordering them to pour down their waters upon the fields and cottages of these cowherds. They were ready to obey, and poured forth such prodigious showers of rain, that the fields being all laid under water, men and beasts were upon the point of being drowned. The cowherds highly surprized at the oddness of the thing, (it being in the dry *Mousson*,) had once more recourse to *Kisna*, who ordered them to get up to the top of the mount *Ooden Perwet*, till the rains ceased; and they had no sooner obeyed his orders, but he took the whole mountain, with cattle, men, and all upon his little finger, and lifted them up seven times higher than the waters could rise.

The rains finding their endeavours frustrated, returned to *Inder*, and told him, That they had poured down their waters seven days and nights without intermission, but in vain, there being a certain person in those parts who could lift the whole mountain with his little finger into the air. *Raja Inder* then perceiving his error, came to *Kisna* to make his excuse, and dismounting from his elephant,

*Baldæus.* phant, begged forgiveness for having attempted any thing against him, pleading his ignorance, and as a token of his repentance, presented him with the *Camdogga*, or cow of plenty; which *Kisna* was pleased to accept of, and pardoned his fault.

Not long after, *Kisna* coming home one day, found his mother busy in putting some pearls on a string; he asked her from what tree she had gathered them; but she answering, That she never knew pearls to grow on trees, but only in oyster-shells; *Kisna* took one of the biggest, which he had no sooner put into the ground, but they saw a pearl-tree sprout forth full of the most exquisite pearls. The mother standing amazed, and ready to worship him, he caused the tree to vanish immediately.

*Kisna produces a pearl-tree.*

Soon after some of the cow-herds and their wives, as they were walking in the forest, agreed to wash themselves in the river; *Kisna* espying them at a distance, secretly got all their clothes, and getting upon an adjacent palm-tree, had his sport to see them coming naked out of the water, without being able to find their clothes. They were not a little surprized at first, but looking up, and seeing *Kisna* in the palm-tree, they desired him to restore their clothes; which, he told them, (to try the modesty of the women,) he would, provided they would come underneath the tree; but they excusing the matter, he threw the women their clothes.

*Makes sport with the women.*

*Is chosen king.*

At a certain time, *Kisna* taking a walk with the other cow-herds, they chose him their king; and every one had his place assigned him under the new king. There lived among them a certain charitable *Brakman*, whose wife (without the knowledge of her husband) paid her daily devotions to *Kisna*; who sent two of his messengers to let her know, that being disposed to make merry at her house with some of his companions, she should provide something for their entertainment. The messengers meeting with the *Brakman*, told him the message; who told them, That he knew nothing of *Kisna*, neither would he make any entertainment for him. With this answer they returned to *Kisna*; who chiding them for their mistake, bid them speak to the woman; which being done accordingly, she no sooner heard the name of *Kisna*, but

making a low reverence, to work the *Baldæus.* went; and having dressed five or six good dishes with a handsome desert, she carried them herself to *Kisna*, begging him to accept of what she was unworthy to offer; which he did, and gave her his blessing, That as long as she lived, she should want for nothing, and that after her decease, her soul should not transmigrate\* into another body, but that being purified by him, she should go directly to heaven.

\* These pagans look upon it as a singular blessing when their souls are not to enter into other bodies.

*Kisna* with his companions having feasted plentifully upon what the *Brakman's* wife had brought them, as they were returning home, met with some milk-maids, unto whom *Kisna* told, That they must not pass by without paying toll to him, who was king of the place. The maids not thinking he had been in earnest, went on their ways; but *Kisna* with his stick breaking their milk-vessels, one of them was so exasperated thereat, that she made complaint thereof to his mother; who calling him to an account for this outrage, he denied the matter; but his mother believing the contrary, told him, That he had broken the peace, and that if it should come to *Ragia's* ear, he might be punished for it. He replied, I did not know I had done them any wrong; but as for *Ragia Kans's* anger, I don't fear it, though he knew it to-morrow.

It happened not long after, That in a certain moon-shiny night, in the month *Alsoor*, (in which begins the new year,) *Kisna* with some of his companions were diverting themselves with their pipes in an adjacent wood; and *Kisna*, especially, played so charmingly upon his flute, that the women in the village being awakened by the sound of this harmony, came running into the wood to partake of their diversions. *Kisna* asked them, whether they were not afraid to come into the wood at that time of night? They answered, That their ears and hearts had been so touched with his melodious harmony, that they were not able to stay at home: so *Kisna* gave them a tune or two, which so surprized them, that most of them stood amazed, gazing all the while at his beauty, whilst others passed their time in dancing. This they continued till midnight, when having bestowed his blessing upon the women, he sent them home, he and his companions passing their time in the same jollities all night till break of day.

## C H A P. VII.

*A further Account of the Designs of Ragia Kans; who is killed at last by Kifna. New Decrees against Kifna, which prove ineffectual. His other Miracles.*

*Baldæus.* **R**agia Kans, being more and more alarmed at these miracles, sent for his chief minister, named *Panjewello*, and his two chief generals, named *Sianoor* and *Mostik*, to consult with them, how to rid his hands of *Kifna*. *Panjewello* told him, that all clandestine means having proved to no purpose hitherto, he knew no other way than to engage the strongest of all the giants, (named *Keby*) against him.

*Ragia* approving his advice, sent accordingly the said giant, who meeting with *Kifna*, asked him, where he was going. Where I please, replied *Kifna*. Ho ho, answered the giant *Keby*, I will take care of that; and so was going to lay his great paws upon him. But *Kifna* taking him by the throat, did not let go his hold till he had squeezed the breath out of his body; which done, *Kifna* put his hand into his throat, and pulling his heart out, first laid it upon his mouth, and afterwards threw it to the ravens.

*Ragia Kans* being now put to the last shift, a certain *Brakman*, named *Naret*, advised the king to invite *Kifna* with his followers to a feast, and so to have him killed at table. *Ragia* approving his counsel, sent messengers to invite them accordingly; but they were so far from granting their request, that they desired *Kifna's* parents not to let him go; who with tears in their eyes, begged him to stay at home. But *Kifna* refusing to hearken to their advice, ordered his chariot to be got ready; and taking his father, his eldest brother, and mother, along with him, went forward to *Goggel*, upon the river *Siemmena*, opposite to *Mottera*.

Here it was that *Akerøer*, one of the king's messengers, bathing himself in the river, and diving three times successively (after the manner of the *Benjans*) saw *Kifna* under water, seated upon his throne; which apparition being seen by him again in the same state above water, he could not forbear to break out into these words: *O holy Kifna! thou beest truly god in human shape, because thou appearest both under and above water; a sign thou beest present in all places, a quality belonging only to the gods! pardon me for having invited thee to this feast.* *Kifna* told him, he was sensible it was not his fault, and dined with him the same day

in a garden *Akerøer* had just near the bank of the river. *Baldæus.*

After dinner they passed the river, but had not gone far before they met the king's washerman with a pack of clothes on his back: some of the company of *Kifna* having a mind to divert themselves, pushed one another against the washerman, who giving them foul language, *Kifna* bid his companions to thresh him handsomely, which they did.

*Ragia Kans* exasperated to the highest degree at this usage of his servant, resolved to declare open enmity against *Kifna*. Not long after *Kifna* meeting upon the road a barber, he presented him (according to the custom of that country) a looking-glass to look in, and paired his nails; the barbers in the eastern countries always pairing the nails on the hands and toes, after they have shaved the beard. *Kifna* gave him his blessing, telling him, That his soul should directly go to god, without being transplanted into another body.

As they were entering the city, they were met by a gardiner's wife, who used to serve *Ragia Kans* with flowers: this woman prostrating herself at *Kifna's* feet, said, *O divine man! having never seen any thing so beautiful as thy self, I offer to thee these flowers designed for Ragia Kans, thinking myself much more obliged to your divinity than his majesty, entreating thee not to despise my cottage, but to take up thy lodging there for this night.* Then presenting *Kifna* with a garland of flowers, he took up his lodgings in the house, being welcomed by the husband in the most devout manner in the world, who declared himself unworthy of receiving so great a guest, and served *Kifna* and his company at table; who at parting, bestowed his blessing upon him, *viz.* That they should never want, and their souls go directly to heaven.

Being advanced a little further, they met a poor cripple, or lame woman, having a vessel filled with spices, sweet-scented oils, sandal-wood, saffron, civet, and other perfumes. *Kifna* making a halt, she made a certain sign with her finger on his forehead, casting the rest upon his head. *Kifna* asking her what it was she would ask him. The woman replied,



*Baldæus.* *Kisna* then setting his foot upon hers, and taking her by the hand, raised her from the ground, and not only restored her limbs, but also renewed her age; so that instead of a wrinkly tawny skin, she got a fresh and fair one in an instant. At her request *Kisna* and his company lodged the following night in her house.

*Kisna breaks the strong bow of Mottera.*

The next following day *Kisna* and his company walking through the streets of *Mottera*, they were shewed the strong bow, which none of the giants had been able to manage; but *Kisna* broke the string of it at the first pull. Thence they walked towards the court, where the courtiers were expecting the coming of the king: these seeing a whole troop of country fellows, would not allow them entrance into the court; but pushing *Kisna* back roughly, he struck ten of them, (among whom were two colonels) down to the ground, so that they expired at his feet, and their souls were conveyed immediately to heaven, a favour he bestowed upon the souls of all such as were slain by his hands.

*Kills ten courtiers.*

*Ragia Kans* being informed of all these transactions, and almost reduced to despair, ordered a turret to be erected upon the back of an elephant, furnished with two warlike engines, to be managed by as many men. He ordered the guide of the elephant, that as soon as he saw *Kisna* coming to the castle, he should send out the elephant to trample him under feet, or else endeavour to kill him by the means of the engines.

*Kills an elephant.*

The following day *Kisna* going towards the court, the guides set loose the elephant upon him; but *Kisna* not only stopp'd him in his full career, but also putting his foot against his trunk, pulled out both of his teeth; afterwards seizing him by the tail, swung him three or four times round his head, and then dashed his head against the stones. *Ragia* now finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and enraged with anger, addressed himself to his two renowned generals *Kansjamdoor* and *Moftik*, telling them, That since they had eaten his bread so many years, it was now time to shew their fidelity and bravery, and to deliver him from his mortal enemy.

*Kills two generals.*

Accordingly they having sent a challenge to *Kisna*, he appeared at the appointed time and place, where a most fierce combat ensued, which remained dubious for three hours; till at last *Kisna* threw them (one after another) with such a prodigious force to the ground, that the blood, and with it their souls, gushed out of their mouths.

During the combat *Ragia Kans* hap-

*Baldæus.* pening to look over the wall of the castle, no sooner saw *Kisna*, but he thought he heard a voice telling him, that he was the person who should at once take away his life and his crown. He was scarce returned into his apartment, when news being brought him of the death of his two generals, he commanded every one to betake themselves to their arms, to fight against *Kisna*, offering a great reward to any that could deliver him up into his hands, either dead or alive. Accordingly the whole city rose in arms, and engaged *Kisna* without the castle gates; but were not able to conquer this invincible hero.

*Routs a whole body of men.*

For *Ragia Kans*, having in the mean while ordered *Kisna's* parents to be whipped with *Siambokken*, or brags scourges, in his presence, *Kisna* (according to his omniscency) being not ignorant of the matter, leaped over the wall into the palace; where finding *Ragia Kans* sitting upon his throne, he got hold of his head, and pressed it to the ground, till he broke his neck, and to consummate the matter, gave him three or four terrible blows, which beat out his brains.

*Kills Ragia Kans.*

The next thing he did, was to send his eldest brother to deliver their parents from their captivity, who finding the guards fled, brought them to *Kisna*, where they received one another with mutual embraces, *Kisna* declaring his sorrow for their sufferings upon his account, and these declaring themselves amply rewarded with the sight of his person. *Kisna* having put *Ongefeen Ragia Kans's* father in his stead, returned with his parents, brothers, and companions to their usual habitations; where he put himself under the tuition of a certain learned *Brakman*, having chosen a certain poor scholar named *Sedamma* for his attendant at school, to carry his books and writings.

*Kisna under the tuition of a Brahman.*

There lived at that time at *Mottera* a certain merchant, a relation of *Kisna's* mother, whose daughter called *Conta*, being married to *Ragia Dandon*, king of *Estenapour*, had brought forth five sons; the first-born whereof his father had obtained by his prayers to *Inder* the king of the celestial spirits, the second from *Bramma*, the third from the wind, and the two last from the famous hero *Essonocomaer*.

The five brothers did at a certain time undertake a journey with their mother to *Mottera*, to visit their grandfather, where they contracted something of acquaintance with *Kisna*, and frequently revered him. About the same time, the women of *Goggel*, and of the village inhabited by the cowherds, were very earnest

*Baldæus.* In their solicitations for *Kisna's* return, without which they said, they neither could, nor would eat or drink.

In the mean while, the five brothers having received the unwelcome news of their father's illness, were forced to return to *Eftenapour*; and the fatal exit of *Ragia Kans*, and so many of his giants, being come to the ears of *Jerasjanda*, his brother-in-law, he resolved to revenge the same to the utmost of his power. Accordingly having gathered a body of ninety five thousand chosen horse, he laid siege to *Mottera*; but *Kisna* having by his frequent sallies quite ruined his army, took him prisoner at last; but knowing that he had by his constant prayers obtained from *Bramma*, that he should live one hundred years, and at last be killed by one *Rhim*; he released his prisoner, who having soon gathered another army, besieged *Mottera* a second time, and was worsted again as before by *Kisna*. The same he continued to do sixteen times, till all his people being slain in the wars; he passed through all the corners of the world to raise new forces, and meeting with the famous giant *Sialinder*, he put him at the head of his forces, and so forced the siege of *Mottera* a seventeenth time.

*Jerasjanda*  
ref. lves to  
revenge  
*Ragia*  
*Kans's*  
death.

Is sixteen  
times wor-  
sted by  
*Kisna*.

The situation of *Kisna's* house, was such as to be plainly discovered in the camp, as from thence he had a full prospect of their army. *Kisna* having posted his brother at the entrance of his house, he happened to be seen by the enemies general, who mistaking him for *Kisna*, advanced towards the house: *Kisna*, who saw him coming at a distance, considering with himself, that in case he should fall by his hands, his soul must go straitways to heaven, (a favour he thought him unworthy of,) run out of the back-door, making the best of his way to a cave of a certain *Brakman*, about four *Cos* from *Mottera*; this man had by his continued prayers obtained from *Bramma*, that if any one should disturb him in his devotions, the same should be consumed to ashes. *Kisna* being not ignorant of this, and seeing his adversary pursuing him, entered the said cave, and throwing a piece of cloth over the *Brakman's* head, sheltered himself behind it. The giant who followed his footsteps, soon after entered the cave, and finding the *Brakman* covered with a piece of cloth, gave him two or three sound boxes on the ear, telling him, That he should take that as a reward for his care in hiding *Kisna* in his cave. *Retreat, retreat*, said the *Brakman*, *before I uncover my face, unless thou wilt be consumed by fire.*

Then taking away the cloth, the giant was immediately in a flame, and burnt to ashes. *Kisna* returned to *Mottera*, and having routed *Ragia Kans* brother's forces, he took him prisoner; but in respect of *Bramma's* promise, dismissed him soon after.

*Kisna* in the mean while considering that *Jerasjanda* was to live one hundred years, and that consequently he would not lay aside his designs against *Mottera*, it happened that *Wissuckre*, the son of *Bramma*, being come from heaven to give *Kisna* a visit, and asking him what it was he would request of him? He answered, Build me a city in all respects like that of *Mottera*; which he did accordingly, the same night in an adjacent island, being altogether like that of *Mottera*; except that this was of gold instead of stone. *Kisna* being informed thereof by *Wissuckre* himself, over-whelmed the inhabitants of *Mottera* with so heavy a sleep, that (unknown to them) he carried them with all their cattle, and *Ragia Ongefeen* their king to this new city, unto which he gave the name of *Davarca*; leaving *Sedamma* his old school-fellow and attendant behind him in a certain village, which since has got the name *Sedamma-poer*; which done, he returned with his brother to *Mottera*.

Another  
miracle of  
*Kisna*.

By this time the giant *Sialinder*, having gathered a vast army, sat down before *Mottera*; but *Kisna* and his brother after having killed a great number of the enemy, feigning a retreat, were pursued by *Sialinder's* forces, till coming to a high mountain, they vanished, and retired to the city *Davarca*; and *Sialinder* being thereby become master of *Mottera*, settled his residence there.

In the mean while *Kisna's* school-fellow being married, was grown so poor, that he was forced to sell his clothes to buy victuals. Being almost reduced to despair, his wife advised him to take a journey to his old school-fellow *Kisna*, who, she did not question, would commiserate his condition. How is this possible, replied the husband, being quite naked, and not fit to appear before any body? *Kisna*, answered the wife, does not despise the poor; go, and take a handful of *Kam*\* along with thee for a present.

\* A certain  
seed.

The husband followed his wife's advice, and went to *Davarca*; who was no sooner entered the street where *Kisna* lived, but being discovered by him from a window, he came out to meet and embrace him; and carrying him into his house, ordered him to be washed, and provided with new clothes. *Kisna* asked him, whether

*Baldæus.* whether he had brought him any presents. *Being a poor man,* replied *Sedamma,* I had nothing to give but this; which my wife sent to thee, in hopes that the gods would not refuse the meanest present. *Kisna* received it kindly, and put it in a corner of a cottage belonging to one of his neighbours; and at the same instant *Sedamma's* cottage was turned into a spacious palace: his wife was much surprized at this change; but imagining that it was done by *Kisna,* she searched all the corners of the house, and wherever she turned her face, found such a vast quantity of gold and silver, and of *Ropias,* that she had sufficient, wherewithal to provide herself with servants, provisions, and every thing in proportion, to the grandeur of her palace. *Sedamma* being ignorant of what had happened, returned full of melancholy from *Kisna,* ruminating upon the road, whether he had not best leave his wife and children; but soon recollecting him-

self, that he ought not to lay the whole *Baldæus.* burthen upon his wife's shoulders, and despair of God's mercy, he made the best of his way homeward; but approaching the village, he was amazed to see the change that had happened since his departure, which made him suspect he had missed his way; but finding by some undeniable circumstances that he was in the right, he went into the village, where finding, instead of a cottage of straw, a royal palace, he stood astonished, not knowing which way to turn, till being discovered by his wife out of a window, she sent one of the servants to desire him to enter; which he did; and being kindly received by his wife and children, he asked the exact time of this sudden change; which happening (as far as they could guess) precisely at the same time he presented the seed, they paid their devotions to *Kisna,* distributed alms among the poor, and lived in great plenty for a long time after.

CHAP. VIII.

*A King's Daughter in love with Kisna; sends him word of it. Kisna delivers sixteen thousand royal Virgins, and cures the Leprosy.*

Sometime after *Ragia Bhiemeck,* king of *Poerep,* had a son and daughter born him, the first named *Rockemeya,* the other *Rockemy,* who being grown up, the father was very desirous to have his daughter well matched before his death. Among others he consulted with upon this matter, there was a certain *Brahman,* named *Naret,* much celebrated for his wisdom and learning, who being desired by the king to inspect his daughter's hands, and to foretel him by the art of chiromancy who should be her husband, *Naret* having taken a full view of the lineaments of her right-hand, told her, *Blessed virgin! who beest ordained to be the spouse of the holy Kisna.* The father rejoiced thereat to the highest degree, told this good news to his son; who being of a contrary sentiment, replied, *That he would never suffer so beautiful a creature to be married to a country clown.*

*Rockemy*  
*designed*  
*for Kisna.*

It is to be observed, that the soul of *Sytba,* *Ram's* spouse, being transplanted into the body of this virgin, in order to be espoused to *Kisna,* this young lady was not insensible thereof; for which reason she had resolved to think of no body else but *Kisna;* which her brother being resolved to prevent, he sent to the giant,

*Is opposed*  
*by her bro-*  
*ther.*

the king of *Mottera,* that in case he was inclined to marry his sister, he should come with all speed, his father intending to marry her to *Kisna.* The giant, ravished at this joyful news, ordered a most magnificent equipage of elephants, camels, horses, oxen, and chariots, to be got ready, and attended with trumpets, hautboys, kettledrums, and other musical instruments, and a numerous retinue, set out from *Mottera.*

No sooner were they come within two days journey to *Rockemy's* father's residence, when she, not knowing what to do in this exigency, thought fit to give notice thereof to *Kisna* by a letter, which she ordered one of her servants to deliver to the first *Brahman* she met, in order to carry it to *Kisna;* the contents whereof were as follows:

“ **H**OLY *Kisna!* worthy to be be-  
 “ *Rockemy*  
 “ loved of me and all the world; *my'sister*  
 “ being resolved to be no body's, but only *to Kisna.*  
 “ yours as long as I have breath to draw,  
 “ I thought fit to let you know, that my  
 “ old father likewise wishes nothing more  
 “ than to see that happy day; but my  
 “ brother, who has more ambition than  
 “ piety, having sent for the giant of  
 “ *Mottera* to marry me, and being come  
 “ within

*Baldæus.* "within two days journey of our residence, I desire you to provide against their attempts, nothing being able to resist your divine power."

Your Highness's always devoted,

ROCHEMY.

The servant having brought a *Brahman* to the princess, she, by a present of a golden dish filled with *Ropias*, and a promise of more if he performed his errand, engaged him to undertake the task. Accordingly he went full speed for five *Cos*, when being somewhat tired he sat down under a shady tree, to refresh himself with a draught of cool water, and falling asleep, was carried by *Kisna* to *Davarca*. The *Brahman* awaking out of his sleep, and finding himself at *Davarca*, soon guessed the truth; and going straight to *Kisna's* house, delivered the letter at his feet. *Kisna* had no sooner read the letter, but assuming the shape of a man with four arms, and taking his bow and arrow, he got upon his cow with the *Brahman*, and so set out on their journey from *Davarca*.

In the mean time the giant approaching to the residence of his pretended spouse, was met by her brother, and conducted into the palace; and *Kisna* arriving soon after near the city, rested himself under the shade of a tree, near a pagode, whence he sent the *Brahman* to *Rochemy*; to give notice of his arrival; who rewarded him with vast presents for his fidelity.

*Rochemy* knowing that her brother was in the evening to make a cavalcade with her pretended bridegroom through the city, (according to the custom of the *Benjans*;) she resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to escape their hands: for this purpose, she entreated her father, That being now arrived to the age of nine years, she might offer her sacrifice to the goddess *Robani*. The father having granted her request, she took a dish full of pearls, and with two of her attendants went towards the pagode, whither her pretended bridegroom and her brother would needs accompany her, but staid without the temple whilst she performed her sacrifice; which done, she came out of the temple near the door, where she knew *Kisna* had placed himself; who no sooner saw her appear, but he took her up and carried her away.

*Rochemy delivered by Kisna.*

At the outcry of the maids, the pretended bridegroom came with his whole attendants to snatch her from him; but *Kisna* received them so courageously with

his bow and arrows, that they were forced to retreat with the loss of several thousands of their best men. *Rochemy's* brother seeing the bridegroom defeated, would nevertheless try his strength with *Kisna*, and coming up with him, was going to cleave his head with his scymetar; but *Kisna* having disarmed him, threw him upon the ground, and after having given him some blows, tied him neck and heels together under his cart, and so made his entry into *Davarca*, where he was received with all imaginable demonstrations of joy. *Rochemy's* brother was released at her request; and *Kisna* consummated his marriage with great pomp in the city of *Davarca*.

Some time after it happened, That a very strong elephant being seized by a crocodile, in a certain cistern or pond, where the elephants used to drink, a furious combat ensued, which put all the elephants that were spectators thereof into no small confusion. At last, seeing they were not able to assist their companions, and pressed with hunger, they went away, and left the poor elephant in the lurch. He seeing himself thus destitute, kept on struggling with the crocodile, sending up at the same time his prayers to *Vishnum*, to deliver him from the jaws of the crocodile.

But it being then the time of *Kisna's* <sup>leaving an elephant from a crocodile.</sup> *Kisna* appearing upon earth, he heard his prayers after twenty days, and sending for *Garroude* to carry him immediately to the pond, he threw his weapon at the crocodile, and cutting off his neck, released the elephant; who kneeling before *Kisna*, he told him, he should ask what he pleased, and it should be granted him. Nothing, replied the elephant, but that I may go immediately to heaven, being quite weary of this world. *Kisna* granting his request, took him into his *Palaukin*, or litter, and carrying him to heaven, ordered *Garroude* to convey him immediately back to *Davarca*.

About the same time one *Ragia Boettaenpat* having two wives, named *Somuta* and *Surisa*, the first brought forth a son named *Droe*, and the other one named *Rasapoeter*: but *Surisa* being most beloved by her husband, *Somuta*, when her son *Droe* was about five years of age, sent him very neatly dressed to pay his respect to his father; who being extremely delighted with him, highly caressed, and set him in his lap. *Surisa* having got notice thereof, sent immediately her son to the king, whilst she remained at some distance to observe what passed. But the king being so much taken with *Droe*, that he scarce looked at the other, *Surisa*

*Baldæus* entered the room, and upbraiding him with ingratitude, made him send away *Droe*, and take her son in his lap.

*Droe* exasperated to the highest degree at this affront, went away without making his reverence; and making his complaint to his mother, told her, That he was resolved to retire into a desert, to spend his time in prayers. The mother did all she could to dissuade him from it, but in vain; for taking the next opportunity of his mother's absence, he got privately out of the house. He had scarce travelled two *Cos* from the city, when being met by the learned *Brabman Naret*, he asked him whither he was going? He answered, As young as I am, I have taken a resolution to retire from the world, where I find there remains nothing but malice and envy: then relating all that happened to him, he told him, That he was resolved to pass his days in the desert.

Go on my son, replied *Naret*, thou wilt be heard by *Kisna*. Then going forward, he came to a forest, where seeing a mango-tree, he reposed himself under its shade, and spent three days and nights in tears, prayers, and fasting. *Kisna* moved with compassion at his tender age, appeared to him, asking what made him pray with so much fervency? *Droe* prostrating himself at the feet of *Kisna*, said, O divine *Kisna*! my request to thee is, That the affront given me by *Surisa* may turn upon their heads; that she may be a slave to my mother; that I may succeed my father in the kingdom; and after my death, be placed in some pleasant place you shall choose for me.

*Kisna* answered, Thy prayer is granted. Go, return to thy parents, *Surisa* shall live a slave to thy mother; thou shalt succeed thy father in the throne; and after thy death, I will place thee in the heavens in the form of a star, that shall remain for ever in the firmament, and serve the mariners for a guide. *Droe* having paid his reverence to *Kisna*, returned full of joy to his father's palace. The old king, who had been almost distracted at his absence, received him with more than ordinary satisfaction; and for ever after shewed so much affection to his mother, that *Surisa* was, in comparison of her, no more than a slave; and after some years surrendered the kingdom to him. He ruled very fortunately for many years; and after his death, was placed among the stars, being the same the *Benjans* call to this day *Droe Katara*, i. e. *Stella Polar*, or the *North-Star*.

It happened some time after, That *Ragia Nerkafeur*, a most potent monarch, having conquered sixteen thousand kings,

kept them close prisoners with their wives *Baldæus* and daughters: these offered their constant prayers to *Kisna* for their delivery from this oppression. *Kisna* considering, that they having spent these three years in prayer, it would be high time to deliver them, sent for *Garroude*, whom he ordered to carry him to *Nietskanda*; where he was no sooner arrived, but he told the king *Nerkafeur*, That unless he released the royal captives, he must pay for it with his head. The king answering *Kisna* with threats, they prepared both sides for a combat: for *Kisna* having killed those that were sent against him, the king himself, at the head of a strong troop, attacked *Kisna* with great fury, who killed every man of them except the *Ragia*, who, persisting in his obstinacy, had at last his head cut off by *Kisna*; who released all the prisoners in an instant, and among them, sixteen thousand royal virgins, who prostrating themselves at his feet, he gave them leave to return to their parents, or where else they pleased: but they desired to stay with him, imploring his protection; which being granted by *Kisna*, he carried them to *Devarca*, where he built a seraglio for their reception, wherein each lady had her own apartment.

In the country of *Amaramo*, lived a certain zealous *Ragia*, named *Amarich*; who having published a general fast by beat of drum, (according to the custom of that country,) the same was observed with the utmost strictness. It happened, that the *Brabman Doerwassa* passing that way the same day, he was invited by the said king to stay there till the next day after the fast-day.

The *Brabman* complying with the king's request, he sent for some of his chief *Brabmans*, to know the exact hour when they might begin to eat. These having consulted their books, and told the king, that the just time would be two hours after sun-rising, he invited the before-mentioned *Brabman* against that time to a collation. But the *Brabman* missing the appointed hour, the king went to the river to wash himself; but finding after his return, that the *Brabman* was not come yet, he advised with four of his *Brabmans*, what was best to be done; who told him, That if he let slip this lucky hour, all his fasting would avail him nothing, advising him at the same time to take only a little water, and a leaf of the tully-tree, till the *Brabman* should come.

This *Brabman Doerwassa* having a prophetick spirit, was not ignorant that the king had eaten something in his absence,

*Droe*, or  
the *North-  
Star*.

*Baldæus*, and therefore went to the king, asking him, why he had put such an affront upon him. The *Ragia* was for excusing the matter, but to no purpose; for the *Brahman* going out of the doors, gave him this curse, That he might from head to foot be covered with boils, and the leprosy; which being fulfilled in an instant upon the unfortunate king, he prayed to *Kisna* to deliver him from this evil; but in vain, his evil increasing every day; so at last being quite tired with life, he resolved to put a period to it by fire. Every thing being got in readiness for this purpose, *Kisna* appeared to him, asking, what was his request. He replied, to be freed from my distemper. *Kisna* cured him not only of his leprosy,

*Kisna cures  
the leprosy.*

but also turned the same into a fiery wheel; which following the *Brahman Doerwassa* wherever he went, put him into such a fright, that he offered his prayers to *Ragia Inder*, to deliver him of this fire; but *Ragia Inder*, telling him, That he must apply himself to him who was the author thereof, he made his applications to *Bramma*; from whom having received the same answer, he implored the assistance of *Kisna*, begging him to pardon his sudden passion, and to deliver him from the evil he had been pleased to lay upon him. *Kisna* chiding him for his unruly passion, advised him to lay the same aside for the future; and then delivered him from the plague of the fiery wheel.

### C H A P. IX.

*The Origin and Qualifications of Droepeti: She binds up the Wound of Kisna. Sussuster forced out of his Kingdom. Droepeti exil'd with her Brothers, and fed by the Sun: They come to Court: Their further Transactions.*

IN the country of *Estenapour*, lived a certain *Ragia*, named *Pandourw*; whose wife was called *Droendy*. His brother, named *Deuteraes* being blind, had a wife called *Sendary*, and by her a hundred sons; the eldest whereof, was named *Derfiende*. In the country of *Ransiaandoes* lived at the same time a certain king, named *Droepet*, whose daughter was reputed the most beautiful woman that ever was seen. *Ragia Pandourw* happening to die, left behind him five sons; the eldest of which succeeding him in the throne, one of the other four was put to school to a certain *Brahman*, to be instructed in all matters relating to their divinity. The daughter of *Ragia Droepeti*, being now come to a marriageable age, her father was not a little solicitous how to bestow his daughter to the best advantage. For this purpose, he sent his messengers to invite the neighbouring kings, and the chiefest *Brahmans* to a great feast; and caused a long poll to be erected, with a strong bow underneath, and a fish on the top, in the same manner as we have mentioned before in the story of *Ram*.

*Kisna* appearing here among the rest, yet would not attempt the bow, having promised his assistance (upon this account) to a certain *Brahman*, named *Aerffing*; he managed the bow with that dexterity, that he shot down the fish, and received a fine necklace of pearl from the hands of his bride.

*Aerffing  
gains Dro-  
epeti by  
shooting.*

One time *Droepeti* seeing a cow pass through the fields with five bulls following her, she stood amazed at the novelty of the thing, as she thought; this coming to the ears of *Camdoga*, the cow of plenty, she was so offended thereat, that she told her, She would make her <sup>Camdoga's</sup> to be thus pursued by five men. The <sup>curse.</sup> king entertained his guests with a splendid feast; but the the bridegroom having made a vow, not to enjoy his bride till after his return home, they came no sooner to his own house-door, but being met by his mother, he told her, That he had brought something along with him. Then, replied the mother, Your two brothers must have each his share. That cannot be, returned *Aerffing*, for it is a woman. That signifies nothing, answered the mother; what I have once said is impossible to be recalled. *Aerffing* full of grief, told his brothers what had happened; who abominating the matter, communicated the same to *Droepeti*.

It happened afterwards, that *Kisna* having invited the *Panspendaons* with her mother, and *Droepeti*, to dine with him at *Davarca*, as they were walking after dinner in the fields, *Kisna* had a mind to cut some sugar-reeds; but cutting his finger, all the standers-by called *Kisna's* <sup>fin-</sup> for some linnen-rags, to tie it up: <sup>but ger tied up</sup> *Droepeti*, immediately tearing a piece of <sup>with a piece</sup> her golden brocado'd gown, she tied it <sup>of golden</sup> <sup>stuff.</sup> about

<sup>Baldæus.</sup> about his finger. *Kisna* (according to his omniscency) knowing how many threads there were in the piece she had torn off, *viz.* nine hundred ninety nine, he told her that she should have as many garments of cloth of gold as there were threads in it. They then took their leave; and though *Kisna* knew well, that *Droepeti* was still a virgin, yet he took no notice of it.

After their return home, one *Senhem*, brother-in-law to *Droepeti*, began to be much out of humour, alledging, That *Sussuster* was not the rightful heir of the throne; for, said he, Though *Deuteraes*, by reason of his blindness might be incapable of the government, and therefore *Pandouw* was put in his stead, yet after his decease *Sussuster*, his son could not succeed him, the right of inheritance of the crown belonging to the eldest of the hundred sons of *Deuteraes*, and consequently to *Derfiende* his eldest son.

This gave occasion to pitch upon some way to restore *Derfiende* to his right; and knowing that *Sussuster* was much addicted to play at dice, they looked upon this as the best means to encompass their design. *Sussuster* having been for some time a favourite of *Kisna*, grew so ambitious as to despise him at last. *Kisna* remembering this affront, whilst he was playing with *Derfiende*, so ordered the matter, that *Sussuster* lost all his ready money; whereby being egged on more and more to recover his loss, he at last threw at all, and lost his estate and kingdom.

It had happened some time before, that *Derfiende* being in *Sussuster's* palace looked into *Droepeti's* apartment, which being paved with glass, (a thing he never had seen before,) he took it for water, and would not venture to go in. *Droepeti* perceiving his error, told him, *How, are the sons like the father? Is the whole family blind?* which put *Derfiende* into such a rage, that he swore he would revenge it with the first opportunity.

*Derfiende* remembering his oath, whilst they were at play, proposed to set as much money against *Droepeti* as he would desire; which being agreed to, *Derfiende* won that stake likewise. Things being come to this pass, he proposed to *Sussuster*, that he would lay all he had got of him at one stake, provided he would engage, that in case he did win it, he would choose a voluntary exile for twelve years. *Sussuster* in hopes of better fortune, consenting to the proposition, they threw the dice; but fortune frowning again upon *Sussuster*, *Derfiende* remained in possession of all.

By this time *Derfiende* remembering the

affront *Droepeti* put upon him in her apartment, ordered her to be stripped stark naked, and to expose her to the view of her servants. The distressed *Droepeti* reduced to this extremity, implored *Kisna's* assistance, to relieve her from the shame she was likely to undergo, putting him in mind of his bounty, after she had torn her garments for his sake. In the mean time the servants being employed in undressing *Droepeti*, they had no sooner pulled off one of her garments, but another succeeded in an instant; which continuing thus nine hundred ninety nine times, they were seized with such an astonishment, that they treated *Derfiende* to desist, lest *Kisna* should give him some severe proofs of his anger; which had such an influence upon *Derfiende*, that he dismissed her without any further harm.

The time of the appointed exile now approaching, the five brothers, with their mother *Sendary* and *Droepeti*, left their native country; but beginning to want provision upon the road, *Droepeti* paid her devotions to the sun, to supply their wants. The sun commiserating their condition, filled them every morning a vessel with victuals, sufficient to feed one thousand men. At last coming to a certain village called *Widoenougan*, they lodged in the house of one *Widoenougarre*, where she left her mother, who was grown so decrepit, that she was not able to follow them.

Thence wandering through vast deserts without meeting either with man or beast, they at last came to a pleasant river, where whilst they were reposing themselves, they saw a certain famous and learned *Brakman*, named *Derwasa*, walking along the bank of it, at the head of one thousand *Brakmans* his followers; who being not ignorant (by his skill) who they were, after the usual salute, immediately addressed himself to *Sussuster*, telling him, That he and his company had a mind to take a dinner with him, which *Sussuster* approving, (trusting to the bounty of the sun, and the *Brakman's* piety,) he desired them to come, which they promised to do as soon as they had washed themselves in the river.

*Droepeti* understanding what had happened, had recourse to the vessel; but finding it empty, knew not what to do, but advised them to have recourse to *Kisna's* bounty. Accordingly they sent for their joint and fervent prayers to *Kisna*; but finding no relief, and the time of the *Brakman's* coming being near at hand, they resolved rather than to be exposed

*Sussuster* and *Derfiende* play for the crown.

*Baldæus.*  
*Droepeti* ordered to be stripped.

is delivered by *Kisna*.

They go into exile.

*Baldous.* to such shame and confusion as this, to make a large wood fire, and therein to put a period to their miserable life. They went to work immediately; and having gathered a sufficient quantity of wood, *Droepeti* was shewing the rest the way, and these following to tread in her footsteps.

*Kisna* then seeing their constancy, stopped them; and asking what was their grievance, *Suffuster* replied, O *Kisna*! who knowest every thing, thou canst not be ignorant of what has happened to us this day! *Kisna* answered, Let me see the vessel that was presented you by the sun; which being produced, *Kisna* viewed it on all sides, and finding a grain of rice on the brim, he eat it; and by its multiplying power, gave it such a virtue, that it not only satisfied him, but also the *Brahman* and his thousand followers; who thanked *Naccod*, the youngest brother of *Suffuster*, (who was sent to bring them to dinner,) that though they had not the least appetite to eat since they had been washing in the river, yet they thanked his brother for his good intentions.

*They leave the desarts.* This unfortunate company having thus wandered for nine years through the desarts, at last resolved to try their fortune at the court of king *Weraart*, of the tribe of the *Ketteriis*, in the country of *Messedees*. *Suffuster* being the first that went to king *Weraart*, being demanded who he was, he asked the king, whether he had not heard of the five brothers *Panspendaons*: The king replying, he had; he told the king, that he had served them as their historian; and that if the king would receive him in the same station, he would relate to him the adventures of that king, how he had lost his kingdom at dice, &c. The king pleased with his proposition, ordered him to stay at court. The second brother encouraged by his success, addressed himself likewise to the king, telling him, that he had served *Suffuster* in the quality of a cook; who ordering him to dress a dish of meat, he did it accordingly, and pleased the king so well, that he made him his head-cook.

The third, who was an excellent bowman, thought fit to lay his bow and arrows aside; and appearing in the presence of the king without any weapon, told him, That he had served *Suffuster* in his prosperity, in the quality of a *Brahman*; but being now forced to bear his share in the misfortunes of his master, he came to shelter himself under his royal protection. The king being taken with his discourse, received him into his service. The fourth, after having paid his

reverence to the king, told him, That he had been gentleman of the horse to *Suffuster*, in which station he was received by the king. The fifth brother not knowing what to say in his own behalf, told the king, That he had been shepherd to him: in which station he was likewise received by king *Weraart*.

*Droepeti* being now alone, made likewise her applications to the king, alledging, That having served in the quality of a maid of honour in the court of *Suffuster*, she hoped to be received among the ladies of the court; which was willingly granted her. Having thus continued two years in their respective stations, they began to revive their hopes of seeing their native country again, there being but one year more to the end of their exile.

But *Derfiende* finding the time of their exile near expiring, sent out certain famous wrestlers to try their skill with them. These passing through several countries, had vanquished many of the *Ragias*, and in scorn, carried their pictures tied to their knees. Coming at last to king *Weraart's* court, they challenged, and killed the king's brother-in-law; and were for doing the same to the king; who rather than hazard his person, offered them his picture, to be carried in triumph upon their knees. But *Suffuster* being informed of the matter, told him, That such a piece of cowardice being unworthy of the name of the *Ketteriis*, he advised him to match him with his head-cook whom, as he said, he had often seen wrestle stoutly at the court of *Suffuster*. The king extremely pleased at this proposition, asked the cook, whether he durst engage with one of these famous wrestlers; who having answered, Yes; and the appointed time being come, they went to it bravely, and held it for a considerable time with equal advantage; till at last the cook found means to twist his arms back, and setting his foot against his rump, threw him backwards, and killed him upon the spot.

*Derfiende* had no sooner heard this unwelcome news, but he sent his uncle with two hundred thousand horse into king *Weraart's* country, to drive away all the cattle; which being done accordingly, and notice thereof given to king *Weraart*, he put himself at the head of six hundred thousand horse, and overtaking the enemy in a great plain, a bloody battle ensued; but his forces being routed, he was taken prisoner by the enemy.

The prince overwhelmed with tears, engaged the cook who had so lately obtained the victory, to go in pursuit of the



*Baldous.* the enemy; who coming in fight of them, cryed aloud, Halt you robbers, release the king, or this day shall be your last. They laughed at this madness, till seeing him lay about him with his weapons amongst the hindermost, they turned their arms against him; but the cook assisted by *Kisna's* strength, slew the whole army, except one, whom he sent to *Derfiende*, to carry him the news of this defeat.

He had no sooner received these dismal tidings, but he told them, Certainly these are the *Panspendaons*; go and put thy self at the head of six thousand chosen horse to revenge our quarrel. Accordingly, he entered king *Weraart's* territories, making great havock among men and beasts, without the least opposition, *Weraart* not daring to oppose his forces (that consisted only of two hundred horse) to so powerful an enemy. *Suffuster* vexed at his cowardice, told him, That if he did not think fit to hazard his person, he should give leave to the prince and his governor the *Brahman*, to go along with what forces he had, in quest of the enemy: which the king not refusing, the prince and the *Brahman* went after the enemy in their chariot; and finding them in battle array ready to receive them, the prince was so frightened thereat, that the *Brahman* was forced to tie him in the chariot, and cover him with a cloth. Then the *Brahman* attacked the enemy with such fury, that notwithstanding the inequality of their number, he slew them all (after a bloody engagement) upon the spot, except their general, who being made a prisoner, the *Brahman* gave him three or four sound boxes on the ear, telling him, That he should go to his king to carry him the good news, but have a care how he ever came there again. The *Brahman* was so humble, as to bestow both all the honour of the victory, and the booty upon the prince; who willing enough to accept of the same, made his entry in a triumphant manner into the city.

Not long after king *Weraart* playing at tables with one of his nobles, made his boast of the late victory obtained by his son, which *Suffuster* not able to brook, told the king, *That what he boasted of did not belong to his son, but to the Brahman.* The king hearing him say these words, threw the dice with such violence into *Suffuster's* face, and drew some blood from him: *Suffuster* highly exasperated at this affront, consulted with his brothers and sister to leave the court secretly, and return into their native country,

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the time of their banishment being near expired; which they did accordingly. *Baldous.*

The prince no sooner understood their departure, but he went immediately to the king, telling him, he was sorry the king had taken so ill what *Suffuster* had told him, it being nothing but the bare truth: for, said he, it was not I, but the *Brahman* that obtained the victory; and it were they who have twice delivered our country and your self from destruction. I advise you to take care what you do; for I assure you, they are the *Panspendaons* themselves.

The king stood amazed at these words; And, is it possible, said he, that I who am but a petty king, should be served by them? And so ordering all his elephants, horses, and chariots, to be got ready, he followed them with all possible speed; and having overtaken them at last, he prostrated himself before *Suffuster*, saying, *Most potent king! whom I am unworthy to serve, pardon me for having received services from you contrary to my knowledge; pray return along with me, that we may not take our leave without a merry cup. I will afterwards provide you with camels, elephants, horses, chariots, and what else shall be requisite for your journey.* *Suffuster* being prevailed upon to return with the king to the city, they took their mutual leaves at a most solemn feast, with mutual demonstrations of friendship; and being provided with all necessaries for their journey, returned towards their native country.

But whilst they were upon the road, *Suffuster* repenting of his former pride, frequently sent his prayers to *Kisna*, acknowledging his crime, for which he owned he had been deservedly punished by him: but the time of his twelve years banishment being now expired, he promised to serve him with all humility, if by his assistance he and his brothers might be restored to their native country. *Kisna* well satisfied with this acknowledgment, appeared to them, asking what was their request. *Suffuster* answered, *That Derfiende* may be put out of the throne, and I be placed there in his stead. *Kisna* having promised him his assistance, said, *That they had best send a certain poet (who stood hard by) to demand the kingdom of him.* The poet went accordingly, demanding the kingdom to be restored to the true owners, the term of the twelve years banishment being now expired. But *Derfiende* answered, *That he did not know the* *Panspendaons*, and was resolved to keep his crown in spite of them; and so bid

*Baldæus*. the poet to go out of his presence. *Kisna* understanding this answer, told them, Perhaps he has taken it amiss, that we have not sent to him a person of a higher rank. The *Panspendaons* replied, That they were ready to throw themselves at *Baldæus*'s feet, if he thought he would grant their request; which being approved of, *Kisna* promised to go along with them in person.

## C H A P. X.

*Kisna lodges with a Brahman : Goes to the Court of Derfiende, who engages in a bloody Battle with Sussuster, and is routed. Droepeti is enjoyed by five Brothers. Kisna visits divers wicked Kings. The Conclusion of his Reign.*

*AT Estenapour* lived a *Brahman*, named *Widder*, who fed upon alms, his wife was called *Prediwette*, both persons very zealous in their devotions to *Kisna*; who being not ignorant of their zeal, resolved to bless them with a visit. Accordingly he came to the cottage of the poor *Brahman*; who, after having prostrated themselves at his feet, brought some rock-water (according to the custom of the country) to wash his feet. *Kisna* told them, I intend to dine with you; and so laying himself down, pretended to sleep, with an intention to observe all that passed in the cottage.

*Kisna visits a poor Brahman.*

*Ragia Derfiende* hearing of the coming of *Kisna* to this poor cottage before he had visited his court, forbid all the inhabitants, under pain of death, to furnish the poor *Brahman* that day either with money or provisions. The *Brahman* being in a great necessity, would fain have pawned his brass kettle and frying-pan; but no body daring to lend him any money, or give the least provisions, he returned in a very melancholy posture. His wife bid him not despair; telling him, that *Kisna* knowing their poverty, would accept of the will for the deed; and so ordering him to go into the garden to gather such herbs as were there, and allowed them to eat, (for the *Brahmans* dare not eat all sorts of herbs or roots, as, for instance, the beets, because they are red, and resemble blood;) which being done, she dressed them, and having awakened *Kisna*, offered it to him upon a *Pysang* leaf: *Kisna* asked them, Have you nothing else? I supposed you would have made some cakes. The woman answered, That their poverty being such as not to permit them to do it; *Kisna* bid her look backwards, where seeing in a corner a fine basket of fruits and sweet-meats, she prostrated herself at his feet.

Thus feasting together, *Kisna* asked them after dinner, what they requested of him? The *Brahman* replied, Nothing, but that I may serve and love thee with a sincere heart; that I may never cease to pray to thee; and that when my soul and body must be parted, my zeal for thee may nevertheless continue with me. *Kisna* replied, All this shall be granted thee; and because thou hast preferred piety before riches, you shall likewise have your full share of them. He had no sooner spoken these words, but the *Brahman*'s cottage was in an instant changed into a magnificent structure; and *Kisna* presented them with as much gold as was sufficient to maintain them in great plenty all their life-time.

*Blessed him with riches.*

*Kisna*, after having once more imparted his blessing to his host, departed, taking his way toward the castle of *Derfiende*, it being then just three hours before sun-set, the usual time for the kings in the eastern countries to give audience to their subjects. *Kisna* was received with a great deal of reverence by some of the court; but the king looking upon him with an indifferent eye, asked him, when he came into the city, and why he would not pay him a visit before the poor *Brahman*? *Kisna* replied, Riches are of no value to me; the meanest cottage of a believer I prefer before the most sumptuous palace of a king. And why then, said the king, would you come to court? I did come, replied *Kisna*, in the name of the *Panspendaons*, to demand thy kingdom, the twelve-years exile being now expired. The king answered, I know them not, neither will I deliver the kingdom. *Kisna* told him, That if he would not, he should at least allot a village for their maintenance. I will not give them the breadth of a foot, answered *Derfiende*. Then prepare your self, said *Kisna*; you must fight for it.

The

W

*Balkous.*  
A battle  
fought for  
eighteen  
days.

The *Panspendaons* hearing this answer, prepared for a vigorous war; and having engaged king *Weraart*, and the potent *Ragia Droepet* (*Droepeti's* father) in their quarrel, with four other kings, they attacked *Derfiende*, who having drawn up his horse in a great plain, a fierce battle ensued, which lasted eighteen days, *Kisna* fighting in a chariot drawn by oxen.

In *Derfiende's* army was a famous warrior, named *Caran*, who having (by his constant prayers) obtained a prodigious strength from *Kisna*, did perform wonders in his chariot: *Kisna* espying him at some distance, ordered *Erfsende*, (who sat with him in the same chariot,) to break the wheel of *Caran's* chariot, which being done accordingly by a strong arrow, *Caran* came down out of his chariot, but whilst he was busy in mending the wheel, was by the same *Erfsende* shot with an arrow into the breast: He drawing the arrow out of the wound, cried out to *Kisna*, And is this the reward thou givest me for so many offerings. *Kisna* answered, Have patience; my will is to deliver thee out of this troublesome world, and to allow thee a place in heaven, whither I am going to meet all the believers; (my time upon earth being almost expired,) after I have purged the world of the wicked. *Caran* was no sooner slain, but the victory declared against *Derfiende*, whose forces were all slain upon the spot; (as were king *Weraart* and king *Droepet* on the other side,) and among them *Derfiende* himself, with his ninety nine brothers. Thus the *Panspendaons* being restored to the kingdom, they payed their constant devotions to *Kisna*, who from thence returned to *Davarca*.

All this while *Droepeti* had lived without the knowledge of any man; but peace and quietness being now restored in the kingdom, the five brothers were concerting all possible means how to enjoy *Droepeti*, without incest. At last a certain *Brabman*, named *Wissumna*, proposed the following expedient. The year, said he, has three hundred sixty days, which divided into five equal parts, each amounts to two months and twelve days. And it being your mother's will that the five brothers should have an equal share in *Droepeti*, *Sussuster* must cohabit with her the first two months and twelve days, and the other four brothers successively each his two months and twelve days: But to wipe off the stain of incest, *Droepeti* must after the expiration of each respective term of two months and twelve days, purify herself

three times by the fire; whence it is evident, that the pagans ascribed to the fire a purifying quality; from whom the jews questionless took that doctrine, and the roman catholicks their purgatory. This being approved of by the joint-consent of the five brothers, it was further agreed, That he who should transgress his limited time, should be banished for twelve years. But *Sussuster* willing to appease the gods by sacrifices, in consideration of the great effusion of blood, occasioned by his restoration, consulted the *Geogys*, (a certain order of the *Brabmans*;) who advised him to institute a solemn feast, offer sacrifices, be liberal to the poor, and to maintain a certain number of learned *Brabmans*, to read and explain their holy writings. *Sussuster* obeyed, and performed every

thing with all imaginable exactness, ordering a hole to be digged, which he filled with sugar, butter, sandal-wood, milk, rice, and betel, and offered roses, flowers, spices, and other rich incense. This done, he invited *Kisna* to a sumptuous feast; and asking him, what acknowledgment he was able to pay him, for the many favours he had received at his hands, *Kisna* answered, Take a white horse with black ears and a yellow tail, and fasten a paper on his head with the following lines written in gold characters. *Whoever meets me, and lets me pass unmolested, shall worship me and Kisna, who will reward their piety; but whoever stops me, let him prepare to fight.* He further told him, That he should give him his brother *Erfsende* for his companion, his intention being to purge the world of the wicked, during that short time he had to stay as yet upon earth. The king obeyed, and having presented his brother with a chariot, and put him at the head of a good body of horse, he took his leave of *Kisna*, who went his way, the horse leading the van without a guide.

This horse passed through many kingdoms, where every one that did read the inscription, payed reverence to *Kisna*. But coming into the territories of *Sindera*, who having received several signal obligations from *Kisna*, seized upon the horse, by that means to engage *Kisna* to come to court. Accordingly *Kisna* (who knew his intention) visited him in his court, where being revered and presented by the king, he gave him his blessing, and so set forward again to the king of *Sudannewa*.

This king stopping the horse, worshipped *Kisna*, alledging, That he did not do it to engage with *Kisna*, but to try

*Balkous.*

*Sussuster's sacrifice.*

*Kisna visits the world, to purge it from the wicked.*

*He blesses Sindera.*

The giant Caran killed.

*Baldews* try his strength against *Ersiende*. *Kisna* accepted his excuse, *Ersiende* drew his bow, and shot an arrow into his breast. The king lifting up his eyes unto heaven, and tearing the arrow out of his wound, cried, O *Kisna*! dost thou thus reward thy adorers. My soul must now transmigrate into another body. No, answered *Kisna*, thy soul shall ascend to heaven in an instant, and enjoy eternal bliss.

Hence he travelled to the impious king *Anssalauw*, who stopping the horse, and bringing his forces to fight against him, were all slain upon the spot. Next coming to king *Sallauw*, he followed the footsteps of *Anssalauw*, and had the same fate. Afterwards they came to *Mottera*, the residence of the famous giant *Ragia Jerasingh*, who had been formerly deated, no less than eighteen times by *Kisna*. This giant having fortified *Mottera* with high and strong walls, drew out his forces into the field, himself being covered with a cuirass, or armour, that was both sword and shot-proof. Both armies engaged one another with such fury, that the like had never been seen before, with such various success, that it remained dubious, who was likely to be the vanquisher, the night putting an end to the battle for that time.

*Kisna* being sensible that it would be a hard task to kill this giant, as long as he made use of this armour, got with *Ersiende* over the city walls, having transformed both himself and *Ersiende* into the shape of two old and tall *Brakmans*. In this posture they seated themselves near the *Pagode*, where the giant used to wash himself, who coming thither, asked them, *What is it you two devout men desire? ask and you shall have it, be it what it will.* *Kisna* replied, That kings were apt to promise much more than they intended to perform. The giant answered, That was never his custom, desiring them to ask what they pleased, it should be granted. The disguised *Kisna* then asked the king to give him his hand, as a token of his sincerity, which the king having done accordingly, *All that we ask of thee*, said he, *is, that whenever thou engagest again against Kisna, thou shalt not put on thy shot-free armour.* The king, (though suspecting the matter) answered, Well, since I have given my word it shall be done, provided that he who engages in a single combat with me, shall bring no bow and arrow; but if he fight with a *Gors*\*, or try his skill with me in wrestling, I am ready to answer him.

\* A kind of Indian weapon.

*Kisna* and *Ersiende* disappeared without answering one word, and *Ersiende's* skill lying chiefly in his bow, he engaged

*Ersiende's* brother, (a famous wrestler) in his stead. The combat was so equal, that the night parting them, they referred the whole decision of the quarrel till next day; being both equally tired with wrestling, they fought with the *Gors* the next day; they engaged most furiously all the day, giving one another most terrible blows, but with equal advantage; so that night approaching, they were forced to defer the final decision till the third day. Then it was that the giant exerting all his force, gave such frequent and terrible blows to *Rhim*, *Ersiende's* brother, that being ready to faint, he was knocked down several times. But imploring *Kisna's* assistance, he was endowed with new vigour; so that recovering his strength, he attacked the giant *Jerasingh* afresh, and at last laying hold on his legs, tore him asunder, with his entrails hanging down upon the ground. *Kisna's* forces seeing this spectacle, attacked his army, and slew them all upon the spot.

*Kisna* in his return being met by *Suf-suster*, was entertained by him in a garden without the city, *Ersiende* at the same time presenting him with a garland of flowers. *Kisna* being highly satisfied with him, said, *Desire what you think fit.* But *Ersiende* excusing himself, *Kisna* told him, *That his time upon earth being near expired, he intended to grant him whatever request he could make.* Then, replied *Ersiende*, bestow one of your wives upon me. *Kisna* answered, Take my chariot, and go to *Davarca*, visit all the chambers of my *Seraglio*, and which of the ladies thou findest without me, take her for thy own. *Ersiende* went instantly to the *Seraglio* at *Davarca*, and entering the first chamber found *Kisna* talking with the lady; then going to the second, he found him there likewise; and so in the third, fourth, and all the rest. Being struck with amazement, he returned to the garden, where he had left *Kisna*, and prostrating himself, said, O *Kisna*, *thou beest the true god, and present every where, pardon my errors!* *Kisna* giving him his blessing, told him, He should persevere in his prayers, and so returned to *Davarca*.

*Kisna* afterwards seeing the cowherds multiply to fifty six *Karool*, (each *Karool* create of making one hundred *Lak*, each whereof is one hundred thousand,) or five hundred and sixty millions living souls, and that they had increased as well in iniquity as in number, he was highly incensed against them, declaring that he would root them out, not by his or other mens hands, but their own.

*Baldæus.* It happened that a great number of them being invited to a feast where *Kisna* was also present, they were so full of wantonness, as to stamp upon the precious flowers called *Massiou* and *Cassomba* (affording a most delicious tincture for dying) with their feet. Not contented thus, it being a moon-shiny night, they contrived to ridicule the famous prophet *Ruchi*, whom they saw sitting very thoughtfully under a tree. For this purpose they put a basket under a certain man's clothes, dressed like a woman; and carrying her to *Ruchi*, asked her, Whether this woman was to bring forth a male or female child? He not minding them the first time, they pulled him by the arm, and asked him the same question in a very rude manner a second time; when being, as it were, awakened out of his pensiveness, he told them, He should bring forth an iron bar, which should break all their skulls. He had no sooner said these words, but the disguised man was seized with most intolerable pains, which did not cease, till he had brought forth an iron bar. Being amazed at so odd an accident, they had recourse to *Kisna*, who ordered them to go to the village of *Perwatspatang*, seated upon the river, where they should find a stone, wherewith they must rub the iron bar till it was reduced to powder, and then throw it into the river. They did as they were ordered: but no sooner had they thrown the powder of the iron into the water, but the whole river was filled with reeds, or small canes, as if it had been a forest. They gave an account of it to *Kisna*; who told them, It was well.

It happened upon another festival, that the young tribe being merry toge-

ther, one of the company took up one of these reeds from the ground, and striking another over the head in jest, he saw him drop down dead before his feet. The friends of the deceased taking up another such reed, struck the other young fellow over the head, who likewise falling down dead, his friends did the same to them, and so one to another, till they were all killed; according to the prediction of *Ruchi* the *Brahman*.

*Kisna* having now fulfilled his office in rooting out wickedness among men, sent for the *Panspendaons* and *Droepeti*, and their mother, to *Davarca*, where he told them, That having selected them as well as his wives from the rest, he would have them go to the mount *Hemaatsiel Perwet*, whence they should be taken up into heaven. Accordingly they went with *Kisna's* sixteen thousand wives to the said mount, the peak whereof nobody could reach but *Sussister*; however, they were all together drawn up insensibly through the air into heaven.

*Kisna* knowing that his time was come to leave the earth, he took a handful of dust, and throwing it over the city, their golden streets and houses were in an instant transmuted into straw, dirt, wood, and stones; which done, he ascended *Kisna ascends to heaven.* the strait to heaven. The pagans are unanimously of opinion, that in case the whole sea was filled with ink, and the earth made of paper, and all the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe were only employed in writing, they would not be sufficient to give an exact account of all the miracles wrought by *Kisna* in one hundred years time, in the third period of the world called *Duaperfinge*, containing *Joh. 21. 25.* eight hundred sixty four thousand years.

CHAP. XI.

*The ninth Appearance of Vistnum in the shape of Boudha, or Bodhe. His tenth Transformation into a flying Horse, called Kallenkyn. The Origin and Actions of Bramma.*

*The ninth appearance.*

THE *Benjans* tell us of *Bodhe*, that he has neither father nor mother; that he is invisible; but whenever he appears, it is with four arms. He spends his whole time in praying with a dejected countenance to the great god, (called *Mabadeuw* by the *Benjans*;) and that after having continued twenty six thousand four hundred and thirty years, without performing any miracles, his time is expired upon earth, being the time we now live in, according to the computa-

tion of the pagans. For pursuant to the computation of the *Benjans* at *Suratte*, there were in the year of Christ 1649 passed four thousand seven hundred and fifty years, and consequently twenty one thousand six hundred and eighty years to come.

What is said of this idol concerning his being born without father and mother, and his invisibility, seems to have some relation to what they may perhaps have heard of Christ, as his four arms intimate



*Baldens.* timate his power, a thing frequently attributed to the pagan gods; just as the ancient poets made their giants with a hundred hands. The jesuit *Kircher* attributes likewise four heads (but erroneously) to this *Bodhe*, (called *Bhavani* by others,) and says, That by his four arms they would represent the four elements. What the said jesuit relates of *Rantzander*, the son of *Bal*, who came from heaven to deliver his people from the oppression of the

giants and tyrants, seems to be a confirmation of what we said before, concerning some obscure remnants of knowledge among these pagans of Christ. *Baldens.*

The *Benjans* tell us, That *Kallenkyn* is a white winged horse, standing upon three feet only in heaven, holding one of the foremost legs up without intermission. They say, That at the beginning of this transformation the *Benjans* shall live piously and happily; but by degrees



*Baldæus*. grees turn to all manner of impiety and wickedness for forty thousand five hundred and seventy years. Then, say they, this horse is to trample upon the earth with his right fore-leg with such a force, that the serpent *Signagie* being no longer able to bear the world, the *Tertoise* finding the whole burden laid on her back, will run to the sea and drown the world; which is to be the conclusion

of the last period of the world: after *Baldæus*, which, the first is to begin again. For it is observable, that all, the eastern pagans believe the eternity of the world, allowing only some changes from one time to another.

The whiteness of this horse intimates the cleanness, its wings the activity and agility, and the horse itself the strength of the god *Vishnum*. It being certain, that

*Baldæus*. that though most of the *India* pagans, and especially the *Malabars*, are black themselves, yet they have a peculiar esteem for the white colour; as may be seen in the white cow of plenty, called *Camdoga*, and the famous white elephant of the king of *Siam*, mentioned in the first book. Thus *Virgil* describes *Turnus*'s horse to be white.\* And of the strength, activity, and excellency of a horse, there are many passages to be found both in sacred and prophane history. The wings attributed to this horse, seem to be done in imitation of the *Pegasus* of the ancient pagans, which was placed by them likewise among the stars. What they say of the world's being cast into the sea by the tortoise, appears to have some relation to *Noah*'s flood. And it is observable, that according to the doctrine of the *Malabars*, before the last metamorphosis of things, there shall be such disorders in the world, that the whole race of families and tribes shall be confounded. They say there shall but two pious kings be remaining upon earth at that time, *viz.* The kings of *Vappi* and of *Asari*.

L.9.Æ.

Origin of Bramma.

Thus much of the god *Ixora* and *Vistnum*: we must also say something of the third, *viz.* *Bramma*, who owes his origin to *Quivelinga*. *Rogeri* deduces his origin from a flower-pot; but the commentator upon *Rogeri* had sufficiently shewn, that *Tamara* is quite another thing: Though this opinion seems to agree in some respect with what father *Kircher* says in the ninth transformation of *Vistnum*, *viz.* That he was transformed into *Lotum*, being a certain product of the sea, and the opinion of the *Egyptians*, of *Thales* and the *Stoicks*, who acknowledged the water either the principal or the nourisher of every thing.

The Creator of the world.

The chief things attributed to *Bramma* by these pagans, are, That he has not only created the world, but also determines the duration and times of all created matters: and as they also acknowledge him the son of God, and the supreme governor of angels, nay, even ascribe to him a human nature, so it is evident that these attributes must have their origin from what they have heard (though perhaps confusedly) of *Jesus Christ* the Son of God.

They represent it with four heads, but say he lost one by *Ixora*'s means, to punish his pride. Hence it is, that the *Brakmans* now-a-days have no more than three books of the *Vedam*, the fourth, which treated of God, being lost.

For the first of these books treated of God, and of the origin and beginning of

the universe. The second of those who have the government and management thereof: The third, of morality and true virtue. The fourth of the ceremonials in their temples, and sacrifices. These four books of the *Vedam* are by them called *Roggo Vedam*, *Jadura Vedam*, *Sama Vedam*, and *Tarawana Vedam*; and by the *Malabars*, *ICCA*, *ICCIYSA*, *SAMAN*, and *ADARAVAN*. The loss of this first part is highly lamented by the *Brakmans*. They also attribute to him the preservation of all created things; whence the modern *Brakmans* ascribe all the good or bad fortune which befalls mortals here upon earth, to the direction of *Bramma*, who, they say, has also prefixed every living creature his time of life and death.

They further say, That not only the several worlds, but also the different families and tribes have their origin from *Bramma*. The *super-aereal* world, they say, came out of his brains or face; for these pagans acknowledge certain *celestial* orbs, with *Aristotle*. The second world, they say, did come out of his eyes; the third out of his mouth, the fourth out of his left-ear, the fifth out of his tongue and gums, the sixth out of his heart, the seventh out of his belly, the eighth out of his privy-parts, the ninth out of his left thigh, the tenth out of his knees, the eleventh out of his heels, the twelfth out of the toes of his right-foot, the thirteenth out of the ball of his left-foot, and the fourteenth out of the air that surrounded him.

The *Brakmans* say they are the product of his brains, and the *Nairos* or soldiers, of his feet; as the *Exastri* (a sort of kings) are out of his arm; which is the reason that they never make the same low bows before their kings, as their other subjects, but have the privilege of sitting down in their presence. Unto these fourteen worlds as many divers sorts of people attribute their origin.

1. Such as are endowed with wisdom.
2. Those that are provident in their actions.
3. Those that are eloquent.
4. Such as are cunning and designing.
5. Drunkards and gluttons.
6. The generous and brave.
7. The idle and lazy.
8. Whore-masters and voluptuous persons.
9. Labourers, artisans, and handicrafts-men.
10. Peasants and gardeners.
11. The *Parreas*, and other sorts of nasty people, who, they say, came out of the heels of *Bramma*.
12. Thieves, murderers, and robbers.
13. Those that oppress the poor.
14. Those endowed with peculiar qualities, and an active spirit. They further say, they can judge by the physiognomy of a person, what part



*Baldæus* part of *Bramma* he was come from. Of the worlds and the seven seas we shall say more presently.

The *Malabars* say, *Bramma* has two wives, *Sarossody* and *Quiatry*, who are both barren. The first being his own daughter, has given occasion to a proverb among the *Malabars*, *You must not do like Bramma*. The equipage, or rather carriage of *Bramma* is a certain bird called *Annam* by the *Malabars*; for these pagans attribute to every one of their gods a certain horse, or carriage, called *Wabanam*, which carries them from place to place. They further say, That this bird *Annam*, if milk mixed with water be fet before him, he will drink the milk, without touching the water; an emblem of such as

know how to distinguish good from evil. *Baldæus*.

They relate many other fabulous things; as for instance, That *Bramma* after a period of many ages, is to die, and be revived; that he has certain deputies or assistants, the chief of whom is *De-wendra*, the head of all the governors of the seven worlds which are beyond our world, met below the heavens, or *Bramma's* residence. In these worlds (say they) the believers live after their death. They allow that some things of lesser moment, such as herbs, cucumbers, &c. have been created by others; but that all things of moment owe their origin to *Bramma*, who lost one of his four heads, because he had told a lie to *Ixora*; and several such absurdities more.

C H A P. XII.

*Of the Creation, Quality, and Division of the World, according to the Opinion of the Learned Heathens.*

THE *Benjans* and *Malabars* constitute God the creator of the Universe; for they frequently give God the title of *Creator of Heaven and Earth*. We told you in the preceding chapter, that they attribute the creation of the world to *Bramma*; whereunto we will now add, that they say the power of creating the world was communicated to him by *Vishnum*. They believe, with *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus*, more than one world, of which before; besides which, they make seven great seas. 1. The *Water-Sea*. 2. The *Milk-Sea*. 3. The *Cream-Sea*. 4. The *Butter-Sea*. 5. The *Salt-Sea*. 6. The *Sugar-Sea*. 7. The *Wine-Sea*. The paradise they place in the *Water-Sea*; the priests and *Gogyes* belong to the *Milk-Sea*; the voluptuous in the *Cream-Sea*; the fortunate and blessed in the *Butter-Sea*; the merciful in the *Salt-Sea*; those who are liberal in giving alms in the *Sugar-Sea*; and those that live in great plenty in the *Wine-Sea*.

Notwithstanding this general opinion, the *Brabmans* maintain that the world was produced from an egg; of which opinion, it seems, were also the ancient *Egyptians*, the *Thebeans*, *Orpheus*, *Plato*, and the *Persians*.

The *Malabars* look for the origin of all things in the privy-member of their god; which being too large, he could not enjoy his Wife *Chatti*; wherefore he was forced to cut it into eighteen pieces, which turned into divers sorts

of arms; but the blood which issued thence, produced the sun, moon, and stars; and some few drops falling upon the ground, the roses, and other sorts of flowers: but all living creatures, both rational and irrational, were brought forth by *Ixora's* cohabiting with *Chatti*.

The *Brabmans* further are infected with a ridiculous opinion, That the world is not round, but flat; and that consequently the terrestrial globe is not enclosed in, or surrounded by the air, but limit its extent by the horizon that is obvious to our sight: for they maintain, that the heavens are the uppermost half, and the earth the lowermost of the egg-shell; whence it is, that they consider the heavens as immovable, and the motion of the sun, moon, and stars (unto whom they attribute peculiar souls) to be like the fishes at sea in the day, from east to west, and in the night from the west (not below, but along the edge of the horizon) to the north, and so again to the east. If you object, that, according to their supposition, the sun must never cease to shine, they answer, That to the north there is a vast ridge of mountains called *Mabameru*, or *Merouma*, behind which the sun, moon, and stars, withdraw from our sight. They add, That the world rests upon an ox who, when he has a mind to ease himself, he throws the world from one of his horns to the other, which occasions what we call earthquakes.

Seven Seas.

Ridiculous opinion of the Brabmans concerning the figure of the world.

*Baldæus.*  
As also  
concerning  
its magi-  
tude.

They are also grossly mistaken in the computation of the extent of the earth, which, the *Brabmans* say, is from north to south a hundred thousand *Foxena's*; whereas it is beyond all doubt, that the whole circumference of the globe amounts to no more than five thousand four hundred *German* miles, reckoning fifteen of these miles to a degree, of which there are three hundred and sixty. They also constitute no less than five elements, adding the heavens to the rest; in which point, they follow the foot-steps of *Aristotle*, who calls the heavens the first element. These five elements, both the *Brakmans* and *Benjan's* reverence like

gods; because, say they, they enter into the composition of every thing upon earth; whence they allot every one of them his peculiar *Wabanam*, or horse. They have also invented no less than seven *Padallas*, as they call them, or subterranean places, (not unlike the purgatory and *Limbus Patrum* of our modern *Roman* catholicks;) which inferior worlds are known among them by these following names, *Adela*, *Bidela*, *Sudela*, *Taladelam*, *Sadelam*, *Mabadelam*, and *Padelam*; and are inhabited by men, who receive no other light but what certain serpents, carrying very bright stones on their heads, afford them.

### C H A P. XIII.

*The Opinion of these Pagans concerning the Soul, and its Transmigration. The Form, Structure, Splendor, and Revenues of their Pagodes, or Temples. Of the Ceremony of washing of these Pagans.*

THE modern *Brabmans*, in imitation of the ancient *Egyptians*, *Ibracians*, *Druids*, and *Germans*, believe that the souls were not such from eternity, but created by God, and kept as part of his essence, till after the creation of the earth they were infused either into men or beasts. Concerning the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the transmigration of souls, (so generally received among the modern pagans,) we have had occasion to speak before in the description of *Ceylon*; we will only add in this place, what the *Malabars* say on this head, they are of opinion that this transmigration of the souls from one body to another, is instituted by God as a punishment for our sins, which continues till they are either conveyed into heaven or hell. They say there is a certain judge, named *Cbitra Putta*, who judges of the actions of mankind when they lie upon their death-bed, and determines according to their past actions, whether the soul of the deceas'd shall transmigrate into a dog, cat, crow, cow, king, *Brahman*, serpent, &c. So that in case a person in his life-time has done a notorious injustice to another, his soul shall be transplanted into the body of a slave of the offended party. The reason why they abstain with so much strictness from all sorts of meat, is no other, than that they are afraid, as *Tertullian* expresses it, that in feeding upon a piece of beef, they may eat a piece of their father or grandfather.

The Pythagorean transmigration of the souls.

These pagans have their *Pagodes*, or temples, erected to the honour of their idols. In the choice of the places, and manner of the building, they follow rather their instinct, or pretended inspiration, than any general rule or method. These *Pagodes* are, on the coast of *Malabar*, most commonly built of marble; and on the coast of *Coromandel*, of very large square stone: such is the most celebrated *Pagode* at *Rammanakojel*, a vast structure, and endowed with vast revenues, by the great conflux of pilgrims that continually resort thither; of which I have been an eye-witness my self.

The building of their Pagodes.

The *Pagodes* of the *Malabars* are generally covered with copper, adorned with balls gilt on the top; within and without stand their idols with many heads and arms, surrounded on all sides with serpents. The *Pagode* is enclosed by a brick-wall, for the reception of the people, who do not enter the *Pagode*, but perform their worship in the court, as the *Jews* did in the hall of *Solomon*. Hence it is, that the gates are well guarded, being commonly either of marble, or covered with brass, with the figures of elephants, tygers, bears, and lions upon them; and on the frontispiece many dreadful heads of lions, with hogs tusks, representing the idol *Patagali*, *Ixor's* daughter.

These *Pagodes* are not only maintained by the presents that are constantly made, but have also a constant revenue from the customs of all commodities bought

Their revenues.

*Baldæus* or fold, an exact account whereof may be seen in *Rogerijs*, l. 2. c. 10. These pagans have also a great reverence for their *Pagodés*; whence it is, that they will not enter a *Pagode* with their *Seripous*, or slippers: and they always have their cisterns at the entrance of the *Pagodés*, to cleanse themselves before they enter; just as the same is practised among the modern *Mahometans* in their *Mosques*, and as the *Jews* had the *Brass Sea* belonging to the temple, for the *Levites* to wash themselves in. *Linscoten* mentions, that the *Pagan* priests in *Calecut* besprinkle those that are entering the *Pagode* with *holy water*, like our *roman catholicks*. The pagans in *Coromandel* have abundance of small *Pagodés* on these places, where they burn their dead, whereof I took particular notice at *Negapatan*; and in *Bantam*, the richer sort maintain frequently small chapels for their private use. Of the *Pagodés* in *Pegu*, see *Casp. Balbi*; of those of *Japan*, *Caron* and *Almeyda*; and of those of *China*, *Ferdinand Pintko*.

Their custom of washing themselves daily, seems not only to be introduced for the cleansing and cooling of their bodies, but chiefly for the purifying of them from their sins; for as these pagans make a distinction betwixt *venial* and *mortal* sins, they regulate their washing accordingly. The first they are cleansed of by dipping the head under water; whereas to purify themselves of the others, *viz.* (such as include the loss of life or family, and fall under the cognizance of the civil magistrates,) they dive the whole body under water. Their constitutions (being to them the same as our ten commandments) are,

1. That those of an inferior rank must not touch those of a superior quality, and the greater the difference the more is the distance; whence the inferior people cry out in the streets *Tintelas*, i. e. *do not make your self unclean*, and those of superior rank *Popo, give way*; for if any of the common sort happen to touch a person of a high rank, he becomes unclean, and must wash himself with water.

2. Those that touch a dead carcass, nay, even any of the deceased kindred, within fifteen days after, become unclean.

3. Those that touch a woman in child-bed, or the child.

4. Or a woman that has her monthly times, till the fourth day.

5. All such as are become unclean, if they touch another, he becomes so likewise.

6. If one that is unclean eats rice before he has cleansed himself, he loses the advantage of his family, and commits a mortal sin.

7. Persons of quality commit a mortal sin, if they eat rice boiled by one of an inferior rank.

8. The same it is, if he lies with a woman of a low extraction.

9. The *Brakmans*, though all of the same tribe, yet are not permitted to eat with one another: thus if any one touches with his right hand (wherewith he eats) his neighbour, it is a venial sin, because that hand is unclean by touching the rice; the same it is, if the fig-leaf (which they use instead of a twine thread) touches his that sits next to him: but if but one single grain of rice should happen to fall upon the fig-leaf of the others, he must not eat it, without committing a mortal sin.

10. Immediately after dinner, or supper, they take away the fig-leaves, and the least grain of rice that perhaps may be fallen upon the ground, which is laid up together in a certain place, because all the remnants are unclean. The place where they have eaten, they purify with cow-dung; and if the least grain of rice should be left behind, he that touches it, becomes unclean immediately on that part of his body which touched it, which must be purified by water. Thus if any body puts his finger into the mouth, nay, if two persons of a different rank meet at a cistern, if but one drop of water that has touched the body of him that is of an inferior degree, happens to fall upon him of a superior rank, he becomes unclean, and is guilty of a venial sin.

Their ceremonies observed in washing are, first of all, they fancy that the stone on the edge of the cistern is *Bramma*, the place where they wash is *Vistnum*, and the cistern itself *Ixora*. They enter the cistern quite naked, (their privities being covered only with a leaf,) and write with their fingers the syllable *om* in the water, and then with three fingers cast up a little water into the air, intimating, that *Ixora, Vistnum, Bramma*, have bathed themselves there; at the same time pronouncing these words, *Totum quencia bitten pava*, i. e. *By the touching of this water, I have cast away my sin*. Then parting the water with both their hands, they dip their hands in it, and thereby believe themselves cleansed from all their sins committed by touching. Afterwards they cast some water with both hands towards the eight parts of the world, as a sacrifice to the eight guardians

Reverence for their Pagodes.

Their washing.

Cow-dung used for purifying.

Their ceremonies in washing.

*Baldæus*. guardians thereof, say the *Siri Pagode*, wash their faces three times successively, saying, *Purify me*. This done, they throw likewise some water towards heaven, as a sacrifice to the sun; and having washed their hands and feet, take a small quantity of the ashes of cow-dung in the left hand, which being mixed with a little water, they say *Sudamaga*, i. e. *be clean*. Furthermore, as they suppose the left hand to be the earth, and the right the heavens, and the inside of the hand the place of propagation, they lay the right hand close upon the left, saying, *Let this be the end of the world*; and as they believe that at the end of the world, *Ixorretta* is to be transformed into an egg, they imagine that the concavity betwixt their two hands represents the said egg; whence (after having paused a while) they take away the right hand, saying, *Heaven and earth are separated*; and then write with the forefinger of the right hand in the ashes contained in the left the two syllables *ja ra*, intimating the contest betwixt the fire and air in the egg, in carrying the heavens to the top, and the earth underneath. This done, they lay their hands below the navel, on

the upper orifice of the stomach, upon the breast, front, head, and crown of the head, and afterwards upon the inferior parts of the body; they likewise touch the eyes, ears, feet, and heels with their fingers, extending now and then their hands, as if they were going to give something: they likewise shew their empty hands to the eight guardians of the world; and afterwards besmearing themselves with ashes, with three fingers of the right hand (in honour of *Bramma*, *Vistnum*, and *Ixora*) on the breast, front, and shoulders, they then reckon themselves clear and purified of all their sins. If you ask them what makes them use all these ceremonies, they give for answer, That they have two different laws, viz. the *Carma* and *Nbana*, one whereof contains instructions for the inward service of god, the other for the exterior or ceremonial part. They add, that *Parexi Rama*, when he made the sea recede from the coast of *Malabar*, did recommend, in a most peculiar manner, the observance of the *Carma* to the *Malabars*, whence *Malabar* to this day retains the name of *Carma pumi*, i. e. the country of *Carma*.

## C H A P. XIV.

## Of the Holy Ashes used in anointing themselves, and of their Festivals.

THE ashes of cow-dung are a thing in such request among the *Indian* pagans, that they with it besmear every morning their front, breast, and shoulders; every king maintains in his court a certain person, who every day, early in the morning, exposes a good quantity of these ashes upon a fig-leaf in the marketplace, when every one that pleases comes and takes some part thereof for his use: of these ashes they also offer daily sacrifices to their gods. The *Gogyes* attend constantly near the *Pagodes*, with a whole bag full of these ashes, which they distribute to the people; who in return give them some alms. They always appear besmeared with these ashes, in which consists a great part of their holiness, their god *Ixora* being also bedaubed with these ashes; the reason whereof, as they relate it, is this.

Why the ashes of cow-dung is sacred with them.

We told you before, that *Ixora*, or *Quiven*, having undertaken to keep *Quivelinga*, the ashes which settled within the shell rendered *Ixora* immortal. *Vistnum* being desirous to enjoy the same prerogative, seized upon a cow, and carrying her to *Calaja*, *Ixora's* residence, he

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snatched away some of these ashes; which *Ixora* perceiving, he struck out several of her teeth by a blow he gave her; which falling upon the earth, produced a kind of large water melons, called *Abobacus* by the *Portuguese*. However, *Vistnum* keeping close behind his cow, he gathered the next dung, and burnt it to ashes; whence it is, that to this day, these pagans have so great a veneration for the cow-dung, that they believe it purifies every thing upon earth. The said cow brought forth a bull-calf; unto which *Ixora* gave the name of *Irixipaten*, and used him instead of a horse. The *Malabar* women, though otherwise pretty cleanly, yet are so intoxicated to this superstition, that they cleanse their chambers and their cisterns with cow-dung.

The *Samoryn* or king of *Calecut*, washes himself every day before dinner; and when he goes to the *Pagode*, the way from the cistern to the *Pagode* is covered with cow-dung, upon which they strow roses and other flowers; besides that two women, each with a pot of cow-dung mixed with water, walk just before him; and

How the king of Calecut purifies himself.

*Baldæus*. and the place where he dines is afterwards constantly cleansed with cow-dung. They relate farther of the cow, that *Quenavady* and *Superbennia* did sit betwixt her horns, the sun and moon in her eyes, *Bramma's* two wives in her ears, *Ixora* in her nose, *Vistnum* in her tongue, in her thighs the *Rixii*, the four books of the *Vedam* in her four legs; that her milk is the true *Ambrosia*, or *Amortam*, and her piss the *Tirtam*, or the water fit to purify themselves from their sins: whence it is, that when they see a cow ready to piss, they catch it with their hands, drink a little of it, and with the rest wash their faces. As these pagan kings claim the patronage of cows, so the *Samoryn* of *Calicut* is attended every morning early by six boys, all over besmeared with fresh cow-dung, with garlands of flowers on their heads: as soon as the *Samoryn* rises, they pay him reverence; who orders them immediately to give the flowers to the cows, which they do.

They have not the same regard for the bulls and oxen, though they make a bull the father or author of the royal family of the *Exastri*, from whence the kings of *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, *Cananor*, and others are descended: they relate that all the males of this family being extinct, a woman of the same tribe being begot with child by a bull, revived the said family.

Opinion of the Malabars of the cow-dung.

The *Malabars* alledge the following reason for the ashes of the cow-dung; They say that the *Lingam*, (i. e. *membrum virile*) of *Ixora*, before it was cut in pieces, being so long that it reached up to his forehead, let fly some few drops of seed, which happening to light into his fiery eye in the front, was burnt to ashes immediately. Hence it is that in *Canara*, betwixt *Cananor* and *Mangalor*, there are to be found a certain order of pretended holy religious men, living constantly in the *Pagodes*. These appear in the streets quite naked; and making a noise by the ringing of a bell they carry along with them, the women (without distinction of age or quality, even to the queens) come running out to touch their privy members.

That the *Egyptians*, and after them the *Jews*, had a peculiar veneration for cows and calves, is sufficiently evident from many passages in the scripture; and the ashes of the red cow are mentioned, *Heb. ix. 13.* and *Numb. xix.*

Besides this purification, these pagans have also their meritorious acts of piety; some of the *Gogys* carry iron collars about their necks, walk constantly with iron fetters and chains, and have

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iron nails with the points inwards in their wooden slippers, or sandals. Some have been known to tie themselves with ropes to a tree, till they expired in great torments.

I saw 1657 one of these *Gogys* at *Columbo*, whose arms were grown together over his head, a posture he had chosen out of devotion. Others of this order never sleep, but pray incessantly; of this kind are also to be found in *Japan* and *China*.

Another meritorious act of the pagans, is the visiting their celebrated *Pagodes*, and other holy places, (like the pilgrimages of the romanists,) as the famous *Pagode Rammanakojel*, the *Adams* mountain in *Ceylon*, and divers other places at *Suratte*, *Davarca*, *Mottera*, *Casi*, *Bengale*, and *Ayotia*, twelve leagues from *Casi*; for which reason it is, that the rich erect *Pagodes*, *Fans*, (called *Ammalams*,) and cisterns, for the conveniency of the travelling men and beasts.

The *Malabars* have a peculiar way to merit the forgiving of their sins; There grows a certain stone, called *Talagramma*, on one side of the mount *Mahameru*, near a river-side, (which the *Gogys* always carry about them,) some whereof contain gold, and are then called *Ferenia Querpam*; one of these carried in a vessel, and in another the five following things belonging to the cow, viz. the cream, milk, butter, piss, and dung, mixed together, called by them *Panchaviam* wine, and afterwards put into the other vessel, wherein lies the *Talagramma*, and given to any person whilst he recites the *Vedamantiram*, (a prayer of five words,) purchases pardon for all sins, destroys his enemies, reconciles him to his friends, and procures riches. This prayer is in high veneration among the *Brahmans*, which they use constantly when they are sitting down to eat; but no body dares to say it in the streets. The five words are *Panesua*, *Apanesua*, *Vinesua*, *Udanesua*, and *Sumanesua*; the first signifies the soul or spirit; the second the posteriors, where the excrements are discharged; the third the bearing; the fourth seeing; the fifth the smelling.

They have also their festivals: One of the most remarkable festivals of these pagans, is celebrated in honour of *Vistnum* or *Ixora*; though the *Malabars* solemnize certain festivals, as that in honour of *Ixora's* spouses, which are not regarded by other *Brahmans*, which beginning the 8th of *Jan.* continues for nine days, the ceremonies may be seen in *Rogerijs*, l. 2. c. 12. The feasts celebrated in

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honour

*Baldæus*. honour of *Ixora* and *Vistnum*, are called *Trenaca* and *Panduga*. The *Gentives*, *Malabars*, and inhabitants of *Coromandel*, also solemnize a feast to the memory of the nativity of *Vistnum*, and his transformation into *Kisna* in *August*, when they adorn their houses with all sorts of greens, which seems to have some resemblance to our christmases. They also use another feast to the honour of *Vistnum*, in remembrance of the sixteen thousand virgins; it begins the eighth day after the full moon in *October*. They have also a feast in honour of *Vistnum's* spouse, called *Lasceni* by those of *Coromandel*: this is celebrated by the *Brabmans* wives in *September* for nine days, when they pray for the long life of their husbands, and to obtain riches. They have also two other feasts in *July* and *November*. They observe besides this certain days, as sacred and fortunate; as the first day of every month, the day of the *Solstice*, when the sun turns from the north to the south.

They pay every morning their reverence to the sun, and having washed themselves three times, they throw the water with their hands upwards, to prevent (as they say) the evil spirits from keeping the sun betwixt the mountains. The new year they begin with the new moon in *April*, as the modern *Jews* in the month *Abib*. They call the new years feast *Samwatsaradi Panduga*, *Panduga* signifying as much as a feast, and *Samwatsaram* a year, as *Adi* is the first day of the month; for they have twelve

months in the year, viz. *April* called *Paldæus*, *Thestram*, *May* *Weiwian*, *June* *Jestam*, *July* *Ajadam*, *August* *Spawanam*, *September* *Badrapadam*, *October* *Aswysam*, *November* *Carticam*, *December* *Margisaram*, *January* *Ponjam*, *February* *Magam*, *March* *Paelgouwan*. And because these twelve months are not equivalent to the months of the sun, they have every third year a leap-year, consisting of thirteen months, which we have only once every four years.

Besides the names of every month, and of every day in the week, the *Malabars* have a peculiar name for each day in every month. They have also peculiar names for each year, as far as sixty years, unto which they add the word *Samwatsaram*, signifying a year, which however is often left out for brevities sake; then they say, *Prabarwa* the first, *Pinawa* the second, &c. *Tsaja* the sixtieth, meaning the *Samwatsaram*, or year. They compute by sixty years, just as the *Greeks* do by their *Olympiads*; they also name the days of every week (like the antient pagans) after the planets: thus *Suria* signifies to them the sun, and *Jendra* the moon, whence they call *Suria Waram* the Sunday, and the Monday *Jendra Waram*.

They divide each day into thirty hours, just as the *Gentives* divide their day and night into sixty hours, some whereof they account fortunate, and some unfortunate. Of the pagan feasts you may consult *Carolinus*, chap. 22.

## CHAPTER XV.

### Of the Fast-Days of the Pagans; and their Origin. Their Marriages and Solemn Oaths; Ceremonies used with their Sick and Dead.

AS the pagans pray constantly thrice a day, viz. in the morning, about noon, (when they repose themselves,) and in the evening, so they have their solemn fast-days: one of these is called *Egadexi*, which word (in their learned language, called *Samoscrad*, or *Hanscret*, as *Kircker* styles it, which is in the same esteem among the *Malabars*, as the *Latin* in *Europe*) signifies as much as *eleven*, or the *eleventh*, because it is kept the eleventh day after the full moon, and again the eleventh day after the new moon; so that they have two of these fasts every month, viz. one every fifteen days, when they abstain from eating all the day long, or at least till four or five a-clock in the afternoon, when they must

not feed upon flesh, or fish, or rice; but only upon fruits, pease, beans, milk, and such like, and not drink the least strong liquor.

The origin of this fast-day is ridiculous enough. They tell you, That a young fellow, much addicted to venery, going one night very late to visit his mistress, could not light on a boat to ferry him over the river; however, being resolved not to depart, he staid there all night, and did fall asleep, without having eaten any thing all that day. Next morning early passing the river, as he was going to his mistress's house, he met with a camel just at sun-rising, which throwing a stone, it hit accidentally upon some flowers, and cast them from

*Balacens* from the stalks upon the ground, and so he came to his mistress.

After some years happening to die, and being carried before *Chitraputren*, he could not produce any good works he had performed in his life-time to intitle himself to the paradise, except this his accidental fasting, and the throwing down of the flowers at sun-rising, which he interpreted as a sacrifice intended for the sun. *Chitraputren*, after a long hearing condemned him to the infernal regions; yet in consideration of his fasting on the 11th day after the full-moon, having the favour granted him of abiding for some days in the paradise, he was asked what paradise he would chuse; he answered, *The Woman's-Paradise*. Being conveyed thither accordingly, as he was in bed the next night with one of the ladies, he broke out into most dreadful ejaculations; and being asked by his bed-fellow the reason, he replied, *Because I have so short a time to stay in this paradise*. The woman, who had taken a liking to him, told him, That he should rise early in the morning, wash himself all over, and at the gate watch the coming of the servants of *Ixora*, who were then going into the wood of roses, to gather flowers for their master; she bad him to crowd in among them, and having gathered the most odoriferous flowers he could find, offer them as a present to *Ixora*. He followed the woman's advice; and having gathered the most sweet-scented flowers he could, offered them to *Ixora*; who extremely pleased with this present, asked *Chitraputren*, who this young man was; he told him, he was a person condemned to the infernal punishments. But *Ixora* ordered him to remain in paradise with the same woman, and to gather flowers for him. Now, because this young man got into paradise by his fasting, the pagans fast upon the before-mentioned eleventh day.

*The second fast.*

They have another fast, called *Quiverasiri*, which deduces its origin from *Quiven*, (the same as *Ixora*,) and *Rasiri*, i. e. the night, signifying as much as a night-fast, or *Quiven's* night. It falls out in *February*; and being one of their established fasts, is kept with a great deal of strictness, they being forbid either to eat or drink, or to sleep all that night, which they spend in rehearsing the fictions of their gods, and walking round the *Pagodas* till day-break, when they sacrifice to the idol, and give alms to the poor; which done the fast is ended.

*Its origin.*

The origin of this fast they ascribe to one *Beri*, a famous hunter; who going

one evening abroad to shoot some birds, *Baldens*, got upon a certain tree near a cistern, called *Cuola*, the leaves whereof smell as sweet as flowers. Being very eager at the sport, he tarried upon the tree all night; and to pass away his time without sleeping, he pulled off constantly the flowers of the tree; which he throwing one after another upon the ground, one of them did fall upon *Quivelinga*; who happened just to lie under the tree without *Beri's* knowledge, who returned to his own home the next morning.

Some years after the said *Beri* happening to die, and being carried before *Chitraputren*, the judge of the dead, he found, upon examination, that having committed many crimes in his life-time, by killing the wild beasts, he was condemned to the infernal regions. But as *Jewen*, or *Jamma*, the chieftain of the devils, and his company, were hurrying him along, they were met by *Ixora*; who being informed of his fasting all the night long upon the tree *Cuola*, and his offering of the flowers to *Quivelinga*, he delivered him immediately out of the devil's hands, and sent him into paradise.

Some tell a different story upon this head, viz. That *Beri* perceiving a tyger under the tree, was forced to remain upon the tree all night without eating any victuals. They also tell you the dialogue betwixt *Beri* and the tyger. *Beri*, it seems, told the tyger, That whereas he was not able to fast above three days, he desired him to let him go unmolested to his house, where he would take leave of his wife, and return again. The tyger replied, No; for, said he, if I let thee come down safely, thou wilt certainly kill me with thy bow and arrow, which thou didst leave under the tree whilst thou wast climbing up to fetch a pigeon thou hadst shot before. But *Beri* taking an oath by *Ixora*, that he would return, the tyger let him pass. *Beri* being returned home, told his wife what had happened, and that he must return to the tree, where the tyger staid for his coming. The woman offered to go in his stead; and so did his children, to be devoured by the tyger, alledging, That without him, they should be deprived of all subsistence. But *Beri* not approving their choice, they went all together to the tyger; unto whom *Beri* said, pursuant to his oath, he was come to be devoured by him. But the woman entreating the tyger to devour her in his stead, as not being able to subsist without him, and the children making the same petition

*Baldæus.* titution to him, the tyger was put to such a nonplus, that he did not know what to chuse; but whilst he was ruminating upon the matter, *Ixora* threw a net over them, and so drew them all into paradise.

*The third fast.* The third fast, called *Tirinadiva*, is kept only by the women, having got its name from the 27th day of the 9th month; on which day *Canteven*, the god of love, being killed by *Ixora*, the women were so grieved thereat, that they would not touch the least eatables all that day; and ever since kept a fast on the 27th of *December*, in memory of this disaster, being much about the same time we celebrate the feast of our Saviour's nativity. They say, the reason why *Ixora* killed this *Canteven*, or *Cupid*, was because the last was fallen in love with *Paramesceri*, *Ixora's* spouse; for which reason he burnt him to ashes with his fiery eye on the forehead. But the *Brakmans* say that *Ixora* being for a considerable time employed in holy matters, and thereby become forgetful of *Paramesceri*, she addressed herself to *Canteven*, to infuse into her husband fresh sentiments of love; but she afterwards no sooner understood his death, than she died for grief. Being however brought to life at the foot of the mount *Timana*, (where she staid for some time after to do penance, and thence got the name of the daughter of the mount *Timana*,) *Ixora* appeared to her, promising to continue his conjugal love hereafter. *Paramesceri* took this opportunity to desire *Ixora* to revive *Cupid* from the dead, with this addition, That he should remain immortal for ever after: whence they say, that *Cupid* reigns all over the world by the strength of imagination in both sexes. By which they seem to intimate, that as the inclination to love ceases in old persons, it is constantly revived in the young ones; and so will continue as long as the world stands.

*Why the god of love was killed by Ixora.*

*The 5<sup>th</sup> fast.*

They have another famous fast, called *Majaupasa*, from the word *Masa*, (which in the high *Malabar* tongue signifies a mouth,) and *Upada*, a fast, being the most sacred of all their fasts, beginning with the last day of *October*.

Such as keep this fast, having first washed and dressed themselves very clean, repair to the *Pagode* of *Vistnum*; and the next day being the 19th of *November*, after having changed their clothes, go round the said temple early in the morning one hundred and one times, and the most devoted one thousand and one times. The same they repeat every day during the whole *November* and *December*, mut-

tering all the while by themselves the words *Naraina* and *Aquanama*, firmaments belonging to *Vistnum*. All this while they must eat nothing but milk and figs, neither look upon a woman, and think or speak of nothing but what relates unto *Vistnum*. The next following year they take the same course, beginning with the 1st day of *December*, and continuing till the 10th of *January*, in all, forty days. The third year they begin with the 1st of *January*, and continue the same devotions till the 10th of *February*; and thus the same successively for nine years longer, till the number of twelve years being compleated, they obtain a general pardon for all their trespasses.

Concerning their marriages, *Poligamy*, and some other matters relating to this purpose, we have had occasion to say something already in the description of *Ceylon*: we will now give an account of such things as were not mentioned, or at least, not circumstantially in that place. The first is, That the *Brakmans* are not only at liberty to marry as many wives as they think fit, (a privilege they always enjoyed, as may be seen out of their ancient records, called *Poranes*,) but also may chuse their wives out of four different tribes, just as the *Levites* enjoyed the privilege of marrying in what tribe they thought fit among the *Jews*.

As to their marriage ceremonies, some precede the marriage it self, some are concomitant to it, and the rest follow it.

The first thing they observe, is to consult an astrologer about the position of the planets, and the time or hour when it is fortunate for the bride to be married; for which reason they also consult on what day of the month, and under what conjunction the bridgroom is born. Next they apply themselves to a *Brakman*, or priest, who for four days successively before the wedding, burns a little rice and butter mixed with eggs, for a sacrifice. The time of the solemn promise or engagement approaching, they light a large wax-candle, and put some rice upon the table of *Quenavady*, the huge devouring elephant before mentioned. This done, the bridgroom throws a necklace, or *Taly*, with some gold fastened to it, about the bride's neck, as a token, that the engagement is now made; whence the *Malabars* call marriage *Quitha*, i. e. an obligation. The wife, after the death of her husband, always breaks this necklace, as a token, that the obligation is dissolved; after which the bride fasts fifteen days.

After



*Baldæus.* After the copulation is performed, they entertain their friends at a feast; but the young couple are not bedded till about eight or ten days after: for before they can actually cohabit, they must attend a fortunate conjunction of the planets; and before they enter the bed-chamber, perform their prayers at the door, in the company of a priest, who gives them his blessing. The next following day the new-married couple take a piece of cloth cut at one end, wherewith they go a fishing in a river. The first fish they take, they touch on the head with a great deal of reverence, and according as they take more or less fishes, they shall have few or more children; if they catch nothing, the woman is to prove barren.

As the chief reason why they marry so young among the *Brabmans*, is their fondness of a maidenhead, so, on the other hand, nothing is more despicable among them than a maiden come to a full age; which has introduced the custom of begging portions for maidens that they may be married in time.

The *Indian* kings that are not *Brabmans*, never marry, but only keep certain mistresses, whose children do not inherit, nay, cannot as much as challenge the least prerogative in respect of their nobility: so that here obtains the axiom, *Fructus sequitur ventrem*. The kings sisters are generally married to some other sovereign princes; who must fast fifteen days before marriage. The *Nairos* have likewise no settled marriages; whence their wives are called *Parasceri*, i. e. *women for many*. The *Brabmans* take as much care to couple a bull and a cow together, as other people do in marrying their children.

Their manner of taking an oath.

These pagans perform their solemn oaths near a *Pagode*; and the *Brabmans* of *Coromandel*, in the presence of a priest, near a holy fire, just as the *Romans* use to do in the presence of their priests, the *Athenians* before the altar, and the *Arcadians* during the sacrifice. These pagans being ready to take an oath near the *Pagode*, they put three fingers of the right hand, *viz.* the thumb, the next, and the middle-finger, into an earthen vessel filled with melted butter; this done, they put a leaf into the same butter, which they tie close round their three fingers: after three days the said leaf is taken off in the presence of the king or prince of the country; if his fingers are not burnt, his adversary suffers punishment; but if he proves hurt, he is sure to be punished.

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They have another way of taking an oath, no less dangerous than the former: he that takes the oath is obliged to swim cross the river, betwixt *Cochin* and *Cranaganor*, which is full of crocodiles; and if he that has taken the oath escapes without hurt, he is supposed to have taken a just oath.

In *Canara* they have another way: for they put some adders and a lemon into an earthen vessel; and if he that takes the oath, takes the citron out of the vessel without receiving any harm, he has truly sworn. The inhabitants of *Formosa*, when they take an oath, break only a straw to pieces.

Whenever any body falls sick, the patient need not fear to be disturbed with much physick, bleeding, clysters, and such like, their chief remedy consisting in fasting, sometimes more than is convenient. They also send forth continual prayers, to obtain a happy transmigration of the soul, and exhort the patient to rehearse continually the name of god; and when his strength fails, his friends repeat the same in his presence; because the *Brabmans* are of opinion, that he who dies with the name of god in his mouth, goes directly to the paradise: for the same reason they also distribute alms to the poor. If they give the patient any medicines, they are generally laxatives of fresh herbs, a little milk, *Cansic*, (or rice and water boiled together,) a little saffron, ginger, or leeks.

When the patient is near expiring, they reiterate their prayers, besprinkling them with holy water of the river *Ganges*; for they say, that the infernal judge sends his servants to torment them at that time, and that they send forth their prayers to *Vishnum*, to send one of his servants to deliver the dying person out of their clutches.

After their decease they wash the corps, afterwards shave his beard, stop his mouth with betel and lime, wrap him in a shroud, and last of all close his eyes. Of the burning of their dead, we have spoken before, in the description of the funeral ceremony of the prince of *Ceylon*, and *Rogerius* \* has given a more ample

account of the whole matter. Some of these pagans bury their dead near their habitations, and without the cities, (like the *Athenians* and *Romans*,) and cover them with stones, for fear the jackalls and other wild beasts, should dig them up and devour them.

They fast and shave their heads for their deceased friends; and if they be of royal extraction, all the subjects are obli-

9 Z

ged

*Baldæus.*

What ceremonies they use with their dead and sick.

\* l. r. c. 10.

*Baldæus* ged to have their heads shaved. In *Malabar*, the next relations do not stir out of doors for fifteen days, sleep only on mats upon the ground, and do not assist at the usual sacrifices. When I mention fasting, I mean, that they only eat a little rice at noon. After seven days, they send for the barber ; who having cleansed the house with milk and cow-piss, and the persons belonging to it, they gather up the ashes of the deceased person, after the expiration of the fifteen days; and having put the same into an urn, they throw it with great lamentations into the river, the sea or any other water. This done, they purify the place where the corps was burnt, and plant there a fig-tree. Afterwards changing their clothes, and being cleansed by repeated washings, they put an end to the mourning, except the next heir, who continues in mourning a whole year, during which he abstains from flesh, fish, eggs, wine, nay, even from their beloved *Betel*. No person must touch his head, neither must he cohabit with his wife: besides which, he is obliged to perform daily the following ceremony: he takes a small quantity of boiled rice, made up in form of a little ball; this he lays upon a fig-leaf spread upon the ground without the house-door, and taking part of another fig-leaf, he bends it together, fancying all the while, that the deceased is there present to eat the rice-ball; then taking a little rice mixed with butter in both his hands, he turns his face about, as if he were looking to put it into the mouth of the deceased person. This done, the standers-by clap their hands together, a signal to

the crows (of which there are vast numbers in *Malabar*) to come to take the ball of rice prepared for the deceased person; which if the crows do, the heir is at liberty to go to his dinner; but if they do not, it is looked upon as an ill omen, and the whole ceremony considered as fruitless.

At the conclusion of the mourning, the relations of the deceased are invited to a splendid feast, where however they must not eat either flesh, fish, or eggs; and none but the richer sort are invited to partake of it. This they repeat once a year, on the same day the deceased died, to the memory of their friend. I will not enlarge myself in this place upon that most barbarous custom of some of these pagans, for the wives to burn themselves alive with the dead carcases of their husbands, a thing still practised in the most populous city of *Pandi*; for when the funeral ceremony of *Vinepi Naigne*, the prince of the country, was solemnized with great pomp, three hundred of his wives did precipitate themselves alive (under the sound of drums and trumpets,) into the same hole filled with burning oil, butter, and other combustible matter, which burned both his and their bodies to ashes. We conclude with a hearty wish, that these poor wretches, quite entangled in the darkness of paganism, may through his mercy, and with the assistance of such magistrates as ought to keep a watchful eye over their actions, be in time brought to the true knowledge of the gospel.

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